



3 1761 03940 8869









80

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

SELECT DISCOURSES

BY

JOHN SMITH, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



London : CAMBRIDGE WAREHOUSE,
17, PATERNOSTER ROW.
Cambridge : DEIGHTON, BELL, AND CO.

3
T 92
9

SELECT DISCOURSES:

BY

JOHN SMITH, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF QUEENS' COLLEGE IN CAMBRIDGE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A SERMON, PREACHED AT THE AUTHOR'S FUNERAL,

BY

SYMON PATRICK, D.D.

THEN FELLOW OF THE SAME COLLEGE, AFTERWARDS
LORD BISHOP OF ELY:

CONTAINING A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND DEATH.

FOURTH EDITION CORRECTED AND REVISED.

ed-BY

HENRY, GRIFFIN, WILLIAMS, B.D.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, AND
FORMERLY FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

Edited for the Syndics of the University Press,

iii, 521

'Αποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖται.—Heb. xi. 4.

92. A -

CAMBRIDGE:

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M.DCCC.LIX.



9416
24/4/00

£

P R E F A C E.

THE present edition of the *Select Discourses* of John Smith is based on the first edition, published in 1660, compared with the last, published in 1821. During the interval between these dates only one other complete edition made its appearance (1673). The Preface by Dr John Worthington, to whose care the Author's papers were committed after his death, contains all the requisite information respecting the preparation of them for the Press. Notwithstanding the learning and industry bestowed by him upon the task, the first edition of the *Discourses* abounds in errors, and of these scarcely one had been corrected by subsequent editors. The *Discourse on Prophecy*, the most learned of all, and that by which the Author is best known, was translated into Latin, and prefixed by Le Clerc to his *Commentary on the Prophets*, all the errors of the original, which are neither few nor trifling, still remaining.

In the present edition, the references have been carefully examined, and, in several instances, assigned to the right authors in place of others to whom they had been incorrectly attributed. The labour involved in such corrections has been considerable, and the Editor is largely indebted to his brother, James B. S. Williams, Esq., M.A.,

for extensive research and acute investigation in tracing out and correcting numerous quotations.

For the short account of the Author, the parish Register of Achurch, and the documents preserved in Emmanuel College and Queens' College have been examined, and have supplied the means of correcting and enlarging the former very brief memoir, while Patrick's Autobiography has furnished additional interesting facts.

PRESTON RECTORY, SUFFOLK,

March, 1859.

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

THE materials for the Life of John Smith, the Author of the *Select Discourses*, are few and scanty. While ample testimony is borne by his contemporaries to the high tone of his character, and while his published works bear the stamp of the mind of the philosopher, the learning of the divine, and the piety of the saint, the events by which his brief life was diversified are little known. His writings themselves fail, in any degree, to supply the deficiency. Conjecture alone can aid us in determining the steps by which the son of the humble Northamptonshire farmer became the valued friend of Cudworth and Patrick, the light and ornament of his generation, and the teacher of succeeding ages.

John Smith was the son of John and Catharine Smith, and was born at Achurch, a small village near Oundle, in Northamptonshire, not later than the early part of the year 1616. His parents were advanced in life at the time of his birth¹, and his mother died during his infancy². His father was a small farmer residing at

¹ Patrick's Funeral Sermon.

² The above facts, relating to the birth and parentage of John Smith, rest upon the following extracts from the Parish Register of Achurch.

Burials. 'April 4th, 1616, Katharine Smith, the wife of John Smith.'

Christenings. 'Feb. 15th, 1617. John Smith, son of John Smith.'

If these names refer to our Author and his parents, and there can be no reasonable

doubt that they do so, John Smith was somewhat older at the time of his death than Patrick states. But Patrick is inconsistent with himself on this point in his autobiography, and his funeral sermon. In an extremely brief memoir of our Author by Lord Hailes, his birth is erroneously stated to have taken place in 1618. Kennet (*Reg. and Chronicle*, p. 127) states that his father's name was John Smith.

Achurch¹, and appears to have enjoyed the respect of those among whom he lived².

John Smith probably received the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School of Oundle, which had then been in existence considerably above half a century. But the paternal pursuits of agriculture do not seem to have possessed attractions for him. Whether the spark of genius had already begun to manifest itself, or the charms of literature to captivate him, or the desire for usefulness in the Church, which afterwards became so strong, to inflame him, we know not. On the 5th of April, 1636, he became a student of the University of Cambridge, being admitted as a sizar of Emmanuel College, a society which even at that period enjoyed the high character for the learning and good order of its members which it has since maintained.

There he pursued his studies with zeal and assiduity, endearing himself to those around him by his unassuming piety, and making rapid progress in the various branches of literature and science then most cultivated. Dr Whichcote, at that time Fellow of the College, and afterwards Provost of King's College, with that kindness of disposition, and ready patronage, that always distinguished him, particularly aided Smith in his studies, not only by valuable direction, but by furnishing the means which the small funds of the student could not supply. The timely assistance thus afforded was not only fully appreciated at the time, but gratefully remembered through life.

With that modesty and humility which formed prominent features in his character, he was satisfied with devoting the mighty powers he possessed, and employing to

¹ Bishop Kennet, *Register and Chronicle*, p. 127. Patrick (*Autobiog.* p. 422, Oxford edit.) mentions, speaking of John Smith, 'his estate which he had of twenty pounds a year,' and states that he left 'his

land to a kinsman.' This land he probably inherited from his father.

² He was Churchwarden in the years 1601, 1616, 1621, and 1622.

the best advantage the opportunity afforded him, in storing his mind with the treasures that lay within his reach, leaving to others the eager pursuit after advancement, and the greedy thirst for reputation. He sought rather 'to deserve honour than to be honoured.'

From some unknown cause, the time of his graduating was deferred a year beyond the usual period, as he did not become Bachelor of Arts before 1640, and Master of Arts before 1644. This circumstance probably altered his position in the University, and deprived the College which had fostered his rising talents of the honour of continuing to number him among her members.

At the same College, and contemporaneous with Smith, was William Dillingham, also a native of Northamptonshire, who had been elected a Sizar less than three weeks after Smith's admission. He took his degree of B.A. in 1639, and was elected Fellow in 1642, at a time when Smith was of insufficient standing to be eligible to a Fellowship. Dillingham subsequently became Master of the College.

By the original Statutes of the College, then in force, but since remodelled, no two natives of the same county could hold fellowships at the same time.

Thus the election of Dillingham precluded Smith from all prospect of advancement in his own College.

But his influence was not destined to be lost to the University, nor himself kept from filling an honourable position there. The Earl of Manchester, in virtue of the power entrusted to him by the Committee of Parliament, for regulating the University of Cambridge, having first removed Dr Edward Martin from his office of President of Queens' College, proceeded to eject a considerable number of the Fellows on the eighth, ninth, and eleventh days of April, 1644, for 'non-residence,' 'not returning to College on summonses,' 'refusing to take the solemn league and covenant.' On the last-mentioned

day (April 11th) he appeared in person in the chapel of Queens' College, and appointed Herbert Palmer President of the College, giving instruction that such appointment should be registered in the books of the College and of the University. On the same day nine Fellows were put in by him to fill the places of an equal number who had been ejected, such newly appointed Fellows 'having' as is stated 'been examined and approved by the assembly of divines now sitting at Westminster.' One of these was John Smith¹.

In his new position, Smith not only maintained, but advanced the reputation he had previously acquired. His influence was continually exerted for the benefit of those among whom his lot was cast. As a Fellow, his sound judgment and his vast erudition aided and ennobled the society to which he belonged. As a Tutor, his constant care was not only to store the minds of his pupils with sound learning, but to lead them to the high principles that become the Christian. The great success that attended his efforts is attested by the many good scholars who are said to have traced their progress to his instruction. Nor was such instruction confined to words only: his pure and unsullied life was the best commentary on the principles he advocated, and led his pupils to regard him not only as a teacher, but as a friend and a father.

In the course of the year in which he was made Fellow of Queens' College, he was appointed Hebrew Lecturer², and Censor Philosophicus³, and in the following year, Greek Prælector⁴. The duties thus devolved upon him, in addition to the care of the pupils especially committed to his charge, must have afforded abundant scope for the

¹ Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, II. 157) conjectures that Smith was put in to fill up the particular place rendered vacant by the ejection of Appleby. This conjecture rests upon no foundation. The same

may be asserted of other similar conjectures hazarded at the part referred to.

² June 24, 1644.

³ Sept. 10, 1644.

⁴ Sept. 16, 1645.

display of his varied learning, and have furnished ample employment for one who strove to devote all his energies to the due performance of any task he had undertaken. He does not appear to have entered into Holy Orders for some few years after the time of which we are speaking, since, though the College Statutes required that, in order to the retention of his Fellowship, he should be ordained in 1646, being then a Master of Arts of two years' standing, we find a College order granting him permission to defer his ordination for four years¹. According to the custom of the age, however, it was no unusual circumstance for young men to preach previously to being ordained, and probably he did not neglect such opportunity of imparting instruction.

In the year 1650 he was appointed Dean of the College and Catechist², and the Lectures delivered by him in discharge of the duties of such offices, constitute the principal portion of the *Select Discourses*. They were, as occasion occurred, slightly modified and enlarged by their author, as his extended reading enabled him to correct what he had previously written, or to expand the ideas he had unduly contracted; but his premature death prevented the finishing touches being added to such productions, and left to other hands the task of arranging them preparatory to their being committed to the press.

Among the number of those who shared the benefit of his precepts and example during the period between his entering Queens' College and his death, was Symon Patrick, who had been admitted as a sizar a fortnight after Smith obtained his Fellowship. Patrick himself subsequently became a Fellow of the College, continuing resident there and living on terms of friendship with Smith till the death of the latter, and attending him in his last moments. He had thus full opportunity for forming a

¹ This order bears date Jan. 19, 1646 (1647).

² Sept. 18, 1650.

correct estimate of his character and attainments. Nor was such estimate liable to be biassed by the affection so often found to exist between a pupil and a tutor, for Patrick was not placed under the especial tutelage of Smith at his admission into College, but under that of another of the Fellows, named Wells.

One result of such uninterrupted friendship was the grateful tribute paid to Smith's memory in the funeral sermon preached by Patrick on the occasion of the death of his friend, as well as in the remarks contained in Patrick's *Autobiography*, first printed in 1839.

In the latter of these publications, Patrick, quoting from a note made by him at the time to which it relates, thanks God, among other providences, for having brought him into intimacy with Mr Smith, laments his early death, but adds, 'Blessed be God for the good I got by him while he lived.' These were the words of the youthful student, words the sentiment of which was fully indorsed by the aged bishop, taking a retrospect view of his life. He speaks of the singular blessing he enjoyed by the successful method employed by Smith to remove doubts he had entertained on certain religious subjects, doubts which never afterwards recurred to his mind, and states how memory in his declining years faithfully retained all the circumstances of time and place connected with such conversation.

But intense application to study, acting upon a highly sensitive organization, soon produced its fatal effects, either in developing the latent seeds of disease, or in laying the foundation of the complaint which terminated his career. In the year 1651, he was attacked by illness, probably tubercular disease of the lungs, which appeared to baffle medical skill. The husky cough and the constant expectoration prostrated his strength. In the spring of 1652 he was advised to go to London to seek the aid of

physicians there. This he did, and continued for some months under the care of Dr Theodore Mahern, from whose treatment, however, he derived no benefit¹.

Before his departure for London, he had committed the care of his pupils, who were numerous, to his friend Patrick. On his return to Cambridge, near the end of July, it was evident that he could not long bear up against the disease that had marked him for a prey. All efforts to restore him proved ineffectual : he lay in a state of listlessness for nearly a week. One lucid interval enabled his friends to become acquainted with his wishes respecting the disposal of his library and other property. But before he could put his hand to a document drawn up by them, he sank from exhaustion, and gently fell asleep August 7, 1652, after a long and tedious illness, borne with the spirit and resignation of a Christian philosopher. He bequeathed a valuable collection of books to Queens' College, in the chapel of which he lies interred, but without any inscription to denote the exact spot. The high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries is attested by what Patrick (who preached his funeral sermon) states, that the Vice-Chancellor and all the Heads of Houses, with a very large congregation, attended him to his grave.

Thus died early one who, if his life had been prolonged, would doubtless have ranked among the most eminent divines of his country, and who, even now, has left behind him a treasure in the *Select Discourses* that posterity will not neglect.

His learning was varied and extensive. History and philosophy, mathematics and divinity all occupied his

¹ May 5, 1562. 'Granted by the Master and Fellows that Mr Smith being absent by reason of sicknesse shall have his whole stipend and dividend for this

current quarter and likewise his stipend for so much of the last quarter as he was absent upon the same cause of his sicknesse.' Regr. Coll. Regin.

mind. He was critically skilled in the learned languages, and largely read in Hebrew and Talmudic lore, to which he added a still further acquaintance with Oriental literature. He was a man of quick perception and sound judgment; a prudent counsellor and a skilful instructor. With a readiness to impart knowledge, he possessed a facility of expression which enabled him to render the most difficult subjects intelligible. Naturally of a hasty and passionate temper, he controlled it by the regard he paid to the great Christian duty of love. Whether in College to a more learned audience, or among illiterate villagers in the place of his nativity, he carefully adapted his discourse to the character of those he was addressing, while a deep humility at all times diffused a tone over his whole character.

The study of the later Platonists, Plotinus especially, with their fantastic theories, their frivolous speculations, and their abstruse investigations, was much in vogue while Smith was at the University, and deeply engaged his attention, as his Discourses fully prove. In philosophy he was for the most part a follower of the system of Descartes, though he did not, like him, look upon the immortality of the soul as a necessary consequence of its immateriality irrespective of the decrees of God. The erroneous doctrines with reference to morals which had lately been extensively promulgated by Hobbes, and which were so ably attacked by Cudworth, were, doubtless, continually present to his mind, and the refutation of them, we may suppose, was one object at least that he had in his mind in some of his writings. He was a plain and sincere Christian, and never so prized learning as to allow it to usurp the place of piety and religion.

H. G. W.

TO THE READER.

THE intendment of this Preface is not to court the reader into a high esteem either of these discourses or their author—the discourses will best speak what they are, and for the author, his own works will praise him ; but only to give a clear and plain account of what concerns this edition, and withal, to observe something concerning the discourses themselves, and the author of them, not unnecessary perhaps for the reader to be acquainted with.

The papers now published, I received from the author's executor, Mr Samuel Cradock, then Fellow of Emmanuel College, now Rector of North Cadbury in Somersetshire, whose beneficence to the public in imparting these treasures, I thought worthy to be here, in the first place, gratefully remembered.

Having taken a more general view of these, and some other papers, divers of which were loose and scattered, not being written by the author in any book, my first care was to collect such as were homogeneous and related to the same discourse ; as also to observe where any new additional matter was to be inserted ; for the author, whose mind was a rich and fruitful soil, a bountiful and ever-bubbling fountain, sometimes would superadd upon further thoughts some other considerations to what he had formerly delivered in public ; and this he would do sometimes after he had gone off from that argument, and though matter of a different nature had come between. This employment I found at first sufficiently perplexed and toilsome ; but, through more than once reading over the manuscripts, I got through those difficulties, and despatched that first trouble. And I am well assured that the severed parts, and also the additional considerations, are brought to their due and proper places, where the author himself would have disposed them, if he had transcribed his papers.

And now I found that I stood in need of more hands and eyes than mine own, for the fair transcribing of the papers, (otherwise impossible to be printed) as also for the examining of the material quotations in this volume: and in this labour, I had the assistance of some friends, to whom the memory of the author was very precious. As for some short allusions and expressions borrowed out of ancient authors, serving rather for ornament than support of the matter in hand, there seemed to be less need of being solicitous about all of them. But for the other testimonies, which are many and weighty, there were but few (some possibly among such a number of quotations might escape) that were not examined; and I am sure that this labour was not unnecessary and in vain, how wearisome soever it was, especially where the authors, or the places in the authors, were not mentioned.

And then, for the sake of those readers whose education had not acquainted them with some of the languages, wherein many of the testimonies were represented, being otherwise men of good accomplishments, and capable of receiving the designed benefit of these papers, it seemed expedient to render the Latin, but especially the Hebrew and Greek quotations, into English; except in those places where, the substance and main importance of the quotations being insinuated in the neighbouring words, a translation was less needful—for the author seldom translated the Hebrew, and more seldom the Greek, but into Latin; as considering that he delivered these discourses in the College Chapel before an auditory not needing any such condescensions as are requisite in the publishing of these papers for the benefit of some readers.

To despatch this first part of the Preface, which concerns the preparations to this edition, I shall add only one thing more; that whereas the papers now published, especially those that contained the first six discourses, were written in the author's own copy, without any distinction or sections—*uno tenore et continua serie*, (as the Jews observe of the ancient writing of the law,—‘The whole law was but as one verse¹’;) it seemed expedient for the reader's accommodation to distinguish them into several discourses or treatises, the titlepage to each discourse

giving a general account of the matter contained therein, and the discourses themselves into chapters and sections, (except the discourses were short, as two or three of them are, which therefore have the contents set in the beginning,) and before the chapters, to give a particular account of the chief matters therein contained; that so the reader might have a clearer and fuller view, as of the strength and importance, so also of the contexture of the whole, and the coherence of the several parts of the respective discourses; which otherwise would not be so easily discerned by every reader, especially where there are some excursions and digressions in any of the treatises, (things not unusual in the writings or discourses of other men, when the notion does strongly affect and possess their minds, and their fancies are therefore more active and vigorous,) and some such digressions the reader will meet with here more than once; though even therein he will see that the author did still *respicere titulum*, and keep the main design always in his eye. Nor does the author in these digressions lead the reader a little out of the way, only to see ‘a reed shaken with the wind¹,’ an ordinary trifle, some slight and inconsiderable object, but for better purposes; that he might the better present to the perspicacious reader, something which is worthy his observation; and therefore these *παρεκβατικοὶ λόγοι* being usually of such importance, need not be severely censured by rigid methodists, if any such chance to read these treatises.

This is a plain account of some instances of the care and labour preparatory to this edition; of all which I accounted the author of these discourses to be most worthy: for I considered him as a friend,—one whom I knew for many years, not only when he was Fellow of Queens’ College, but when a student in Emmanuel College, where his early piety, and the remembering his Creator in those days of his youth, as also his excellent improvement in the choicest parts of learning, endeared him to many, particularly to his careful tutor, then Fellow of Emmanuel College, afterwards Provost of King’s College, Dr Whichcote; to whom, for his directions and encouragements of him in his studies, his seasonable provision for his support and maintenance when he was a young scholar, as also upon other obliging

¹ Matt. xi. 7.

considerations, our author did ever express a great and singular regard.

But, besides, I considered him—which was more—as a true servant and friend of God; and to such a one, and what relates to such, I thought that I owed no less care and diligence. The former title, ‘a servant of God,’ is very often in Scripture given to that incomparable person Moses—incomparable for his philosophical accomplishments and knowledge of nature, as also for his political wisdom, and great abilities in the conduct and managing of affairs; and for speaking excellent sense, with strong and clear reason in any business and case that was before him; for ‘he was mighty in words and in deeds’¹; (and of both these kinds of knowledge wherein Moses excelled, as also in the more recondite and mysterious knowledge of the Egyptians, there are several instances and proofs in the Pentateuch written by him:) incomparable as well for the loveliness of his disposition and temper, the inward ornament and beauty of a meek and humble spirit², as for the extraordinary amiableness of his outward person; and incomparable for his unexampled self-denial in the midst of the greatest allurements and most tempting advantages of this world³. And from all these great accomplishments and perfections in Moses, it appears how excellently he was qualified and enabled to answer that title, ‘the servant of God,’ more frequently given to him in Scripture than unto any other.

The other title, ‘a friend of God,’ is given to Abraham, the father of the faithful, an eminent exemplar of self-resignation and obedience even in trials of the greatest difficulty⁴: and it is given to him thrice in Scripture⁵, and plainly implied in Gen. xviii. 17, ‘Shall I hide from Abraham,’ &c. but expressed in the Jerusalem Targum there⁶, and in Philo Judæus⁷. Nor is less insinuated concerning Moses, with whom God is said to have spoken, ‘mouth to mouth’⁸, and ‘face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend’⁹.

¹ Acts vii. 22.

² Numb. xii. 3.

³ Heb. xi. 24, &c.

⁴ Rom. iv.; Heb. xi.; Jam. ii. 21—23.

⁵ 2 Chron. xx. 7; Isai. xli. 8; James

ii. 23.

⁶ רַחֵם.

⁷ Φίλον γὰρ τὸ σοφὸν Θεῷ μάλλον ἢ δοῦλον. Παρ’ ὃ καὶ σαφῶς ἐπὶ Ἀβραάμ φάσκει, Μὴ ἐπικαλύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ τοῦ φίλου μου;—Phil. Jud. Vol. III. p. 302.

⁸ פֶּה אֶל פֶּה. Numb. xii. 8.

⁹ פָּנִים אֶל פָּנִים. Exod. xxxiii. 11.

And how fitly and properly both these titles were verified concerning our author, who was a faithful, hearty, and industrious ‘servant of God,’ counting it his duty and dignity, his meat and drink, to do the will of his Master in heaven, and that from his very soul, and with good will, (the characters of a good servant¹) and who was dearly affected towards God, and treated by God as a friend,—may appear from that account of him represented in the sermon at his funeral. I might easily fill much paper, if I should particularly recount those many excellences that shone forth in him: but I would study to be short. I might truly say, that he was not only *δίκαιος*, but *ἀγαθός*—both a righteous and truly honest man, and also a good man². He was a follower and imitator of God in purity and holiness, in benignity, goodness and love—a love enlarged as God’s love is, whose goodness overflows and spreads itself to all, and His tender mercies are over all His works. He was a ‘lover of our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity³,’ a lover of His spirit and of His life, a lover of His excellent laws and rules of holy life, a serious practiser of His sermon in the mount⁴, the best sermon that ever was preached, and yet none more generally neglected by those that call themselves Christians; though the observance of it be for the true interest both of men’s souls, and of Christian states and commonwealths; and accordingly, as being the surest way to their true settlement and establishment, it is compared to ‘the building upon a rock⁵.’ To be short: he was a Christian not only *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, but *ἐν πολλῷ*—more than a little, even wholly and altogether such⁶: a Christian *ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ*—inwardly and in good earnest⁷: religious he was, but without any vaingloriousness and ostentation; not so much a talking or a disputing, as a living, a doing, and an obeying Christian; one inwardly acquainted with the simplicity and power of godliness, but no admirer of the Pharisaic forms and sanctimonious shows, (though never so goodly and specious,) which cannot and do not affect the adult and strong Christians, though they may and do those that are unskilful and weak. For in this weak and low state of the divided churches in Christendom, weak and slight things,

¹ ἐκ ψυχῆς—μετ’ εὐνοίας. Eph. vi.
6, 7.

² Rom. v. 7.

³ Eph. vi. 24.

⁴ Matt. v. 6, 7. ✓, ✓, ✓

⁵ Matt. vii. 24.

⁶ Acts xxvi. 29.

⁷ Rom. ii. 29.

especially if they make a fair show in the flesh, as the apostle speaks, are most esteemed; whereas in the mean time ‘the weightier matters of the law,’ the most concerning and substantial parts of religion, are passed over and disregarded by them, as being grievous to them, and no way for their turns, no way for their corrupt interests, fleshly ease, and worldly advantages. But God’s thoughts are not as their thoughts: the ‘circumcision which is of the heart, and in the spirit, is that whose praise is of God, though not of men¹’; and ‘that which is highly esteemed amongst men, is abomination in the sight of God².’

What I shall further observe concerning the author, is only this,

That he was eminent as well in those perfections which have most of divine worth and excellency in them, and rendered him a truly godlike man; as in those other perfections and accomplishments of the mind, which rendered him a very rational and learned man: and, withal, in the midst of all these great accomplishments, as eminent and exemplary in unaffected humility and true lowliness of mind. And herein he was like to Moses, that servant and friend of God, who was most ‘meek and lowly in heart’—as our Lord is also said to be³, in this, as in all other respects, greater than Moses who was *vir mitissimus*—‘above all the men which were upon the face of the earth⁴.’ And thus he excelled others as much in humility as he did in knowledge, in that thing which, though in a lesser degree in others, is apt to puff up and swell them with pride and self-conceit. But Moses was humble, though he was a person of brave parts—*φρονήματι γενναῖος*, as Josephus speaks of him⁵, and having had the advantages of a most ingenuous education, was admirably accomplished in the choicest parts of knowledge, and ‘learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians⁶’; whereby some of the ancients understood the mysterious hieroglyphical learning, natu-

¹ Rom. ii. 29.

² Luke xvi. 15.

³ Matt. xi. 29.

⁴ Numb. xii. 3.

⁵ Ὅντα δ’ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ Θέρμουθις παῖδα ποιεῖται, γονῆς γνησίας οὐ μεμοιραμένη. Καί ποτε κομίσασα τὸν Μωϋσῆν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἐπεδείκνυε τοῦτον, καὶ ὡς φροντίσειε διαδοχῆς, εἰ καὶ βουλῆσει Θεοῦ μὴ

τύχοι παιδὸς γνησίου· πρὸς αὐτὸν τε ἔλεγεν, “ἀναθρεψαμένη παῖδα μορφῇ τε θεῖον καὶ φρονήματι γενναῖον, θαυμασίως δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβοῦσα χάριτος, ἐμαντῆς μὲν ἡγησάμην παῖδα ποιήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ σῆς βασιλείας διάδοχον.” Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. II. 9, 7.

⁶ Acts vii. 21, 22.

ral philosophy, music, physic, and mathematics. And for this last, to omit the rest, how excellent this humble man, the author, was therein, did appear to those that heard him read a mathematic lecture in the schools for some years, and may appear hereafter to the reader, if those lectures can be recovered. To conclude: he was a plainhearted friend and Christian, one in whose spirit and mouth there was no guile—a profitable companion—nothing of vanity and triflingness in him, as there was nothing of sourness and stoicism. I can very well remember, when I have had private converse with him, how pertinently and freely he would speak to any matter proposed; how weighty, substantial, and clearly expressive of his sense his private discourses would be, and both for matter and language much of the same importance and value with such exercises as he studied for, and performed in public.

I have intimated some things concerning the author—much more might be added: but it needs not, there being, as I before insinuated, already drawn a fair and lively character of him by a worthy friend of his, in the sermon preached at his funeral; for the publishing whereof and annexing it (as now it is) to these discourses, he was importuned by letters from several hands, and prevailed with: wherein, if some part of the character should seem to have in it any thing of hyperbolism and strangeness, it must seem so to such only as either were unacquainted with him and strangers to his worth, or else find it a hard thing not to be envious, and a difficulty to be humble. But those that had a more inward converse with him, knew him to be one of those ‘of whom the world was not worthy¹,’ one of the ‘excellent ones in the earth²,’ a person truly exemplary in the temper and constitution of his spirit, and in the well-ordered course of his life; a life (as I remember Seneca doth express it somewhere in his epistles,) ‘all of one colour, every where like itself³’—and eminent in those things that are worthy of praise and imitation. And certainly a just representation of those excellences that shone in him, as also a faithful celebration of the like accomplishments in others, is doing honour to God, who is wonderful

¹ Heb. xi. 38.

² Psalm xvi. 3.

³ Facere docet philosophia, non dicere: et hoc exigit, ut ad legem suam

quisque vivat, ne orationi vita dissentiât, ut ipsa inter se vita unius, sine actionum dissensione, coloris sit. Senec. *Epist.* xx. (ed. Bouillet. Par. 1828.)

in His saints, if I may with some apply to this sense that in Psalm lxviii. 35, *Θαυμαστός ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ*—and it may be also of great use to others, particularly for awakening and obliging them to an earnest endeavouring after those heights and eminent degrees in grace and virtue and every worthy accomplishment, which by such examples they see to be possible and attainable through the assistance which the divine goodness is ready to afford those souls which ‘press toward the mark, and reach forth to those things that are before.’ The lives and examples of men eminently holy and useful in their generation, such as were *τύποι καλῶν ἔργων*, are ever to be valued by us as great blessings and favours from heaven, and to be considered as excellent helps to the advancement of religion in the world: and, therefore, there being before us these *εἰκόνες ἔμφυχοι*, as St Basil speaks, and a little afterwards in the same Epistle, such ‘living pictures, moving and active statues,’ fair ideas and lively patterns of what is most praiseworthy, lovely, and excellent; it should be our serious care that we be not, through an unworthy and lazy self-neglect, *exemplorum ingentium parvi imitatores*, to use Salvian’s expression¹: it should be our holy ambition to transcribe their virtues and excellences, ‘to make their noblest and best accomplishments our own by a constant endeavour after the greatest resemblance to them²,’ and by being ‘followers of them, as they were also of Christ,’ who is the fair and bright exemplar of all purity and holiness, the highest and most absolute pattern of whatsoever is lovely and excellent, and makes most for the accomplishing and perfecting of human nature.

Having observed some things concerning this edition and the author of these discourses, I proceed now, (which was the last thing intended in this Preface,) to observe something concerning the several discourses and treatises in this volume. And, indeed, some of these observations I ought not in justice to the author to pretermit: and all of them may be for the benefit of, at least, some readers.

¹ Ita ergo et nos exemplorum ingentium parvi imitatores ad vos...scribimus. Salvian, *Epist.* iv. (Migne, *Patrol. curs.*)

² οὕτω δεῖ καὶ τὸν ἐσπουδακότα ἑαυτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργάσασθαι

τέλειον, οἷον εἰ πρὸς ἀγάλματα τινα κινούμενα καὶ ἐμπρακτα τοὺς βίους τῶν ἁγίων ἀποβλέπειν, καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων ἀγαθὸν οἰκεῖον ποιεῖσθαι διὰ μιμήσεως. S. Basil, *Epist.* ii. § 3. (ed. Bened.)

The first discourse 'Concerning the true Way or Method of attaining Divine Knowledge, and an increase therein,' was intended by the author as a necessary introduction to the ensuing treatises; and, therefore, is the shorter: yet it contains, to use Plutarch's expression,—'excellent sense and solid matter, well beaten and compacted and lying close together in a little room¹,' many very seasonable observations for this age, wherein there is so much of fruitless notionalty, so little of the true Christian life and practice.

Shorter yet are the next two tracts 'On Superstition and Atheism,' which were also intended by the author to prepare the way for some of the following discourses upon which he purposed to enlarge his thoughts.

Yet as for that tract 'On Superstition,' some things that are but briefly intimated by the author therein, may receive a further explication from his other discourses, more especially from the eighth, viz. 'Of the Shortness and Vanity of a Pharisaical Righteousness, or An Account of the false Grounds upon which men are apt vainly to conceit themselves to be religious.' And, indeed, what the author writes concerning that more refined, that more close and subtile superstition, by which he understands the formal and specious sanctity and vain religion of Pharisaical Christians, who yet would seem to be very abhorrent from superstition, and are apt to call every thing Babylonish and antichristian that is not of their way—I say, what he writes concerning this in both these or any other discourses, he would frequently speak of, and that with authority and power. For, being possessed of the inward life and power of true holiness, he had a very strong and clear sense of what he spake, and therefore a great and just indignation, as against open and gross irreligion, so also against that vainglorious, slight, and empty sanctity of the spiritual Pharisees, who would, as our Saviour speaks of the old Pharisees², make void and very fairly disannul the commandments of God, the weightier things of religion, the indispensable concernments of Christianity; while, instead of an

¹ Καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος οὐ τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσειαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς Πινδάρου παιᾶνας, ἐπέγραψαν οἱ Ἀμφικτυόνες· ἀλλὰ τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν, καὶ το Μῆ-δὲν ἄγαν, καὶ τὸ Ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα-

θαυμάσαντες τῆς λέξεως τὸ εὐογκον καὶ τὸ λιτόν, ἐν βραχεὶ σφυρήλατον νοῦν περιεχούσης.—Plutarch, *De Garul.* 511 B.

² Mark vii.

inward, living righteousness, and entire obedience, they would substitute some external observances, and a mere outward, lifeless, and slight righteousness; and in the room of the new creature made after God, set up some creature of their own, made after their own image—a self-framed righteousness: they being strict in some things which have a show of wisdom and sanctity—things less necessary and more doubtful, and where the holy Scripture hath not placed the kingdom of God—but, in the mean time, loose and careless in their plain duty toward God and toward their neighbour, in things holy and divine, unquestionably just and good; yet, to make some compensation for their being deficient in things strictly and necessarily required, and primarily pleasing to God, and to excuse themselves, they would express a more than ordinary diligence and zeal in some easy and little things, as all the most specious observances of formal Christians are, and not worthy to be named with those great instances of ‘the power of godliness’—such as hearty and universal obedience, entire self-resignation, a being crucified to the world, plucking out of the right eye, and cutting off the right hand, mortification of the more dear and beloved sins, and the closer tendencies and inclinations to sin and vanity, and the like.

This is a short character of the Pharisaical and conceited righteousness; and in our author’s plain discovering of the thinness and slightness thereof, and free reproving of these false religionists, it appears that the same nobleness of mind and spirit was in him which was also in Christ Jesus, who never expressed Himself with so much vehemency and smartness, as when he was to reprove the Pharisees in His days¹—those patterns of formal Christians in all ages. For there is nothing more grievous to the sincerely religious soul than affectation and canting in religion; empty, though specious shows of sanctity; great pretendings to spirituality and higher degrees of grace; when, to the free-spirited and discerning Christian, it clearly appears that such boasters are but low and weak things, ‘unskilful’ and inexperienced ‘in the word’ and way ‘of righteousness²,’ and manifestly short of being plain moral men; and that they are sensual, having not the spirit, nor bringing forth

¹ Matt. xxiii.

² Heb. v. 13.

those lovely and well-relished fruits of the spirit, mentioned in Scripture¹, but, on the contrary, the corrupt fruits of the flesh grow out of their hearts, and ‘the works of the flesh’ there mentioned are manifested in them. So far are they from being ‘crucified’ and not alive ‘to the world, and the world to them’²; so far are they from having ‘crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts’³, that they do τὰ τῆς σαρκός and τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς φρονεῖν—mind and earnestly affect, savour and relish, the things of the flesh, and of the earth⁴; aspiring as much after power and greatness, as self-seeking and self-pleasing, as great lovers of themselves, loving the world and the things in the world, making haste to be rich, thirsting still after more of this world, pursuing worldly advantages and interests, with as much craft and policy, as much solicitude and eagerness, with as unsatisfied desires, as those do whom they call worldly and carnal. So of old the Gnostics called all others but themselves carnal and animal men: they only were πνευματικοί, others were ψυχικοί, and ὑλικοί, as Irenæus tells us⁵: whereas, in truth, none were more sensual, more unspiritual, than they who by their unevangelical lives were the great spots and blemishes of the Christian profession.

But to let these alone, and to return to the former, with whom our author had to do in both these treatises, and in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th chapters of his seventh treatise, I shall add this word of faithful admonition: ‘Be not deceived, God is not mocked’⁶—God will not be put off with empty pretences and Pharisaical appearances, how glorious and precious soever in the eyes of men. God will not be flattered with goodly praises, nor satisfied with words and notions, when the life and practice are a real contradiction to them. God will not be satisfied with a specious ‘form of godliness,’ when men under this form are ‘lovers of themselves, covetous, proud, high-minded, fierce, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God’⁷, and are manifestly under the power of these and the like spiritual, if not also fleshly, wickednesses. For the power of sin within can, it seems, easily agree and consist with the form of godliness without; but two such contrary powers as the power of godliness and the

¹ Gal. v. 22, 23.

² Gal. vi. 14.

³ Gal. v. 24.

⁴ Rom. viii. 5—13; Col. iii. 5—9.

⁵ Lib. i. cap. 6.

⁶ Gal. vi. 7.

⁷ 2 Tim. iii. 2—4.

power of sin—two such contrary kingdoms as the kingdom of the spirit and the kingdom of the flesh, which is made up of many petty and lesser principalities, of various lusts and pleasures, warring sometimes amongst themselves, but always confederate in warring against the soul¹—these so contrary powers and kingdoms cannot stand together, nor be established in one soul. Be wise now therefore, and be ye instructed, O ye sanctimonious Pharisees, ye blind leaders of the blind, and know the things that belong unto your peace: for the day of the Lord will come that shall burn as an oven, when all those fine coverings, wherewith men thought to hide their ungodlike dispositions, shall be torn from them and cast into the fire; and in this day shall even these ‘weak and beggarly elements’² melt with a fervent heat; and for hypocrites, all their paint shall then drop off, and their deformity shall appear: in this day all affected modes of religion shall be rendered despicable, and all disguises and artificial dresses, whereby false Christians thought to hide their crookednesses, shall be plucked off, and all things shall appear as they are. Verily, there is a God that judgeth in the earth: He will judge of men by other measures and rules than they used here, whereby they deceived themselves and others. God is for reality and truth. ‘He desireth truth in the inward parts’³, His delight is in sincere and single minds. It will then appear that ‘he that walketh uprightly, walketh surely’⁴; and that ‘he that doth the will of God, abideth for ever’⁵.

If what the author, out of great charity to the souls of men, has observed concerning these things were seriously considered and laid to heart, Christianity would then recover its reputation, and appear in its own primitive lustre and native loveliness, such as shone forth in the lives of those first and best Christians, who were Christians in good earnest—*ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ*,—and were distinguished from all other men in excelling and outshining them in whatsoever things were ‘true, venerable, just, pure, lovely, and of good report’⁶. Then would the true power of godliness manifest itself; which signifies infinitely more than a power to dispute with heat and vehemency about

¹ Titus iii. 3.

² Gal. iv. 9.

³ Ps. li. 6.

⁴ Prov. x. 9.

⁵ 1 John ii. 17.

⁶ Phil. iv. 8.

some opinions, or to discourse volubly about some matters in religion, and in such forms of words as are taking with the weak and unskilful; more than a power to pray without a form of words; for these and the like may be, and frequently are, done by the formal and unspiritual Christian; more than a power to deny themselves in some things that are easy to part with, and do not much cross their inclinations, their self-will, their corrupt designs and interests, nor prejudice their dear and more beloved lusts and pleasures, their profitable and advantageous sins; and more than a power to observe some lesser and easier commands, or to perform an outward obedience arising out of slavish fear, void of inward life and love, and a complacency in the law of God—of which temper our author discourses at large. For concerning such cheap and little strictnesses as these it may be inquired, ‘What do you more than others? Do not even Publicans and Pharisees the same?’—*τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε*; ‘what excellent and extraordinary thing do you? what hard or difficult thing do you perform, such as may deserve to be thought a worthy instance and real manifestation of the power of godliness? except such things are to be accounted hard or extraordinary, which are common to the real and to the formal Christian, and are performable by unregenerate and natural men, and are no peculiar characters of regeneration.’ No; these and the like performances by which such religionists would set off themselves, are but poor and inconsiderable things, if compared with the mighty acts and noble achievements of the more excellent, though less ostentatious, Christians, who, through faith in the goodness and power of God, have been ‘enabled to do all things through Christ, knowing both how to abound, and how to be abased²,’ &c.—enabled to overcome the world without them, and the love of the world within them; enabled to overcome themselves; and for a man ‘to rule his own spirit’ is a greater instance of power and valour than ‘to take a city,’ as Solomon judgeth³; enabled to resist the powers of darkness, and to quit themselves like men and good soldiers of Jesus Christ, giving many signal overthrows to those lusts that war against their souls, and to the mightiest and strongest of them, the sons of Anak: and, by engaging in the hardest services of

¹ Matt. v. 46, 47.

² Phil. iv. 12, 13.

³ Prov. xvi. 32.

this spiritual warfare, wherein the Pharisaical boasters dare not follow them, they show that there is a spirit of power in them, and that they can do more than others. These are some of the exploits of strong and healthful Christians; and, for the encouraging of them in these conflicts, which shall end in glorious conquests and joyous triumphs, the author hath, in the tenth and last discourse, suggested what is worthy our consideration.

But I must not forget that there remains something to be observed concerning some other treatises: and, having been so large in the last observation, (which was not unnecessary, the world abounding, and ever having abounded, with spiritual Pharisees,) I shall be shorter in the rest. And now, to proceed to the next, which is 'Of Atheism.' This discourse, being but preparatory to the ensuing tracts, is short; yet I would remind the reader, that what is more briefly handled here, may be supplied and further cleared out of the fifth discourse, viz. 'Of the Existence and Nature of God;' of which, if the former part seem more speculative, subtile, and metaphysical, yet the latter, and greater part, containing several 'Deductions and Inferences from the Consideration of the Divine Nature and Attributes,' is less obscure and more practical, as it clearly directs us to the best, though not much observed, way of glorifying God, and being made happy and blessed by a participation and resemblance to Him; and as it plainly directs a man to such apprehensions of God as are apt and powerful to beget in him the noblest and dearest love to God, the sweetest delight, and the most peaceful confidence in Him.

One thing more I would observe to the reader concerning the discourse on Atheism; and the same I would desire to be observed also concerning the next, that large treatise 'On the Immortality of the Soul'—especially of the former part thereof; and it is shortly this, that the author in these treatises pursues his discourse with a particular reflection on the dogmas and notions of Epicurus and his followers, especially that great admirer of him, Lucretius, whose principles are here particularly examined and refuted. These were the men whose opinions our author had to combat with: he lived not to see Atheism so closely and craftily insinuated, nor did he live to see Sadducism and Epicurism so boldly owned and industriously propagated, as

they have been of late by some, who being heartily desirous that there were no God, no Providence, no reward nor punishment after this life, take upon them to deride the notion of spirit, or incorporeal substance, the existence of separate souls, and the life to come; and, by infusing into men's minds opinions contrary to these fundamental principles of religion, they have done that which manifestly tends to the overthrow of all religion, the destruction of morality and virtuous living, the debauching of mankind, the consuming and eating out of any good principle left in the conscience, which doth testify for God and goodness, and against sin and wickedness, and to the defacing and expunging of the law written in men's hearts¹; and so the holy apostle judges of the Epicurean notions and discourses, a taste of which he gives in that passage, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die²,' and then there is an end of all, no other life or state, and he expresseth his judgment concerning the evil and dangerousness of these doctrines and their teachers, partly in a verse out of Menander, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners³,' and in what he subjoins, (ver. 34,) besides many other passages in this chapter in opposition to the doctrine of the Sadducees and Epicureans: and to the same purpose he speaks concerning those that denied the doctrine of the resurrection or any future state, and the life to come⁴. The sum and substance of the apostle's judgment concerning these Epicurean principles is plainly this; that these principles properly and powerfully tend to the corrupting of men's minds and lives, to the advancement of irreligion and immorality in the world; that they are no benign principles of piety and a good life. It is true, that some of the more wary and considerate modern Epicureans may express some care to live inoffensively, and to keep out of danger, and to maintain a reputation in the world as to their converse with others; (and herein they mind their worldly interests and the advantages of this present life, the only life which they have in their eye;) they may also express a care in avoiding what is prejudicial to health and a long life in this world; but all this is short of a true and noble love of goodness; and if, in these men, there be any appearance of what is good

¹ This was of old confessed, and boasted of by Lucretius more than once in his poems. Orig. ed.

² 1 Cor. xv. 32.

³ Φθείρουσιν ἡθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλῶν κακῶν.

⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17, 18.

and praiseworthy, they would have been really better, if they had been of other principles, and had believed in their hearts that there is a Providence, a future state, and a life to come, and had lived agreeably to the truths of the Christian philosophy, which do more ennoble and accomplish, and every way better a man, than the principles of the Epicurean sect. But to return: we have before observed that our author, in these two treatises, pursued his design in opposition to the master-notions and chief principles of Epicurus and Lucretius of old: I shall only add this, that if any of this sect in our days has done more than revive and repeat those principles; if any such has superadded any thing of any seeming force and moment to the pretensions of the old Epicureans mentioned in these tracts, the reader may find it particularly spoken to, and fully answered, by one whom our author highly esteemed—Mr Henry More, in his late treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, and in another discourse entitled, ‘An Antidote against Atheism,’ and in the appendix thereunto annexed.

I pass on to the discourse ‘On Prophecy,’ which, as it cost the author more pains, I believe, than any of the others, it containing many considerable inquiries in an argument not commonly treated of, and more than vulgar observations out of ancient Jewish writers, so did it, together with the former part of the next discourse, require more labour to prepare it for the press and the benefit of the reader, than any of the other tracts, by reason of the many quotations, especially the Hebrew ones, to be examined: in the perusing of which there would sometimes occur a dubious and dark expression, and then I thought it safest to confer with our Hebrew Professor, Dr Cudworth, for whom the author had always a great affection and respect.

It is true, this elaborate treatise is of a more speculative nature than any of the rest, yet is it also useful, and contains sundry observations not only of light and knowledge, but also of use and practice. For, besides that in this treatise, several passages of Scripture are illustrated out of Jewish monuments—which is no small instance of its usefulness—there are two chapters, to name no more, viz. the fourth and the eighth, the longest in this treatise, which more particularly relate to practice, and might be, if well considered, available to the bettering

of some men's manners. The matter of the fourth chapter, treating of 'the Difference between the true Prophetical Spirit and Enthusiastical Impostures,' is seasonably useful, and of no small importance. Not to mention any later experiments and proofs how powerful such enthusiastical impostures have been to disquiet and endanger several parts of Christendom, it appears by good history, and the event is yet apparent, how strangely that political enthusiast, Mahomet, has befooled a very great part of the world by his pretensions to being inspired and taught by the Divine Spirit whispering in his ear, by his epileptical fits, pretended visions and revelations. Thus Mahomet's dove hath as wonderfully prevailed in the world, as of old the Roman eagles: although yet, which may abate our wondering at this success, this imposturous and pretendedly-inspired doctrine was not propagated and promoted with a dove-like spirit, but with force of arms; Mahometanism cut out its way by the sword, the worst instrument for propagating religion; to say nothing of the advantages it had from its compliance with flesh and blood, and a sensual life, and from the ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism of that people to whom that impure prophet communicated his Alcoran—a people capable of any doctrine, how absurd and irrational soever. Whereas Christianity was at first promoted, and made its way in the world, by methods more innocent and worthy of the doctrine of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, that true and great Prophet, of whom the voice from heaven was, 'Hear ye Him':¹ after whose revelation of the counsel and will of God to man, there is not to be expected any new, and by Him unrevealed doctrine, as pertaining to life and godliness, and necessary to salvation. Neither is the eighth chapter, treating of 'the Dispositions preparatory to Prophecy,' without its usefulness; there being an easy appliableness of what is contained therein to such as are pretenders to prophesying, according to the more general importance of that word; and it may be both a just reproof and a sober advice to those who, being full of themselves, swelled with self-conceit, and puffed up with an opinion of their own knowledge and abilities—which yet is but a windy and vain knowledge², a knowledge falsely so called³, and being wise and

¹ Matt. xvii. 5. See also Acts iii. 22.
Deut. xviii. 15.

² דַּעַת רֵיחַ Job xv. 2.

³ 1 Tim. vi. 4.

righteous in their own eyes, take upon them to be most talkative and dogmatical, pert and magisterial, 'Desiring to be teachers, although they understand neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm¹;' and therefore modesty and sparingness of speech, and swiftness to hear, would better become such than empty confidence and talkativeness, and a pouring out of words without knowledge, λέξεων μὲν ποταμός, νοῦ δὲ σταλαγμός for, indeed, this is the true account of these men and their performances, the weakness and insignificancy of which, notwithstanding the strong voice and loud noise of the speakers, are easily discerned by those who in understanding are men, and have put away childish things².

What I would further intimate concerning this treatise on Prophecy, is briefly this; that though it be one of the largest treatises in this volume, yet there are some parts and passages in it which I think the author would have more enlarged and filled up, had he not hastened to that which, according to the method designed by him, he calls The Third Great Principle of Religion. But of this I have given an account in an Advertisement at the end of this treatise, as also of the adjoining next to it.

The discourse 'On the Legal and the Evangelical Righteousness,' &c., is as much practical as the former was speculative. Nor was the composing of that treatise more painful to the author, than the elaborating of this, at least the former half of this, wherein the author has traversed—*loca nullius ante trita solo*³—the more unknown records and monuments of Jewish authors, for the better stating of the Jewish notion of 'the Righteousness of the Law;' the clearing of which, in the second and third chapters, as also the settling of the difference between 'that Righteousness which is of the Law, and that which is of Faith—between the Old and the New Covenant,' and the 'Account of the Nature of Justification and Divine Acceptance,' &c., are all of them of no small use and consequence; but, together with the Appendix to this tract, made up of certain brief but comprehensive observations, they offer to the reader what is not unworthy of his serious consideration.

Of the eighth discourse, showing 'the Vanity of a Pharisaical

¹ 1 Tim. i. 7.

² 1 Cor. xiii. 11.

³ Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante Trita solo. Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* 1. 926.

Righteousness, or godliness falsely so called,' I have spoken before.

The next discourse, largely treating of the 'Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion and Holiness,' shows the author's mind to have been not slightly tinctured and washed over with religion, but rather to have been double-dyed, thoroughly imbued, and coloured with that *generosum honestum*, as the Satirist not unfitly styles it,—*incoctum generoso pectus honesto*¹. But the author's life and actions spake no less; and, indeed, there is no language so fully expressive of a man as the language of his deeds. Those that were thoroughly acquainted with him, knew well, that as there was in him, as it was said of Solomon, 'a largeness and vastness of heart and understanding'², so there was also in him 'a free, ingenuous, noble spirit'³, most abhorrent from what was sordid and unworthy; and this πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικόν, as the LXX translate that Hebrew, is the genuine product of religion in that soul where it is suffered to rule, and, as St James speaks of patience, 'to have her perfect work'⁴. The style in this tract may seem more raised and sublime than in the other, which might be perhaps from the nature and quality of the subject matter, apt to heighten expressions; but yet in this, as in the other tracts, it is free from the vanity of affectation, which a mind truly ennobled by religion cannot stoop to, as counting it a pedantic business, and a certain argument of a poorness and weakness of spirit in either the writer or speaker.

But if in this tract the style seem more magnificent, yet in the tenth and last discourse, viz. 'Of a Christian's Conflicts and Conquests,' it is most familiar. The matter of it is very useful and practical: for as it more fully and clearly acquaints a Christian with the more dangerous and unseen methods of Satan's activity, concerning which the notions and conceptions of many men are discovered here to be very short and imperfect; so it also acquaints him with such principles as are available to beget in him the greatest courage, spirit, and resolution against the

¹ Quin damus id superis, de magna
quod dare lance

Non possit magni Messalæ lippa
propago,

Compositum jus fasque animo, sanc-
tosque recessus

Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus
honesto.

Pers. Sat. II. 71—74.

² רָחֵב לֵב 1 Kings iv. 29.

³ רֵיחַ נְדִיבָה Psal. li. 12.

⁴ James i. 4.

day of battle, chasing away all lazy faintheartedness and despair of victory. This for the matter. The style is, as I said, most familiar. This discourse was delivered in public at Huntingdon, where one of Queens' College is every year, on March 25th, to preach a sermon against witchcraft, diabolical contracts, &c. I shall only add this, that when he preached in lesser country auditories, particularly at Achurch, near Oundle in Northamptonshire, the place of his nativity, as it was his care to preach upon arguments of most practical concernment, so was it also his desire and endeavour to accommodate his expressions to ordinary vulgar capacities; being studious to be understood, and not to be ignorantly wondered at by amusing the people either with high unnecessary speculations, or with hard words and vain ostentations of scholastic learning, the low design of some, that by such arts would gain a poor respect to themselves; for such, and no better, is all that stupid respect which is not founded upon knowledge and judgment: he was studious, I say, there to speak unto men *οικοδομήν*, edification, and *εὔσημον λόγον*, what was significant and easy to be understood¹, as the apostle doth phrase it, and to express his mind in a way suitable to the apprehensions of popular auditories. And as for the discourses now published, they also were delivered (being College exercises) in a way not less suitable to that auditory: and therefore it may not be thought strange, if sometimes they seem for matter and style more remote from vulgar capacities. Yet even in these discourses, what is most practical, is more easily intelligible by every honest-hearted Christian. And, indeed, that the whole might be made more familiar and easy, and more accommodated to the use of any such, I thought it would be very expedient to cast the discourses into chapters, and, before every chapter, to propose to the reader's view the full scope, sense, and strength of the principal matters contained therein: and I could willingly have spared such a labour, the greater, when busied about the notions and conceptions of another, and not our own, if I had not conceived it to be greatly helpful and beneficial to some readers: besides another advantage to them hereby, viz. That they may the more easily find out and select any such particular matters in these discourses, as they shall think most fit or desirable for their perusal.

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 9.

Thus have I given the reader some account of what seemed fit to be observed concerning these ten discourses, which now present themselves to his free and candid judgment. And now if, in the reading of these tracts, enriched with arguments of great variety, there should occur any passage wherein either he or I may ἐπέχειν, it need not be a matter of wonder; for what book, besides that book of books, the Bible, has not something in it that speaks the author man? It would not have displeased our author in his lifetime to have been thought less than infallible. He was not φίλαυτος—he was no fond self-admirer, nor was he desirous that others should have his person, his opinion and judgment, in admiration: he was far from the humour of magisterial dictating to others, not ambitious ‘to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi,’ as were and are the old and the modern Pharisees; nor of the number of those who are inwardly transported and tickled, when others applaud their judgment, and receive their dictates with the greatest veneration and respect; but very peevish and sour, disturbed and out of order, when any shall express themselves dissatisfied and otherwise minded, or go about modestly to discover their mistakes. No; he was truly φιλαλήθης—a lover of truth, and of peace and charity. He loved an ingenuous and sober freedom of spirit, the generous Berean-like temper and practice, agreeable to the apostle’s prudent and faithful advice, of ‘proving all things, and holding fast that which is good.’ But to return: it is possible that some passages in these tracts which seem dubious, may, upon a patient considering of them, if the reader be unprejudiced, and one of a clear mind and heart, gain his assent; and what upon the first reading seems obscure and less grateful, may, upon another view, and further thoughts, clear up, and be thought worthy of all acceptance. It is not with the fair representations and pictures of the mind as with other pictures; these of the mind show best the nearer they are viewed, and the longer the intellectual eye dwells upon them.

There is only one thing more which I ought not to forget to remind the reader of, and it is shortly this—that he would please to remember that the tracts now published are posthumous works: and then affording that charity, candour, and fair

¹ Matt. xxiii. 7.

² 1 Thess. v. 21.

respect, which is commonly allowed to such works of worthy men, I doubt not but he will judge them too good to have been buried in obscurity; although it is likely, if the author himself had revised them in his lifetime with an intent to present them to public view, they would have received from his happy hand some further polishing and enlargements. He could have easily obliged the world with other discourses of as valuable importance, if he had lived, and been so minded. But it pleased the only wise God, in whose hand our breath is, to call for him home to the spirits of just men made perfect, after He had lent him to this unworthy world for about five and thirty years. A short life his was, if we measure it by so many years; but if we consider the great ends of life and being in the world, which he fulfilled in his generation, his great accomplishments qualifying him for eminent service, and accompanied with as great a readiness to approve himself a good and faithful servant to his gracious Lord and Master in heaven, his life was not to be accounted short, but long; and we may justly say of him what is said by the author of the Book of Wisdom concerning Enoch, that great exemplar of holiness, and the shortest lived of the patriarchs before the flood, for he lived but three hundred and sixty-five years, as many years as there are days in one year: 'He being consummated in a short time, fulfilled a long time¹.' For, as the same author doth well express it in some preceding verses, 'Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that which is measured by number of years: but wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age².'

Thus much for the papers now published. There are some other pieces of this author's, both English and Latin, which may make another considerable volume, especially if some papers of his, in other hands, can be retrieved. For my particular, I shall wish and endeavour that not the least fragment of his may be concealed, which his friends shall think worthy of publishing: and I think all such fragments being gathered up may fitly be brought together under the title of Miscellanies. If others who have any of his papers shall please to communicate them, I doubt not but that there will be found in some of his friends a readiness to publish them with all due care and faithfulness.

¹ Τελειωθεὶς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐπλήρωσε χρόνους μακροῦς. Wisd. iv. 13.

² Ibid. iv. 8, 9.

Or, if they shall think good to do it themselves, and publish them apart, I would desire and hope that they would bestow that labour and diligence about the preparing them for public view and use, as may testify their respect both to the reader's benefit, and the honour of the author's memory.

And now that this volume is finished through the good guidance and assistance of God, the Father of lights and the Father of mercies, whose rich goodness and grace in enabling me both 'to will and to do¹,' and to continue patiently in so doing, notwithstanding the many tedious difficulties accompanying such kind of labour, I desire humbly to acknowledge; now that the several papers are brought together in this collection to their due and proper places, as it was said of the bones scattered in the valley, that 'they came together, bone to his bone²,' what remains but that the Lord of life—He who 'giveth to all things life and breath³,'—be with all earnestness and humility implored, that He would please to put breath into these, otherwise dry, bones, that they may live; that besides this paper-life, which is all that man can give to these writings, they may have a living form and vital energy within us; that the practical truths contained in these discourses may not be unto us a dead letter, but spirit and life? That 'he who teacheth us to profit⁴,' would prosper these papers for the attainment of all those good ends to which they are designed; that it would please the God of all grace to remove all darkness and prejudice from the mind and heart of any reader, and whatsoever would hinder the fair reception of truth; that the reader may have an inward, practical, and feeling knowledge of 'the doctrine which is according to godliness⁵,' and live a life worthy of that knowledge, is the prayer of

His Servant in Christ Jesus,

JOHN WORTHINGTON.

CAMBRIDGE,

December 22, 1659.

¹ Phil. ii. 13.

² Ezek. xxxvii. 7.

³ Acts xvii. 25.

⁴ Isa. xlviii. 17.

⁵ 1 Tim. vi. 3.



CONTENTS.

DISCOURSE I.

ON THE TRUE WAY OR METHOD OF ATTAINING DIVINE KNOWLEDGE.

SECTION I.

PAGE

That divine things are to be understood rather by a spiritual sensation than a verbal description, or mere speculation. Sin and wickedness prejudicial to true knowledge. That purity of heart and life, as also an ingenuous freedom of judgment, are the best grounds and preparations for the entertainment of truth. 1

SECTION II.

An objection against the method of knowing laid down in the former section, answered. That men generally, notwithstanding their apostasy, are furnished with the radical principles of true knowledge. Men want not so much means of knowing what they ought to do, as wills to do what they know. Practical knowledge differs from all other knowledge, and excels it 13

SECTION III.

Men may be considered in a fourfold capacity in order to the perception of divine things. That the best and most excellent knowledge of divine things belongs only to the true and sober Christian; and that it is but in its infancy while he is in this earthly body 17

DISCOURSE II.

ON, SUPERSTITION.

The true notion of superstition well expressed by Δεισιδαιμονία, i. e. 'an over-timorous and dreadful apprehension of the Deity.'—A false opinion of the Deity the true cause and rise of superstition.—Superstition is most incident to such as converse not with the goodness of God, or are conscious to themselves of their own unlikeness to Him.—Right

apprehensions of God beget in man a nobleness and freedom of soul. Superstition, though it looks upon God as an angry Deity, yet counts Him easily pleased with flattering worship. Apprehensions of a Deity and guilt meeting together are apt to excite fear. Hypocrites, to spare their sins, seek out ways to compound with God. Servile and superstitious fear is increased by ignorance of the certain causes of terrible effects in nature, &c., as also by frightful apparitions of ghosts and spectres. A further consideration of superstition, as a composition of fear and flattery. A fuller definition of superstition, according to the sense of the ancients. Superstition does not always appear in the same form, but passes from one form to another, and sometimes shrouds itself under forms seemingly spiritual and more refined

25

DISCOURSE III.

ON ATHEISM.

That there is a near affinity between atheism and superstition. That superstition does not only prepare the way for atheism, but promotes and strengthens it. That Epicurism is but atheism under a mask. A confutation of the master-notion of Epicurus, together with some other pretences and dogmas of his sect. That true knowledge of nature is advantageous to religion. That superstition is more tolerable than atheism. That atheism is both ignoble and uncomfortable. What low and unworthy notions the Epicureans had concerning man's happiness: and what trouble they were put to, how to define, and where to place true happiness. A true belief of a Deity supports the soul with a present tranquillity and future hopes. Were it not for a Deity, the world would be uninhabitable. . . .

41

DISCOURSE IV.

ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

CHAPTER I.

The first and main principles of religion, viz. 1. That God is. 2. That God is a rewarder of them that seek Him: wherein is included the great article of the Immortality of the Soul. These two principles acknowledged by religious and serious persons in all ages. 3. That God communicates Himself to mankind by Christ. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul discoursed of in the first place, and why . . .

59

CHAPTER II.

Some considerations preparatory to the proof of the soul's immortality . . 63

CHAPTER III.

The first argument for the immortality of the soul. That the soul of man is not corporeal. The gross absurdities upon the supposition that the soul is a complex of fluid atoms, or that it is made up by a fortuitous concourse of atoms: which is Epicurus' notion concerning body. The principles and dogmas of the Epicurean philosophy in opposition to the immaterial and incorporeal nature of the soul, asserted by Lucretius; but discovered to be false and insufficient. That motion cannot arise from body or matter. Nor can the power of sensation arise from matter; much less can reason. That all human knowledge hath not its rise from sense. The proper function of sense, and that it is never deceived. An addition of three considerations for the enforcing of this first argument, and further clearing the immateriality of the soul. That there is in man a faculty which, 1. Controls sense: and, 2. Collects and unites all the perceptions of our several senses. 3. That memory and prevision are not explicable upon the supposition of matter and motion 69

CHAPTER IV.

The second argument for the immortality of the soul. Actions either automatical or spontaneous. That spontaneous and illicit actions evidence the distinction of the soul from the body. The evasion of Lucretius very slight and weak. That the liberty of the will is inconsistent with the Epicurean principles. That the conflict of reason against the sensitive appetite argues a being in us superior to matter 86

CHAPTER V.

The third argument for the immortality of the soul. That mathematical notions argue the soul to be of a truly spiritual and immaterial nature 93

CHAPTER VI.

The fourth argument for the immortality of the soul. That those clear and stable ideas of truth which are in man's mind, evince an immortal and immaterial substance residing in us, distinct from the body. The soul more knowable than the body. Some passages out of Plotinus and Proclus for the further confirming of this argument . . . 97

CHAPTER VII.

What it is that, beyond the highest and most subtile speculations whatsoever, does clear and evidence to a good man the immortality of his soul. That true goodness and virtue beget the most raised sense of this immortality. The excellent discourse of Plotinus to this purpose . 102

CHAPTER VIII.

- An appendix, containing an inquiry into the sense and opinion of Aristotle concerning the immortality of the soul. That, according to him, the rational soul is separable from the body, and immortal. The true meaning of his intellectus agens and patiens* 107

CHAPTER IX.

- A main difficulty concerning the immortality of the soul—viz. The strong sympathy of the soul with the body—answered. An answer to another inquiry, viz. Under what account impressions derived from the body do fall in morality* 114

DISCOURSE V.

ON THE EXISTENCE AND NATURE OF GOD.

CHAPTER I.

- That the best way to know God is by an attentive reflection upon our own souls. God more clearly and lively pictured upon the souls of men, than upon any part of the sensible world* 127

CHAPTER II.

- How the contemplation of our own souls, and a right reflection upon the operations thereof, may lead us into the knowledge of, 1. The divine unity and omniscience; 2. God's omnipotence; 3. The divine love and goodness; 4. God's eternity; 5. His omnipresence; 6. The divine freedom and liberty* 130

CHAPTER III.

- How the consideration of those restless motions of our wills after some supreme and infinite good, leads us into the knowledge of a Deity* 138

CHAPTER IV.

DEDUCTIONS AND INFERENCES FROM THE CONSIDERATION OF THE DIVINE NATURE AND ATTRIBUTES.

1. *That all divine productions are the free effluzes of Omnipotent love and goodness. The true notion of God's glory what it is. Men very apt to mistake in this point. God needs not the happiness or misery of His creatures to make Himself glorious. God does most glorify Himself by communicating Himself: we most glorify God when we most partake of Him, and resemble Him most* 143

CHAPTER V.

A SECOND DEDUCTION.

2. *That all things are supported and governed by an Almighty wisdom and goodness. An answer to an objection made against the Divine Providence from an unequal distribution of things here below. Such quarrelling with Providence ariseth from a pedantic and carnal notion of good and evil* 147

CHAPTER VI.

A THIRD DEDUCTION.

3. *That all true happiness consists in a participation of God, arising out of the assimilation and conformity of our souls to Him; and, that the most real misery ariseth out of the apostasy of souls from God. No enjoyment of God without our being made like to Him. The happiness and misery of man defined and stated, with the original and foundation of both* 150

CHAPTER VII.

A FOURTH DEDUCTION.

4. *The fourth deduction acquaints us with the true notion of the Divine Justice; That the proper scope and design of it, is to preserve righteousness, to promote and encourage true goodness. That it does not primarily intend punishment, but only takes it up as a means to prevent transgression. True justice never supplants any that itself may appear glorious in their ruin. How Divine Justice is most advanced* 153

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIFTH AND LAST DEDUCTION.

5. *That seeing there is such an intercourse and society, as it were, between God and men, therefore there is also some law between them, which is the bond of all communion. The primitive rules of God's economy in this world, not the sole results of an absolute will, but the sacred decrees of reason and goodness. God could not design to make us sinful or miserable. Of the law of nature embosomed in man's soul. How it obliges man to love and obey God, and to express a godlike spirit and life in this world. All souls the offspring of God; but holy souls manifest themselves to be, and are more peculiarly, the children of God* 156

CHAPTER IX.

- An appendix concerning the reason of positive laws* 160

CHAPTER X.

The conclusion of this treatise concerning the existence and nature of God, shewing how our knowledge of God comes to be so imperfect in this state, while we are here in this terrestrial body. Two ways observed by Plotinus, whereby this body does prejudice the soul in her operations. That the better philosophers and more contemplative Jews did not deny the existence of all kinds of body in the other state. What is meant by Zoroaster's εἶδωλον ψυχῆς. What kind of knowledge of God cannot be attained to in this life. What is meant by flesh and blood, 1 Cor. xv. 50 163

✓

DISCOURSE VI.

ON PROPHECY.

CHAPTER I.

That prophecy is the way whereby revealed truth is dispensed and conveyed to us. Man's mind capable of conversing and being acquainted as well with revealed or positive truth, as with natural truth. Truths of natural inscription may be excited in us and cleared to us by means of prophetic influence. That the Scripture frequently accommodates itself to vulgar apprehension, and speaks of things in the greatest way of condescension 171

CHAPTER II.

That the prophetic spirit did not always manifest itself with the same clearness and evidence. The gradual difference of divine illumination between Moses, the Prophets, and the Hagiographi. A general survey of the nature of prophecy, properly so called. Of the joint impressions and operations of the understanding and fancy in prophecy. Of the four degrees of prophecy. The difference between a vision and a dream 178

CHAPTER III.

How the prophetic dreams did differ from all other kinds of dreams recorded in Scripture. This further illustrated out of several passages of Philo Judeus pertinent to this purpose 186

CHAPTER IV.

A large account of the difference between the true prophetic spirit and enthusiastical impostures. That the pseudo-prophetic spirit is seated only in the imaginative powers and faculties inferior to reason. That Plato and other wise men had a very low opinion of this spirit, and of the gift of divination, and of consulting the

oracles. *That the true prophetic spirit seats itself as well in the rational as in the sensitive powers, and that it never alienates the mind, but informs and enlightens it. This further cleared by several testimonies from Gentile and Christian writers of old. An account of those fears and consternations which often seized upon the prophets. How the prophets perceived when the prophetic influx seized upon them. The different evidence and energy of the true and the false prophetic spirit* 193

CHAPTER V.

An inquiry concerning the immediate efficient that represented the prophetic visions to the fancy of the prophet. That these representations were made in the prophet's fancy by some angel. This cleared by several passages out of the Jewish monuments, and by testimonies of Scripture 215

CHAPTER VI.

The second inquiry, What the meaning of those actions is that are frequently attributed to the prophets, whether they were real, or only imaginary and scenical. What actions of the prophets were only imaginary and performed upon the stage of fancy. What we are to think of several actions and res gestæ recorded of Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, in their prophecies 227

CHAPTER VII.

Of that degree of divine inspiration properly called Ruach hakkodesh, i. e. the Holy Spirit. The nature of it described out of Jewish antiquities. Wherein this Spiritus Sanctus differed from prophecy strictly so called, and from the spirit of holiness in purified souls. What books of the Old Testament were ascribed by the Jews to Ruach hakkodesh. Of the Urim and Thummim 237

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the dispositions antecedent and preparatory to prophecy. That the qualifications which did fit a man for the prophetic spirit were such as these, viz. Inward piety, true wisdom, a pacate and serene temper of mind, and a due cheerfulness of spirit; in opposition to viciousness, mental crazedness and inconsistency, unsubdued passions, black melancholy and dull sadness. This illustrated by several instances in Scripture. That music was greatly advantageous to the prophets and holy men of God, &c. What is meant by Saul's evil spirit 249

CHAPTER IX.

Of the sons or disciples of the prophets. An account of several schools of prophetic education, as at Naioth in Rama, at Jerusalem, Jericho,

	PAGE
<i>Gilgal, &c. Several passages in the historical books of Scripture pertinent to this argument explained</i>	261

CHAPTER X.

<i>Of Bath Kol, i. e. Filia Vocis: That it succeeded in the room of prophecy: That it was by the Jews counted the lowest degree of revelation. What places in the New Testament are to be understood of it</i>	268
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

<i>Of the highest degree of divine inspiration, viz. the Mosaical. Four differences between the divine revelations made to Moses, and to the rest of the prophets. How the doctrine of men prophetically inspired is to approve itself by miracles, or by its reasonableness. The sympathy and agreeableness between a holy mind and divine truth</i>	272
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

<i>When the prophetical spirit ceased in the Jewish church. The cessation of prophecy noted as a famous epocha by the Jews. The restoring of the prophetical spirit by Christ. Some passages to this purpose in the New Testament explained. When the prophetical spirit ceased in the Christian Church. That it did not continue long, proved by several testimonies of the ancient writers</i>	278
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

<i>Some rules and observations concerning prophetical writ in general</i>	284
---	-----

DISCOURSE VII.

ON LEGAL AND EVANGELICAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

CHAPTER I.

<i>The introduction, showing what it is to have a right knowledge of divine truth, and what it is that is either available or prejudicial to the true Christian knowledge and life</i>	299
--	-----

CHAPTER II.

<i>An inquiry into that Jewish notion of a legal righteousness, which is opposed by St Paul. That their notion of it was such at this, viz. That the law externally dispensed to them, though it were as a dead letter, merely without them, and conjoined with the power of their own free-will, was sufficient to procure them acceptance with God, and to acquire merit enough to purchase eternal life, perfection and</i>	
--	--

happiness. That this their notion had these two grounds; First, An opinion of their own self-sufficiency, and that their free-will was so absolute and perfect, as that they needed not that God should do any thing for them, but only furnish them with some law about which to exercise this innate power. That they asserted such a freedom of will as might be to them a foundation of merit . . . 302

CHAPTER III.

The second ground of the Jewish notion of a legal righteousness, viz. That the law delivered to them on mount Sinai was a sufficient dispensation from God, and all that needed to be done by Him to bring them to perfection and happiness: and that the scope of their law was nothing but to afford them several ways and means of merit. The opinion of the Jewish writers concerning merit, and the reward due to the works of the law. Their distinguishing of men in order to merit and demerit into three sorts, viz. perfectly righteous, perfectly wicked, and a middle sort betwixt these. The mercenary and low spirit of the Jewish religion. An account of what the Cabalists held in this point of legal righteousness . . . 311

CHAPTER IV.

The second inquiry concerning the evangelical righteousness, or the righteousness of faith, and the true difference between the law and the gospel, the old and the new covenant, as it is laid down by the apostle Paul. A more general answer to this inquiry, together with a general observation of the apostle's main end in opposing faith to the works of the law, viz. To beat down the Jewish proud conceit of merit. A more particular and distinct answer to the inquiry, viz. That the law, or old covenant, is considered only as an external administration, a dead thing in itself, a dispensation consisting in an outward and written law of precepts: but the gospel, or new covenant, is an internal thing, a vital form and principle of righteousness in the souls of men, an inward manifestation of divine life, and a living impression upon the minds and spirits of men. This proved from several testimonies of Scripture . . . 323

CHAPTER V.

Two propositions for the better understanding of the doctrine of justification and divine acceptance. 1. Prop. That the divine judgment and estimation of every thing is according to the truth of the thing; and God's acceptance or disacceptance of things is suitable to His judgment. On what account St James does attribute a kind of justification to good works. 2. Prop. God's justifying of sinners, in pardoning their sins, carries in it a necessary reference to the sanctifying of their natures. This abundantly proved from the nature of the thing . . . 341

CHAPTER VI.

How the gospel-righteousness is conveyed to us by faith, made to appear from these two considerations. 1. The gospel lays a strong foundation of a cheerful dependence upon the grace and love of God, and affiance in it. This confirmed by several gospel expressions containing plainly in them the most strong motives and encouragements to all ingenuous addresses to God, to all cheerful dependence on Him, and confident expectation of all assistance from him. 2. A true, evangelical faith is no lazy or languid thing, but an ardent breathing and thirsting after Divine grace and righteousness: it looks beyond a mere pardon of sin, and mainly pursues after an inward participation of the Divine nature. The mighty power of a living faith in the love and goodness of God, discoursed of throughout the whole chapter 347

CHAPTER VII.

An appendix to the foregoing discourse; How the whole business and undertaking of Christ is eminently available both to give full relief and ease to our minds and hearts, and also to encourage us to godliness or a godlike righteousness, briefly represented in sundry particulars 357

DISCOURSE VIII.

ON THE SHORTNESS OF A PHARISAICAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

CHAPTER I.

A general account of men's mistakes about religion. Men are nowhere more lazy and sluggish, and more apt to delude themselves, than in matters of religion. The religion of most men is but an image and resemblance of their own fancies. The method propounded for discoursing upon those words in St Matthew. 1. To discover some of the mistakes and false notions about religion. 2. To discover the reason of these mistakes. A brief explication of the words . . . 363

CHAPTER II.

An account of men's mistakes about religion in four particulars. 1. A partial obedience to some particular precepts. The false spirit of religion spends itself in some particulars, is confined, is overswayed by some prevailing lust. Men of this spirit may, by some book-skill, and a zeal about the externals of religion, lose the sense of their own guiltiness, and of their deficiencies in the essentials of godliness, and fancy themselves nearly related to God. Where the true spirit of religion is, it informs and actuates the whole man, it will not be confined, but will be absolute within us, and not suffer any corrupt interest to grow by it 367

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

The second mistake about religion, viz. A mere compliance of the outward man with the law of God. True religion seats itself in the centre of men's souls, and first brings the inward man into obedience to the law of God: the superficial religion intermeddles chiefly with the circumference and outside of men; or rests in an outward abstaining from some sins. Of speculative, and the most close and spiritual, wickedness within. How apt men are to sink all religion into opinions and external forms 370

CHAPTER IV.

The third mistake about religion, viz. A constrained and forced obedience to God's commandments. The religion of many (some of whom would seem most abhorrent from superstition) is nothing else but superstition properly so called. False religionists, having no inward sense of the divine goodness, cannot truly love God, yet their sour and dreadful apprehensions of God compel them to serve Him. A slavish spirit in religion may be very prodigal in such kind of serving God as doth not pinch their corruptions; but in the great and weightier matters of religion, in such things as prejudice their beloved lusts, it is very needy and sparing. This servile spirit has low and mean thoughts of God, but a high opinion of its outward services, as conceiting that by such cheap things God is gratified and becomes indebted to it. The different effects of love and slavish fear in the truly, and in the falsely, religious 374

CHAPTER V.

The fourth and last mistake about religion, When a mere mechanical and artificial religion is taken for that which is a true impression of heaven upon the souls of men, and which moves like a new nature. How religion is by some made a piece of art, and how there may be specious and plausible imitations of the internals of religion as well as of the externals. The method and power of fancy in contriving such artificial imitations. How apt men are in these to deceive both themselves and others. The difference between those that are governed in their religion by fancy, and those that are actuated by the divine Spirit, and in whom religion is a living form. That true religion is no art, but a new nature. Religion discovers itself best in a serene and clear temper of mind, in deep humility, meekness, self-denial, universal love of God and all true goodness 379

DISCOURSE IX.

ON THE EXCELLENCY AND NOBLENES OF TRUE RELIGION.

<i>Introduction</i>	387
---------------------	-----

CHAPTER I.

1. *The nobleness of religion in regard of its original and fountain: it comes from heaven and moves towards heaven again. God the first excellency and primitive perfection. All perfections and excellencies in any kind are to be measured by their approach to, and participation of, the first perfection. Religion the greatest participation of God: none capable of this Divine communication but the highest of created beings: and, consequently, religion is the greatest excellency. A two-fold fountain in God whence religion flows, viz. 1. His nature. 2. His will. Of truth, natural and revealed. Of an outward and an inward revelation of God's will* 390

CHAPTER II.

2. *The nobleness of religion in respect of its nature, briefly discovered in some particulars. How a man actuated by religion, 1. Lives above the world; 2. Converses with himself, and knows how to love, value, and reverence himself, in the best sense; 3. Lives above himself, not being content to enjoy himself, except he may enjoy God too, and himself in God. How he denies himself for God. To deny a man's self, is not to deny right reason, for that were to deny God, instead of denying himself for God. Self-love the only principle that actuates wicked men. The happy privileges of a soul united to God* 395

CHAPTER III.

3. *The nobleness of religion in regard of its properties, &c. of which this is one, 1. Religion enlarges all the faculties of the soul, and begets a true ingenuousness, liberty, and amplitude, the most free and generous spirit in the minds of good men. The nearer any being comes to God, the more large and free: the further it slides from God, the more straitened. Sin is the sinking of man's soul from God into sensual selfishness. An account when the most generous freedom of the soul is to be taken in its just proportions. How mechanical and formal Christians make an art of religion, set it such bounds as may not exceed the scant measure of their principles; and then fit their own notions as so many examples to it. A good man finds not his religion without him, but as a living principle within him. God's immutable and eternal goodness the unchangeable rule of His will. Peevish, self-willed, and imperious men, shape out such notions of God as are agreeable to this pattern of themselves. The truly religious have better apprehensions of God* 403

CHAPTER IV.

The second property discovering the nobleness of religion, viz. That it restores man to a just power and dominion over himself, enables him to overcome his self-will and passions. Of self-will, and the many evils that flow from it. That religion does nowhere discover its power and prowess so much, as in subduing this dangerous and potent enemy. The highest and noblest victories are those over our self-will and passions. Of self-denial, and the having power over our wills: the happiness and the privileges of such a state. How that magnanimity and puissance, which religion begets in holy souls, differs from and excels that gallantry and puissance which the great Nimrods of this world boast of 407

CHAPTER V.

The third property or effect discovering the nobleness of religion, viz. That it directs and enables a man to propound to himself the best end, viz. The glory of God, and his own becoming like unto God. Low and particular ends and interests both debase and straiten a man's spirit: the universal, highest, and last end both ennobles and enlarges it. A man is such as the end he aims at. The great power the end hath to mould and fashion man into its likeness. Religion obliges a man, not to seek himself, nor to drive a trade for himself; but to seek the glory of God, to live wholly to Him; and guides him steadily and uniformly to the one chief good and last end. Men are prone to flatter themselves with a pretended aiming at the glory of God. A more full and distinct explication of what is meant by a man's directing all his actions to the glory of God. What is truly and really to glorify God. God's seeking His glory in respect of us is the flowing forth of His goodness upon us; our seeking the glory of God is our endeavouring to partake more of God, and to resemble Him as much as we can, in true holiness and every divine virtue. That we are not nicely to distinguish between the glory of God and our own salvation. That salvation is nothing else for the main, but a true participation of the Divine nature. To love God above ourselves, is not to love Him above the salvation of our souls; but above our particular beings, and above our sinful affections, &c. The difference between things that are good relatively, and those that are good absolutely and essentially: that in our conformity to these, God is most glorified, and we are made most happy 413

CHAPTER VI.

The fourth property or effect discovering the excellency of religion, viz. That it begets the greatest serenity and composedness of mind, and brings the truest contentment, the purest and most satisfying joy and pleasure to every holy soul. God, as being that uniform chief good, and the one last end, does attract and fix the soul. Wicked men distracted through a multiplicity of objects and ends. How the restless appetite of our wills after some supreme good leads to the knowledge,

as of a Deity, so of the unity of a Deity. How the joys and delights of good men differ from, and far excel those of the wicked. The constancy and tranquillity of the spirits of good men in reference to eternal troubles. All perturbations of the mind arise from an inward rather than an outward cause. The method of the Stoics for attaining ἀταραξία and true rest examined, and the insufficiency of it discovered. A further illustration of what has been said concerning the peaceful and happy state of good men, from the contrary state of the wicked 421

CHAPTER VII.

The fifth property or effect discovering the excellency of religion, viz. That it advanceth the soul to a holy boldness and humble familiarity with God, and to a comfortable confidence concerning the love of God towards it, and its own salvation. Fearfulness, consternation of mind, and frightful passions are consequent upon sin and guilt. These, together with the most dismal deportments of trembling and amazement, are agreeable to the nature of the devil, who delights to be served in this manner by his worshippers. Love, joy, and hope are most agreeable to the nature of God, and most pleasing to Him. The right apprehensions of God are such as are apt to beget love to God, delight and confidence in Him. A true Christian is more for a solid and well-grounded peace than for high raptures and feelings of joy. How a Christian should endeavour after the assurance of his salvation. That he should not importunately expect or desire some extraordinary manifestations of God to him, but rather look after the manifestation of the life of God within him, the foundation or beginning of heaven and salvation in his own soul. That self-resignation, and the subduing of our own wills, are greatly available to obtain assurance. The vanity and absurdity of that opinion, viz. That in a perfect resignation of our wills to God's will, a man should be content with his own damnation, and to be the subject of eternal wrath in hell, if it should so please God 432

CHAPTER VIII.

The sixth property or effect discovering the excellency of religion, viz. That it spiritualizes material things, and carries up the souls of good men from sensible and earthly things, to things intellectual and divine. There are lesser and fuller representations of God in the creatures. To converse with God in the creation, and to pass out of the sensible world into the intellectual, is most effectually taught by religion. Wicked men converse not with God as shining out in the creatures: they converse with them in a sensual and unspiritual manner. Religion does spiritualize the creation to good men: it teaches them to look at any perfections or excellencies in themselves and others, not so much as theirs or others, but as so many beams flowing from one and the same fountain of light; to love them all in God, and God in all; the universal goodness in a particular being. A good man enjoys

<i>and delights in whatsoever good he sees elsewhere, as if it were his own: he does not fondly love and esteem either himself or others.</i>	
<i>The divine temper and strain of the ancient philosophy</i>	438

CHAPTER IX.

<i>The seventh and last property or effect discovering the excellency of religion, viz. That it raiseth the minds of good men to a due observance of, and attendance upon, Divine Providence, and enables them to serve the will of God, and to acquiesce in it. For a man to serve Providence and the will of God entirely, to work with God, and to bring himself and all his actions into a compliance with God's will, His ends and designs, is an argument of the truest nobleness of spirit; it is the most excellent and divine life; and it is most for man's advantage. How the consideration of Divine Providence is the way to inward quietness and establishment of spirit. How wicked men carry themselves unbecomingly through their impatience and fretfulness under the disposals of Providence. The beauty and harmony of the various methods of Providence</i>	443
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

<i>4. The excellency of religion in regard of its progress, as it is perpetually carrying on the soul towards perfection. Every nature hath its proper centre to which it hastens. Sin and wickedness is within the attractive power of hell, and hastens thither: grace and holiness is within the central force of heaven, and moves thither. It is not the speculation of heaven as a thing to come that satisfies the desires of religious souls, but the real possession of it even in this life. Men are apt to seek after assurance of heaven as a thing to come, rather than after heaven itself and the inward possession of it here. How the assurance of heaven rises from the growth of holiness and the powerful progress of religion in our souls. That we are not hastily to believe that we are Christ's, or that Christ is in us. That the works which Christ does in holy souls testify of Him, and best evidence Christ's spiritual appearance in them</i>	447
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

<i>5. The excellency of religion in regard of its term and end, viz. Perfect blessedness. How unable we are in this state to comprehend and describe the full and perfect state of happiness and glory to come. The more godlike a Christian is, the better may he understand that state. Holiness and happiness not two distinct things, but two several notions of one and the same thing. Heaven cannot so well be defined by any thing without us, as by something within us. The great nearness and affinity between sin and hell. The conclusion of this treatise containing a serious exhortation to a diligent minding of religion, with a discovery of the vanity of those pretences which keep men off from minding religion</i>	451
--	-----

DISCOURSE X.

ON A CHRISTIAN'S CONFLICTS WITH, AND CONQUESTS OVER, SATAN.

CHAPTER I.

The introduction, summarily treating of the perpetual enmity between God, the principle of good—and the principle of evil, the devil: as also between whatsoever is from God and that which is from the devil. That wicked men, by destroying what there is from God within them, and divesting themselves of all that which hath any alliance to God or true goodness, and transforming themselves into the diabolical image, fit themselves for correspondence and converse with the devil. The fears and horrors which infest both the apostate spirits and wicked men. The weakness of the devil's kingdom; Christ's success against it 463

CHAPTER II.

The first observable, That the devil is continually busy with us. The devil considered under a double notion. 1. As an apostate spirit which fell from God. The great danger of the devil's activity, not only when he presents himself in some corporeal shape, but when he is unseen and appears not. The weakness and folly of those who are afraid of him only when he appears embodied. That the good Spirit of God is active for the good of souls. How regardless men are of the gentle motions of the Divine Spirit; and how unwatchful and secure under the suggestions of the evil spirit. How we may discover the devil in his stratagems and under his several disguises and appearances 466

CHAPTER III.

2. *Of the activity of the devil, considered as a spirit of apostasy, and as a degenerate nature in men. That the devil is not only the name of one particular thing, but a nature. The difference between the devil and wicked men is rather the difference of a name than of natures. The kingdom and tyranny of the devil and hell is chiefly within, in the qualities and dispositions of men's minds. Men are apt to quarrel with the devil in the name and notion, and defy him with their tongues, while they entertain him in their hearts, and comply with all that which the devil is. The vanity of their pretended love to God, and hatred of the devil. That there is nothing better than God Himself, for which we should love Him; and to love Him for His own beauty and excellency is the best way of loving Him. That there is nothing worse than sin itself, for which we should hate it; and to hate it for its own deformity is the truest way of hating it. How hell and misery arise from within men. Why wicked men are so insensible of their misery in this life* 470

CHAPTER IV.

The second observable, viz. The warfare of a Christian life. True religion consists not in a mere passive capacity and sluggish kind of doing nothing, nor in a melancholy sitting still or slothful waiting, &c. but it consists in inward life and power, vigour and activity. A discovery of the dulness and erroneousness of that hypothesis, viz. That good men are wholly passive and unable at any time to move without some external impetus—some impression and impulse from without upon them: or, that all motions in religion are from an external principle. Of the quality and nature of the true spiritual warfare, and of the manner and method of it. That it is transacted upon the inner stage of men's souls, and managed without noise or pompous observation; and without any hinderance or prejudice to the most peaceful, sedate, and composed temper of a religious soul. This further illustrated from the consideration of the false and pretended zeal for God and his kingdom against the devil; which, though it be impetuous, and make a great noise, and a fair show in the world, is yet both impotent and ineffectual 476

CHAPTER V.

The third observable, viz. The certainty of success and victory to all those that resist the devil. This grounded upon, 1. The weakness of the devil and sin considered in themselves. 2. God's powerful assisting of all faithful Christians in this warfare. The devil may allure and tempt, but he cannot prevail, except men consent and yield to his suggestions. The devil's strength lies in men's treachery and falseness to their own souls. Sin is strong, because men oppose it weakly. The error of the Manichees about a principium mali defended by men in their lives and practices. Of God's readiness to assist Christians in their spiritual conflicts; His compassionate regards and the more special respects of His providence towards them on such occasions. The conclusion, discovering the evil and horridness of magic, diabolical contracts, &c. 481



A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

THE TRUE WAY OR METHOD OF ATTAINING

DIVINE KNOWLEDGE.

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do his commandments. Psalm cxi. 10.

If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God. John vii. 17.

Πῶς δέ ἐστι δυνατόν, ἡττηθέντα τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, ἐξομοιοῦσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἢ γνῶσιν ἔχειν Θεοῦ;—CLEM. ALEXANDR. *Strom.* III. 5.

Θεοῦ δὲ γνῶσιν λαβεῖν τοῖς ἔτι ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγομένοις, ἀδύνατον.—IBID.

Τὰ γὰρ τῆς πολιτείας ἐλέγχει σαφῶς τοὺς ἐγνωκότας τὰς ἐντολάς—ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν τὸ δένδρον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθῶν καὶ πετάλων, γνωρίζεται. ἢ γνῶσις οἷν ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ ἄνθους.—IBID.



PREFATORY DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

THE TRUE WAY OR METHOD OF ATTAINING

DIVINE KNOWLEDGE.

SECTION I.

That divine things are to be understood rather by a spiritual sensation than a verbal description, or mere speculation. Sin and wickedness prejudicial to true knowledge. That purity of heart and life, as also an ingenuous freedom of judgment, are the best grounds and preparations for the entertainment of truth.

IT hath been long since well observed, that every art and science hath some certain principles upon which the whole frame and body of it must depend; and he that will fully acquaint himself with the mysteries thereof, must come furnished with some *præcognita*, or προλήψεις, that I may speak in the language of the Stoics. Were I indeed to define divinity, I should rather call it a *divine life*, than a *divine science*; it being something rather to be understood by a spiritual sensation, than by any verbal description, as all things of sense and life are best known by sentient and vital faculties; γνῶσις ἐκάστων δι' ὁμοιότητος γίνεται, as the Greek Philosopher hath well observed¹—every thing is best known by that which bears a just resemblance and analogy with it: and therefore the Scripture

¹ Plotin. Enn. I. 8. 1.

is wont to set forth a good life as the prolepsis and fundamental principle of divine science; 'Wisdom hath builded her house, and hewn out her seven pillars¹;' but 'the fear of the Lord is ראשית חכמה—the beginning of wisdom²,'—the foundation of the whole fabric.

We shall therefore, as a prolegomenon or preface to what we shall afterward discourse upon the heads of divinity, speak something of this *true method of knowing*, which is not so much by notions as actions; as religion itself consists not so much in words as in things. They are not always the best skilled in divinity, that are the most studied in those pandects, into which it is sometimes digested, or that have erected the greatest monopolies of art and science. He that is most practical in divine things, hath the purest and sincerest knowledge of them, and not he that is most dogmatical. Divinity indeed is a true efflux from the eternal light, which, like the sunbeams, does not only enlighten, but heat and enliven; and therefore our Saviour hath, in His beatitudes, connected purity of heart with the beatifical vision. And as the eye cannot behold the sun, ἡλιοειδὴς μὴ γινόμενος³,—unless it be sunlike, and hath the form and resemblance of the sun drawn in it; so neither can the soul of man behold God, θεοειδὴς μὴ γινομένη⁴,—unless it be Godlike, hath God formed in it, and be made partaker of the divine nature. And the apostle St. Paul, when he would lay open the right way of attaining to divine truth, saith, that 'knowledge puffeth up,' but it is 'love that edifieth⁵.' The knowledge of divinity that appears in systems and models is but a poor wan light; but the powerful energy of divine knowledge displays itself in purified souls: here we shall

¹ Prov. ix. 1.

² Ibid. ver. 10.

³ Plotin. Enn. I. 6. 9.

⁴ The context of the passage in which the words ἡλιοειδὴς μὴ γινόμενος occur

seems to have furnished the above phrase, —οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸν ἂν ἴδοι ψυχῇ, μὴ καλῇ γινομένη. Γενέσθω δὴ πρῶτον θεοειδὴς πᾶς . . . εἰ μέλλει θεάσασθαι θεόν.

⁵ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

find the true πεδίον ἀληθείας, as the ancient philosophy speaks,—‘the land of truth!’

To seek our divinity merely in books and writings, is to seek the living among the dead: we do but in vain seek God manytimes in these, where His truth too often is not so much enshrined as entombed:—no; *intra te quære Deum*, seek for God within thine own soul; He is best discerned νοερά ἐπαφῇ, as Plotinus phraseth it,—by an intellectual touch of Him²—we must ‘see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, and our hands must handle the word of life³,’ that I may express it in St. John’s words. Ἔστι καὶ ψυχῆς αἴσθησις τις—the soul itself hath its sense, as well as the body: and therefore David, when he would teach us how to know what the divine goodness is, calls not for speculation but sensation: ‘Taste and see how good the Lord is⁴.’ That is not the best and truest knowledge of God which is wrought out by the labour and sweat of the brain, but that which is kindled within us by a heavenly warmth in our hearts. As, in the natural body, it is the heart that sends up good blood and warm spirits into the head, whereby it is best enabled to perform its several functions; so that which enables us to know and understand aright in the things of God, must be a living principle of holiness within us. When the tree of knowledge is not planted by the tree of life, and sucks not up sap from thence, it may as well be fruitful with evil as with good, and bring forth bitter fruit as well as sweet. If we would indeed have our knowledge thrive and flourish, we must water the tender plants of it with holiness. When

¹ Plotin. Enn. I. 3. 4 and VI. 7. 13. The author had probably in his mind the following curious passage from the *Axiarchus* (incert. auct.) τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τῆς εἰς Πλούτωνος ὁδοῦ σιδηροῖς κλειθροῖς καὶ κλεισὺν ὡχύρωται. ταῦτα δὲ ἀνοίξαντα ποταμός Ἀχέρων ἐκδέχεται, μεθ’ ὃν Κωκυτός, οὓς χρὴ πορθέμεντας ἀχθῆναι ἐπὶ Μίνω

καὶ Παδάμανθον, ὃ κλῆζεται πεδῖον ἀληθείας.—*Axiarchus*, 371 B. [Cf. Plat. *Phædrus* 248 B.]

² Probably the *idea*, but not the *words* of Plotinus. Cf. Τίς οὖν ἐκδοτὴ ἀρετῇ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ; ἡ σοφία μὲν ἐν θεωρίᾳ ὦν νοῦς ἔχει· νοῦς δὲ τῇ ἐπαφῇ.—Enn. I. 2. 6.

³ 1 John i. 1. ⁴ Psal. xxxiv. 8.

Zoroaster's scholars asked him what they should do to get winged souls, such as might soar aloft in the bright beams of divine truth, he bids them bathe themselves in the waters of life: they asking what they were, he tells them, the four cardinal virtues, which are the four rivers of paradise. It is but a thin, airy, knowledge that is got by mere speculation, which is ushered in by syllogisms and demonstrations; but that which springs forth from true goodness, is *θεϊότερόν τι πάσης ἀποδείξεως*, as Origen speaks—it brings such a divine light into the soul, as is more clear and convincing than any demonstration. The reason why, notwithstanding all our acute reasons and subtile disputes, truth prevails no more in the world, is, we so often disjoin truth and true goodness, which in themselves can never be disunited; they grow both from the same root, and live in one another. We may, like those in Plato's deep pit¹, with their faces bended downwards, converse with sounds and shadows, but not with the life and substance of truth, while our souls remain defiled with any vice or lusts. These are the black Lethe lake which drench the souls of men: he that wants true virtue, in heaven's logic, 'is blind, and cannot see afar off.'² Those filthy mists that arise from impure and terrene minds, like an atmosphere, perpetually encompass them, that they cannot see that sun of divine truth that shines about them, but never shines into any unpurged souls; the darkness comprehends it not, the foolish man understands it not. All the light and knowledge that may seem sometimes to rise up in unhallowed minds, is but like those fuliginous flames that rise up from our culinary fire, that are soon quenched in their own smoke; or like those foolish fires that fetch their birth from terrene exudations, that do but hop up and down, and flit to and fro upon the surface of this earth, where they were first brought forth; and serve not so

¹ Plat. De Repub. 514 A.

² 2 Peter i. 9.

much to enlighten, as to delude us; not to direct the wandering traveller into his way, but to lead him farther out of it. While we lodge any filthy vice in us, this will be perpetually twisting up itself into the thread of our finest-spun speculations; it will be continually climbing up into the τὸ Ἡγεμονικόν—the hegemonical powers of the soul, into the bed of reason, and defile it: like the wanton ivy twisting itself about the oak, it will twine about our judgments and understandings, till it hath sucked out the life and spirit of them. I cannot think such black oblivion should possess the minds of some, as to make them question that truth which to good men shines as bright as the sun at noon-day, had they not foully defiled their own souls with some hellish vice or other, how fairly soever it may be they may dissemble it. There is a benumbing spirit, a congealing vapour that ariseth from sin and vice, that will stupify the senses of the soul; as the naturalists say there is from the torpedo, that smites the senses of those that approach it. This is that venomous *solanum*—that deadly nightshade that infuses its cold poison into the understandings of men.

Such as men themselves are, such will God Himself seem to be. It is the maxim of most wicked men, that the Deity is some way or other like themselves; their souls do more than whisper it, though their lips speak it not; and though their tongues be silent, yet their lives cry it upon the house-tops, and in the public streets. That idea which men generally have of God is nothing else but the picture of their own complexion: that archetypal notion of Him which hath the supremacy in their minds, is none else but such a one as hath been shaped out according to some pattern of themselves; though they may so clothe and disguise this idol of their own, when they carry it about in a pompous procession to expose it to the view of the world, that it may seem very beautiful, and indeed anything else

rather than what it is. Most men (though it may be they themselves take no great notice of it) like that dissembling monk,—*aliter sentire in scholis, aliter in musæis*—are of a different judgment in the schools from what they are in the retirements of their private closets. There is a double head, as well as a double heart. Men's corrupt hearts will not suffer their notions and conceptions of divine things to be cast into that form, into which a higher reason, which may sometimes work within them, would put them.

I would not be thought, all this while, to banish the belief of all innate notions of divine truth: but these are too often smothered, or tainted with a deep dye of men's filthy lusts. It is but *lux sepulta in opaca materia*—light buried and stifled in some dark body, from whence all those coloured, or rather discoloured, notions and apprehensions of divine things are begotten. Though these common notions may be very busy sometimes in the vegetation of divine knowledge; yet the corrupt vices of men may so clog, disturb, and overrule them, (as the naturalists say this unruly and masterless matter doth the natural forms in the formation of living creatures,) that they may produce nothing but monsters, miserably distorted and misshapen. This kind of science, as Plotinus speaks¹, 'associating too familiarly with matter, and receiving and imbibing it into itself, changeth its shape by this incestuous mixture.' At best, while any inward lust is harboured in the minds of men, it will so weaken them, that they can never bring forth any masculine or generous knowledge; as Ælian observes of the stork, that if the night-owl chanceth to sit upon her eggs, they become presently as it were *ύπηνέμια*, and all incubation is ren-

¹ τῷ ὕλικῳ πολλῶ συνουῶσα, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸ κρᾶσει τῇ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον.—Plotin. αὐτὴν εἰσδεξαμένη, εἶδος ἑτερον ἥλλὰ. I. 6. 5.

dered impotent and ineffectual¹. Sin and lust are always of a hungry nature, and suck up all those vital affections of men's souls, which should feed and nourish their understandings.

What are all our most sublime speculations of the Deity, that are not impregnated with true goodness, but insipid things that have no taste nor life in them, that do but swell, like empty froth, in the souls of men! They do not feed men's souls, but only puff them up, and fill them with pride, arrogance, contempt, and tyranny towards those that cannot well understand their subtle curiosities: as those philosophers that Cicero complains of in his times, *qui disciplinam suam ostentationem scientiæ, non legem vitæ, putabant*—who made their knowledge only matter of ostentation, to venditate and set off themselves, but never caring to square and govern their lives by it². Such as these do but, spider-like, take a great deal of pains to spin a worthless web out of their own bowels, which will not keep them warm. These indeed are those silly souls that are 'ever learning, but never come to the knowledge of the truth³.' They may, with Pharaoh's lean kine, eat up and devour all tongues and sciences, and yet, when they have done, still remain lean and ill-favoured as they were at first. Jeune and barren speculations may be hovering and fluttering up and down about divinity, but they cannot settle or fix themselves upon it: they unfold the plicatures of truth's garment, but they cannot behold the lovely face of it. There are hidden mysteries in divine truth,

¹ The precise term employed by Ælian is not ὑπηνέμα (ova irrita.....quæ hypenemia Græci vocant. Plin. I. x. cap. 58) but ἀνεμαία. The passage referred to is as follows: Οἱ πελαργοὶ λυμαινομένως αὐτῶν τὰ ψὰ τὰς νυκτερίδας ἀμύνονται πάνυ σοφῶς. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσαψάμεναι μόνον ἀνεμαία ἐργάζονται καὶ ἀγνοα αὐτά.—Ælian. de Nat. Animal. Lib. I. 37. Plato employs the same

technical term in the course of a philosophical argument: φέρε δὴ αὐτὸ κοινῇ σκεψόμεθα, γόνιμον ἢ ἀνεμαῖον τυγχάνει δν.—Theæt. 151 E.

² Quotus enim quisque philosophorum invenitur, qui sit ita moratus, ita animo ac vita constitutus, ut ratio postulat? qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ putet?—Cic. Tusc. Disp. II. 4. ³ 2 Tim. iii. 7.

wrapt up one within another, which cannot be discerned but by divine 'Epoptists.'

We must not think we have then attained to the right knowledge of truth, when we have broken through the outward shell of words and phrases that house it up; or when, by a logical analysis, we have found out the dependencies and coherencies of them one with another; or when, like stout champions of it, having well guarded it with the invincible strength of our demonstration, we dare stand out in the face of the world, and challenge the field of all those that would pretend to be our rivals.

We have many grave and reverend idolaters that worship truth only in the image of their own wits; that could never adore it so much as they may seem to do, were it anything else but such a form of belief as their own wandering speculations had at last met together in; were it not that they find their own image and superscription upon it.

There is a knowing of 'the truth as it is in Jesus'—as it is in a Christ-like nature, as it is in that sweet, mild, humble, and loving spirit of Jesus, which spreads itself, like a morning sun, upon the souls of good men, full of light and life. It profits little to know Christ Himself after the flesh; but He gives His Spirit to good men, that searcheth the deep things of God. There is an inward beauty, life, and loveliness in divine truth, which cannot be known but then when it is digested into life and practice. The Greek philosopher could tell those high-soaring Gnostics that thought themselves no less than *Jovis alites*; that could (as he speaks in the Comedy) ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ περιφρονεῖν τὸν ἥλιον¹, and cried out so much, 'look upon God²,' that 'without virtue and real goodness God is but a name,' a dry and empty notion³. The profane sort of

¹ ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον.—Aristoph. *Nub.* 225.

² ἀνευ δὲ δρετῆς ἀληθινῆς θεὸς λεγόμενος ὄνομά ἐστιν.—Plot. *ibid.*

³ βλέπε πρὸς θεόν.—Plot. *Enn.* II. 9. 15.

men, like those old Gentile Greeks, may make many ruptures in the walls of God's temple, and break into the holy ground, but yet may find God no more there than they did.

Divine truth is better understood, as it unfolds itself in the purity of men's hearts and lives, than in all those subtile niceties into which curious wits may lay it forth. And therefore our Saviour, who is the great master of it, would not, while He was here on earth, draw it up into any system or body, nor would His disciples after Him; He would not lay it out to us in any canons or articles of belief, not being indeed so careful to stock and enrich the world with opinions and notions, as with true piety, and a Godlike pattern of purity, as the best way to thrive in all spiritual understanding. His main scope was to promote a holy life, as the best and most compendious way to a right belief. He hangs all true acquaintance with divinity upon the doing God's will: 'If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God¹.' This is that alone which will make us, as St. Peter tells us, 'that we shall not be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour².' There is an inward sweetness and deliciousness in divine truth, which no sensual mind can taste or relish: this is that *ψυχικὸς ἀνὴρ*—that natural man that savours not the things of God. Corrupt passions and terrene affections are apt, of their own nature, to disturb all serene thoughts, to precipitate our judgments, and warp our understandings. It was a good maxim of the old Jewish writers: 'the Holy Spirit dwells not in terrene and earthly passions³.' Divinity is

¹ John vii. 17.

² 2 Pet. i. 8.

³ רוח הקודש לא יורה בעצב ולא בכעס:

An equable and cheerful frame of mind, as well as a pious disposition, are frequently mentioned by the ancient Jewish writers as necessary in order that the רוח הקודש

'Spiritus Sanctus' or the שכינה 'Præsentia Divina' (Shechinah) may dwell with any one. Expressions similar to the above occur not unfrequently in the Talmud, e. g. Gem. Shabbath, cap. ii. fol. 31 a. Thus, too, indulgence in angry feelings is said by them to deprive, for the time, the

not so well perceived by a subtile wit, ὥσπερ αἰσθήσει κεκαθαρμένη—'as by a purified sense,'—as Plotinus phraseth it.

Neither was the ancient philosophy unacquainted with this way and method of attaining to the knowledge of divine things; and therefore Aristotle himself thought a young man unfit to meddle with the grave precepts of morality, till the heat and violent precipitancy of his youthful affections were cooled and moderated¹. And it is observed of Pythagoras, that he had several ways to try the capacity of his scholars, and to prove the sedateness and moral temper of their minds, before he would entrust them with the sublimer mysteries of his philosophy². The Platonists were herein so wary and solicitous, that they thought the minds of men could never be purged enough from those earthly dregs of sense and passion, in which they were so much steeped, before they could be capable of their divine metaphysics³: and therefore they so much

wise man of his wisdom, and the prophet of his gift of prophecy.—Gem. Pesachim, cap. vi. fol. 67 a. (Vide Discourse on Prophecy, cap. viii.) So, on the contrary, they maintain that a holy life, and devotion to sacred study will secure the Divine Presence. In the Mishna Massec. Avoth, cap. iii. § 6, it is said that the Shechinah dwells with ten persons met together for the study of the laws. Again, the same is said (§ 2) with reference to two persons met together for such study. (Cf. S. Matth. xviii. 19, 20.) We must be careful not to confound the Jewish idea attached to the expression רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ 'Spiritus Sanctus,' with the Christian meaning of the term. By many Jewish writers, though not by all, the term is understood as denoting precisely the same as the שְׁכִינָה 'Presentia Divina.'—Vid. Buxtorf, Lex-Rabbin. s. v. שְׁכִינָה. Col. 2395-2397.

¹ (Διὶ) τῇ πολιτικῇ οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκείος ἀκρατὴς ὁ νέος. . . . Ἐτι δὲ τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀκολουθητικὸς ὢν ματαίως ἀκούσεται καὶ ἀνωφελῶς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν οὐ γινώσκει ἀλλὰ πρᾶξις.—Eth. Nicom. i. i.

² It is curious that the first test to which Pythagoras subjected his disciples was the *physiognomical*. Hence, a science which as yet finds less favour with us than with the Germans, has at least the authority of antiquity in the Greek philosopher. For the definition of Gellius is explicit enough to identify the Pythagorean with the modern physiognomy: 'Jam a principio adolescentes, qui sese ad discendum obtulerant, ἐφυσιογνωμόνει. Id verbum significat, mores naturasque hominum conjectatione quadam de oris et vultus ingenio deque totius corporis filo atque habitu sciscitari.'—Gell. *N. A.* i. 9.

When admitted as scholars, their novitiate was passed in the practice of self-denial in matters of appetite and corporal indulgence in general: they were exercised in abstruse enquiries and speculations, and, if the accounts are to be believed, in the ordeal of silence for a term of years.—Jambl. *De Pyth.* vii. 68.

³ ἘΞΕ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε διαλεκτικὸν οὐκ ἄλλω δώσει, ὥς ἐγῶμαι, πλὴν τῷ καθαρῶς τε καὶ δικαίως φιλοσοφοῦντι.—Plat. *Sophist.* 253 E.

solicit a *χωρισμός ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος*, as they are wont to phrase it—‘a separation from the body,’ in all those that would *καθαρῶς φιλοσοφεῖν*, as Socrates speaks, that is indeed, ‘sincerely understand divine truth;’ for that was the scope of their philosophy. This was also intimated by them in their defining philosophy to be *μελέτη θανάτου*—‘a meditation of death¹;’ aiming herein at only a moral way of dying, by loosening the soul from the body and this sensitive life; which they thought was necessary to a right contemplation of intelligible things: and therefore, besides those *ἀρεταὶ καθαρτικαί* by which the souls of men were to be separated from sensuality, and purged from fleshly filth, they devised a farther way of separation more accommodated to the condition of philosophers, which was their *mathemata*, or mathematical contemplations, whereby the souls of men might farther shake off their dependency upon sense, and learn to go as it were alone, without the crutch of any sensible or material thing to support them; and so be a little inured, being once got up above the body, to converse freely with immaterial natures, without looking down again and falling back into sense. Besides, many other ways they had, whereby to rise out of this dark body—*ἀναβάσεις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου*, as they are wont to call them²,—several steps and ascents out of this miry cave of mortality, before they could set any sure footing with their intellectual part in the land of light and immortal being.

¹ Τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦσα (sc. ψυχὴ) καὶ τῷ ὄντι τεθνάναι μελετῶσα ῥαδίως· ἢ οὐ τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη μελέτη θανάτου; Παντάσιν γε.—Plato. *Phæd.* 80 E.

As a comment on the whole passage we may quote what was probably in the author's mind when he wrote it: Οὐκοῦν τοῦτό γε θάνατος ὀνομάζεται, λύσις καὶ χωρισμός ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος; Παντάσιν γ’ ἢ δ’ ὅς. Δύειν δὲ γε αὐτήν, ὥς φαμεν, προ-

θυμοῦνται αἰεὶ μάλιστα καὶ μόνοι οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες ὁρθῶς, καὶ τὸ μελέτημα αὐτὸ τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν φιλοσόφων, λύσις καὶ χωρισμός ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, ἢ οὐ; Φαίνεται.—Plat. *Phæd.* 67 D.

² An expression borrowed from Plato (*De Repub.* 514, 515), by Plotinus, *Enn.* II. 9. 6: εἰδῶτων καὶ σαφῶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτύφως λεγόντων ἀναβάσεις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου.

And thus we should pass from this topic of our discourse, upon which we have dwelt too long already, but that before we quite let it go, I hope we may fairly make this use of it farther (besides what we have openly aimed at all this while), which is, to learn not to devote or give up ourselves to any private opinions or dictates of men in matters of religion, nor too zealously to propugn the dogmas of any sect. As we should not, like rigid censurers, arraign and condemn the creeds of other men which we comply not with, before a full and mature understanding of them, ripened not only by the natural sagacity of our own reason, but by the benign influence of holy and mortified affection: so neither should we over hastily *credere in fidem alienam*—subscribe to the symbols and articles of other men. They are not always the best men that blot most paper: truth is not, I fear, so voluminous, nor swells into such a mighty bulk as our books do. Those minds are not always the most chaste that are most parturient with these learned discourses, which too often bear upon them a foul stain of their unlawful propagation. A bitter juice of corrupt affections may sometimes be strained into the ink of our greatest scholars; their doctrines may taste too sour of the cask they come through. We are not always happy in meeting with that wholesome food (as some are wont to call the doctrinal part of religion) which hath been dressed out by the cleanest hands. Some men have too bad hearts to have good heads: they cannot be good at theory who have been so bad at the practice, as we may justly fear too many of those, from whom we are apt to take the articles of our belief, have been. Whilst we plead so much our right to the patrimony of our fathers, we may take too fast a possession of their errors, as well as of their sober opinions. There are *idola spectûs*—innate prejudices, and deceitful hypotheses, that many times

wander up and down in the minds of good men, that may fly out from them with their graver determinations¹. We can never be well assured what our traditional divinity is; nor can we securely enough addict ourselves to any sect of men. That which was the philosopher's motto, 'Ελευθερον εἶναι δεῖ τῇ γνώμῃ τὸν μέλλοντα φιλοσοφεῖν, we may a little enlarge, and so fit it for an ingenuous pursuer after divine truth: 'he that will find truth, must seek it with a free judgment, and a sanctified mind:' he that thus seeks shall find; he shall live in truth, and that shall live in him; it shall be like a stream of living waters issuing out of his own soul; he shall drink of the waters of his own cistern, and be satisfied; he shall every morning find this heavenly manna lying upon the top of his own soul, and be fed with it to eternal life; he will find satisfaction within, feeling himself in conjunction with truth, though all the world should dispute against him.

SECTION II.

An objection against the method of knowing laid down in the former section, answered. That men generally, notwithstanding their apostasy, are furnished with the radical principles of true knowledge. Men want not so much means of knowing what they ought to do, as wills to do what they know. Practical knowledge differs from all other knowledge, and excels it.

AND thus I should again leave this argument, but that perhaps we may, all this while, have seemed to undermine what we intend to build up. For if divine truth spring up only from the root of true goodness, how shall we endeavour to be good, before we know what it is to be

¹ Quod ad Idola Spectūs attinet, illa ortum habent ex propriâ cujusque naturâ et animi et corporis, etc.—Bacon's *Works*,

Vol. VIII. p. 294, and Vol. IX. p. 204. ed. Basil Montagu.

so? or how shall we convince the gainsaying world of truth, unless we could also inspire virtue into it?

To both which we shall make this reply; that there are some radical principles of knowledge that are so deeply sunk in the souls of men, as that the impression cannot easily be obliterated, though it may be much darkened. Sensual baseness doth not so grossly sully and bemire the souls of all wicked men at first, as to make them, with Diagoras, deny the Deity, or, with Protagoras, doubt of, or, with Diodorus, to question the immortality of rational souls. Neither are the common principles of virtue so pulled up by the roots in all, as to make them so dubious in stating the bounds of virtue and vice as Epicurus was, though he could not but sometimes take notice of them. Neither is the retentive power of truth so weak and loose in all sceptics, as it was in him, who, being well scourged in the streets till the blood ran about him, questioned, when he came home, whether he had been beaten or not. Arrian hath well observed, that the common notions of God and virtue impressed upon the souls of men, are more clear and perspicuous than any else; and that if they have not more *certainly*, yet they have more *evidence*, and display themselves with less difficulty to our reflective faculty than any geometrical demonstrations: and these are both available to prescribe out ways of virtue to men's own souls, and to force an acknowledgment of truth from those that oppose, when they are well guided by a skilful hand. Truth needs not at any time fly from reason, there being an eternal amity between them. They are only some private dogmas, that may well be suspected as spurious and adulterate, that dare not abide the trial thereof. And this reason is not everywhere so extinguished, as that we may not, by that, enter into the souls of men. What the magnetical virtue is in these earthly bodies, that reason is in men's

minds, which, when it is put forth, draws them one to another. Besides, in wicked men there are sometimes distastes of vice, and flashes of love to virtue; which are the motions which spring from a true intellect, and the faint strugglings of a higher life within them, which they crucify again by their wicked sensuality. As truth doth not always act in good men, so neither doth sense always act in wicked men; they may sometimes have their *lucida intervalla*—their sober fits; and a divine spirit blowing and breathing upon them, may then blow up some live sparks of true understanding within them; though they may soon endeavour to quench them again, and to rake them up in the ashes of their own earthly thoughts.

All this, and more that might be said upon this argument, may serve to point out the way of virtue. We want not so much means of knowing what we ought to do, as wills to do that which we may know. But yet all that knowledge which is separated from an inward acquaintance with virtue and goodness, is of a far different nature from that which ariseth out of a true living sense of them, which is the best discerner thereof, and by which alone we know the true perfection, sweetness, energy, and loveliness of them, and all that which is οὔτε ῥητὸν, οὔτε γραπτὸν—that which can no more be known by a naked demonstration, than colours can be perceived by a blind man by any definition or description which he can hear of them.

And, further, the clearest and most distinct notions of truth that shine in the souls of the common sort of men, may be extremely clouded, if they be not accompanied with that answerable practice that might preserve their integrity: these tender plants may soon be spoiled by the continual droppings of our corrupt affections upon them; they are but of a weak and feminine nature, and so may be sooner deceived by that wily serpent of sensuality that harbours within us.

While the soul is *πλήρης τοῦ σώματος*—‘full of the body’—while we suffer those notions and common principles of religion to lie asleep within us; that *γενεσιουργὸς δύναμις*—‘the power of an animal life’—will be apt to incorporate and mingle itself with them; and that reason that is within us, as Plotinus hath well expressed it, becomes more and more *σύμφυτος κακαῖς ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις δόξαις*—it will be infected with those evil opinions that arise from our corporeal life¹. The more deeply our souls dive into our bodies, the more will reason and sensuality run one into another, and make up a most dilute, unsavoury, and muddy kind of knowledge. We must therefore endeavour more and more to withdraw ourselves from these bodily things, to set our soul as free as may be from its miserable slavery to this base flesh: we must shut the eyes of sense, and open that brighter eye of our understandings, that other eye of the soul, (as the philosopher calls our intellectual faculty,) *ἣν ἔχει μὲν πᾶς, χρῶνται δὲ ὀλίγοι*²—‘which indeed all have, but few make use of.’ This is the way to see clearly; the light of the divine world will then begin to fall upon us, and those sacred *ἐλλάμψεις*—those pure coruscations of immortal and everliving truth will shine into us, and in God’s own light shall we behold Him. The fruit of this knowledge will be sweet to our taste, and pleasant to our palates, ‘sweeter than honey or the honeycomb³.’ The

¹ The translation given by our Author of the original passage in Plotinus cannot be admitted, even after allowance is made for difference in punctuation. The Greek is as follows *οἱ (δὲ) κακῶν ἐφιέμενοι ταῖς κακαῖς ἐγγενομέναις ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπέδωσαν πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔρωτας, ὥσπερ καὶ λόγων τῶν ὀρθῶν, ὅστις σύμφυτος, κακαῖς ταῖς ἐπιγενομέναις δόξαις*.—Enn. III. 5. 7. The best feelings of mankind are debased when the affections are fixed on unworthy objects: the correctness of their reason-

ing powers, if there be any in their nature (*ὅστις σύμφυτος*) is vitiated by indulgence in degrading notions. The Oxford Lat. version runs thus: *qui (vero) mala cupiunt pravis jam conceptis cupiditatibus, omnes in se amores impedisse atque ligasse videntur: quemadmodum rectam quoque rationem, si qua innata est, malis aliquando opinionibus occupare consueverunt*.

² Plotin. I. 6. 8.

³ Psalm xix. 10.

priests of Mercury, as Plutarch tells us, in the eating of their holy things, were wont to cry out $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\ \eta\ \alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ¹—‘sweet is truth.’ But how sweet and delicious that truth is, which holy and heaven-born souls feed upon in their mysterious converse with the Deity, who can tell but they that taste it? When reason once is raised, by the mighty force of the Divine Spirit, into a converse with God, it is turned into sense: that which before was only faith well built upon sure principles, (for such our science may be) now becomes vision. We shall then converse with God $\tau\hat{\omega}\ \nu\hat{\omega}$, whereas before we conversed with Him only $\tau\hat{\eta}\ \delta\iota\alpha\nu\acute{o}\iota\alpha$ —with our discursive faculty—as the Platonists were wont to distinguish. Before, we laid hold on Him only $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}$ —with a struggling, agonistical, and contentious reason, hotly combating with difficulties and sharp contests of diverse opinions, and labouring in itself, in its deductions of one thing from another; we shall then fasten our minds upon Him $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\phi\alpha\nu\tau\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}$, with such a ‘serene understanding,’ $\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\ \nu\omicron\epsilon\rho\hat{\alpha}$, such an intellectual calmness and serenity as will present us with a blissful, steady, and invariable sight of Him.

SECTION III.

Men may be considered in a fourfold capacity in order to the perception of divine things. That the best and most excellent knowledge of divine things belongs only to the true and sober Christian; and that it is but in its infancy while he is in this earthly body.

AND now, if you please, setting aside the Epicurean herd of brutish men, who have drowned all their own sober reason in the deepest Lethe of sensuality, we shall divide the rest of men into these four ranks, according to

¹ Plutarch. *de Iside et Osiride*, 378 B.

that method which Simplicius upon Epictetus hath already laid out to us, with respect to a fourfold kind of knowledge, which we have all this while glanced at.

The first whereof is *ἄνθρωπος συμπεφυρμένος τῇ γενέσει*, or, if you will, *ἄνθρωπος ὁ πολὺς*—‘That complex and multifarious man that is made up of soul and body,’ as it were by a just equality and arithmetical proportion of parts and powers in each of them¹. The knowledge of these men I should call *ἀμυδρὸν δόξαν* in Plutarch’s phrase; ‘a knowledge wherein sense and reason are so twisted up together,’ that it cannot easily be unravelled, and laid out into its first principles. Their highest reason is *ὁμόδοξος ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι*—‘complying with their senses’—and both conspire together in vulgar opinion. To these that motto which the Stoics have made for them may very well agree, *βίος ὑπόληψις*, their life being steered by nothing else but opinion and imagination. Their higher notions of God and religion are so entangled with the birdlime of fleshly passions and mundane vanity, that they cannot rise up above the surface of this dark earth, or easily entertain any but earthly conceptions of heavenly things. Such souls as are here lodged, as Plato speaks, are *ὀπισθοβαρεῖς*, ‘heavy behind²,’ and are continually pressing down to this world’s centre: and though, like the spider, they may appear sometime moving up and down aloft in the air, yet they do but sit in the loom, and move in that web of their own gross fancies, which they fasten and pin to some earthly thing or other.

The second is *ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν ζωὴν οὐσιωμένος*—the man that looks at himself as being what he is rather

¹ οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ πολὺς ἐστίν, ὁ συμπεφυρμένος τῇ γενέσει.—Simpl. *Præfat. Comment. in Epict.*

² Probably our author had in mind a passage of Plotinus, not Plato, viz. *ἀναβεβηκέναι δὲ ἐτι ὀπισθοβαρὴς ὑπάρχων*.—Enn. vi. 9. 4. The Oxford note on this pas-

sage refers to Simplicius in *Epict. Enchirid.* xii. . . . de sene ad discessum ex hac vita præparando: *ἵνα μὴ, τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἐνστάτος, καλούμενος, ὀπισθοβαρὴς εὑρεθῇς, ὑπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνθελκόμενος*. Verbum ἀνθελκεσθαι Platonicum.—Vid. *de Legg.* i. 644 E.

by his soul than by his body; that thinks not fit to view his own face in any other glass but that of reason and understanding; that reckons upon his soul as that which was made to rule, his body as that which was born to obey, and like a handmaid perpetually to wait upon his higher and nobler part¹. And in such a one the *communes notitiæ*, or common principles of virtue and goodness, are more clear and steady. To such a one we may allow *τρανεστέραν καὶ ἐμφανεστέραν ὁδὸν*—‘more clear and distinct opinions,’ as being already *ἐν καθάρσει*—‘in a method or course of purgation,’ or, at least, fit to be initiated into the *mysteria minora*—‘the lesser mysteries of religion.’ For though these innate notions of truth may be but poor, empty, and hungry things of themselves, before they be fed and filled with the practice of true virtue; yet they are capable of being impregnated, and exalted with the rules and precepts of it. And therefore the Stoics supposed *ὅτι τοιούτῳ προσήκουσιν αἱ ἠθικαὶ καὶ πολιτικαὶ ἀρεταί*—that the doctrine of political and moral virtues was fit to be delivered to such as these²; and though they may not be so well prepared for divine virtue, (which is of a higher emanation) yet they are not immature for human, as having the seeds of it already within themselves, which, being watered by answerable practice, may sprout up within them.

The third is *ἄνθρωπος ἤδη κεκαθαρμένος*—he whose soul is already purged by this lower sort of virtue, and so is continually flying off from the body and bodily passion, and returning into himself³. Such, in St Peter’s language, are those ‘who have escaped the pollutions which are in the world through lust⁴.’ To these we may attribute a

¹ ἐκείνοις ἀρμόζουσι, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν μὲν ζωὴν οὐσιωμένοις.—Simpl. *Præfat. Comment. in Epict.*

παιδεύει δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς κατὰ ψυχὴν λογικὴν οὐσιωμένον.—*Ibid.*

² Καὶ τοῦτῳ προσήκουσιν, κ.τ.λ.—*Ibid.*

³ Οὕτε οὖν πρὸς τὸν καθαρτικῶς δυνήθεντα ἔργον.—*Ibid.*

⁴ 2 Peter ii. 20.

νόθη ἐπιστήμη—a lower degree of science—their inward sense of virtue and moral goodness being far transcendent to all mere speculative opinions of it. But if this knowledge settle here, it may be quickly apt to corrupt. Many of our most refined moralists may be, in a worse sense than Plotinus means, πληρωθέντες τῇ ἐαυτῶν φύσει—‘full with their own pregnancy!’; their souls may have too much heave and swell with the sense of their own virtue and knowledge: there may be an ill ferment of self-love lying at the bottom, which may puff it up the more with pride, arrogance and self-conceit. These forces with which the divine bounty supplies us to keep a stronger guard against the evil spirit, may be abused by our own rebellious pride, enticing them from their allegiance to God, to strengthen itself in our souls, and fortify them against heaven: like that supercilious Stoic who, when he thought his mind well armed and appointed with wisdom and virtue, cried out, *Sapiens contendet cum ipso Jove de felicitate*². They may make an airy heaven of these, and wall it about with their own self-flattery, and then sit in it as gods, as Cosroes the Persian king was sometimes laughed at for enshrining himself in a temple of his own. And therefore, if this knowledge be not attended with humility and a deep sense of self-penury and self-emptiness, we may easily fall short of that true knowledge of God, after which we seem to aspire. We may carry such an image and species of ourselves constantly before us, as will make us lose the clear sight of the Divinity, and be too apt to rest in a mere ‘logical life,’ (an expression of Simplicius) without any true participation of the divine life, if we do not (as many do, if not all, who rise no higher) relapse and slide back by vain-glory, popularity, or such like vices, into some mundane and external vanity or other.

¹ οὐ γὰρ ἔχει πληροῦσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ ὅτι πέρ καὶ πεπληρωται τῇ ἐαυτοῦ φύσει.—
 ἔχειν τὸ μέγμα· μόνον γὰρ πληροῦται ἀληθῶς, *Enn.* III. 5. 7. ² Senec. *Epist.* xxv.

The fourth is *ἄνθρωπος θεωρητικός*—the true metaphysical and contemplative man, *ὅς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν ζωὴν ὑπερτρέχων, ὅλως εἶναι βούλεται τῶν κρειττόνων*—who running and shooting up above his own logical or self-rational life, pierceth into the highest life¹; such a one who, by universal love and holy affection, abstracting himself from himself, endeavours to attain the nearest union with the divine essence that may be, *κέντρον κέντρῳ συνάψας*², as Plotinus speaks; knitting his own centre, if he have any, unto the centre of divine being. To such a one the Platonists are wont to attribute *θεῖαν ἐπιστήμην*—‘a true divine wisdom,’ powerfully displaying itself *ἐν νοερᾷ ζωῇ*—‘in an intellectual life,’ as they phrase it. Such a knowledge, they say, is always pregnant with divine virtue, which ariseth out of a happy union of souls with God, and is nothing else but a living imitation of a godlike perfection drawn out by a strong fervent love of it. This divine knowledge *καλοὺς καὶ ἐραστοὺς ποιεῖ*, &c. as Plotinus speaks—makes us amorous of divine beauty, beautiful and lovely³; and this divine love and purity reciprocally exalts divine knowledge; both of them growing up together, like that *Ἔρως* and *Ἀντέρως* that Pausanias sometimes speaks of. Though, by the Platonists’ leave, such a life and knowledge as this is, peculiarly belongs to the true and sober Christian, who lives in Him who is life itself, and is enlightened by Him who is the truth itself, and is made partaker of the divine unction, ‘and knoweth all things,’ as St John speaks⁴. This life is nothing else but God’s own breath within him, and an *infant-Christ* (if I may use the expression) formed in his soul, who is in a sense *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης*, ‘the shining forth of the

¹ οὔτε ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν θεωρητικόν·
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.—Simpl.
Præfat. Comment. in Epict.

² *Enn.* vi. 9. 10.

³ τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸ μάλιστα κάλλος ὃν
αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐργάζεται τοὺς ἐραστάς
αὐτοῦ καλοὺς, καὶ ἐραστοὺς ποιεῖ.—*Enn.* i.
6. 7.

⁴ 1 John iii. 20.

Father's glory¹. But yet we must not mistake; this knowledge is but here in its infancy; there is a higher knowledge, or a higher degree of this knowledge, that doth not, that cannot, descend upon us in these earthly habitations. We cannot here see באספקלריא מאירה—in *speculo lucido*²; here we can see but in a glass, and that darkly too³. Our own imaginative powers, which are perpetually attending the highest acts of our souls, will be breathing a gross dew upon the pure glass of our understandings, and so sully and besmear it, that we cannot see the image of the Divinity sincerely in it. But yet this knowledge, being a true, heavenly fire kindled from God's own altar, begets an undaunted courage in the souls of good men, and enables them to cast a holy scorn upon the poor, petty, trash of this life, in comparison with divine things, and to pity those poor, brutish Epicureans that have nothing but the mere husks of fleshly pleasure to feed themselves with. This sight of God makes pious souls breathe after that blessed time when mortality shall be swallowed up of life, when they shall no more behold the Divinity through the dark mediums that eclipse the blessed sight of it⁴.

¹ Heb. i. 3.

² The Jews in describing the eminence of the prophetic character of Moses, say that he saw divine things, באספקלריא המאירה בלא אמצעות הכח המדמה—in *speculo lucido, sine interventu potentie*

imaginatricis.—Vide *Discourse on Prophecy*, chap. XI.

³ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

⁴ In connexion with the above, vide the last Chapter of the *Discourse* concerning the Existence and Nature of God.

A
SHORT DISCOURSE
ON
SUPERSTITION.

Ἀκρότητες ἄρα ἀμαθίας ἀθεότης καὶ δεισιδαιμονία, ὧν ἐκτὸς μένειν σπουδαστέον.

CLEM. ALEX. *in Admon. ad Græc.* (Tom. I. p. 21.)

*Ἡ τῶν προσφερομένων πολυτέλεια, τιμὴ εἰς θεὸν οὐ γίνεται, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνθέου φρονήματος προσάγοιτο. δῶρα γὰρ καὶ θυηπολῖαι ἀφρόνων, πυρὸς τροφή· καὶ ἀναθήματα, ἱερυσύλοις χορηγία. τὸ δὲ ἐνθεον φρόνημα διαρκῶς ἡδρασμένον συνάπτει θεῷ· χωρεῖν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον.

HIEROCLES *in Aurea Carm.* p. 24.

Nihil sancta et singularis illa majestas aliud ab homine desiderat, quam solam innocentiam : quam si quis obtulerit Deo, satis pie, satis religiose litavit.

LACTANTIUS *de Vero Cultu*, Cap. I.

Hic verus est cultus, in quo mens colentis seipsam Deo immaculatam victimam sistit.

Ibid. Cap. II.



SHORT DISCOURSE

ON

SUPERSTITION.

The true notion of superstition, well expressed by Δεισιδαιμονία, i. e. 'an over-timorous and dreadful apprehension of the Deity.'—A false opinion of the Deity the true cause and rise of superstition.—Superstition is most incident to such as converse not with the goodness of God, or are conscious to themselves of their own unlikeness to Him.—Right apprehensions of God beget in man a nobleness and freedom of soul.—Superstition, though it looks upon God as an angry Deity, yet it counts Him easily pleased with flattering worship.—Apprehensions of a Deity and guilt meeting together are apt to excite fear.—Hypocrites, to spare their sins, seek out ways to compound with God.—Servile and superstitious fear is increased by ignorance of the certain causes of terrible effects in nature, &c. as also by frightful apparitions of ghosts and spectres.—A further consideration of superstition, as a composition of fear and flattery.—A fuller definition of superstition, according to the sense of the ancients.—Superstition doth not always appear in the same form, but passes from one form to another, and sometimes shrouds itself under forms seemingly spiritual and more refined.

HAVING now done with what we propounded as a preface to our following discourses, we should now come to treat of the main heads and principles of religion. But before we do that, perhaps it may not be amiss to inquire into some of those anti-deities that are set up against it, the chief whereof are ATHEISM and SUPERSTITION; which indeed may seem to comprehend in them all kinds of apostasy and prevarication from religion. We shall not be over curious to pry into such foul and rotten carcases as these are, too narrowly, or to make any subtile anatomy of them; but rather inquire a little into the

original and immediate causes of them; because, it may be, they may be nearer of kin than we ordinarily are aware of, while we see their complexions to be so vastly different the one from the other.

And, first of all, for SUPERSTITION,—to lay aside our vulgar notion of it, which much mistakes it—it is the same with that temper of mind which the Greeks call *δεισιδαιμονία*, for so Cicero frequently translates that word, though not so fitly and emphatically as he hath done some others. It imports ‘an over-timorous and dreadful apprehension of the Deity¹’; and therefore, with Hesychius, *δεισιδαιμονία* and *φοβοθεΐα* are all one, and *δεισιδαίμων* is by him expounded ‘an idolater, and also one that is very prompt to worship the gods², but withal fearful of them³.’ And therefore the true cause and rise of superstition is indeed nothing else but a false opinion of the Deity, that renders him dreadful and terrible, as being rigorous and imperious; that which represents him as austere and apt to be angry, but yet impotent, and easy to be appeased again by some flattering devotions, especially if performed with sanctimonious shows, and a solemn sadness of mind. And I wish that that picture of God which some Christians have drawn of Him, wherein sourness and arbitrariness appear so much, doth not too much resemble it. According to this sense Plutarch hath well defined it in this manner: ‘a strong passionate opinion, and such a supposition as is productive of a fear debasing and terrifying a man with the representation of the gods as grievous and hurtful to mankind⁴.’

¹ Superstitio, in qua inest timor inanis deorum.—Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* Lib. i. cap. XLII.

² For so that word *εὔσεβης* must here signify; if, indeed, it be not corrupted, and to be read *εὐλαβής*—a word which some other lexicographers use in this case. (Original edition.)

³ ὁ τὰ εἰδωλα σέβων, εἰδωλολάτρης, ὁ

εὔσεβης, καὶ δειλὸς παρὰ θεοῖς (περὶ θεοῦς). Suidas defines *δεισιδαιμονία* as *εὐλάβεια* *περὶ τὸ θεῖον, δειλία, ἀμφιβολία περὶ τὴν πίστιν,—ἡ ἀκαιρος θεοσέβεια.*

⁴ δόξαν ἐμπαθῇ καὶ δέους ποιητικῇ ὑπόληψιν οὖσαν ἐκταπεινούντος καὶ συντρίβοντος τὸν ἀνθρώπον, οἰόμενον μὲν εἶναι θεοῦς, εἶναι δὲ λυπηροῦς καὶ βλαβεροῦς.—Plut. *de Superst.* 165 B.

Such men as these converse not with the goodness of God, and therefore they are apt to attribute their impotent passions and peevishness of spirit to Him. Or, it may be, because some secret advertisements of their consciences tell them how unlike they themselves are to God, and how they have provoked Him; they are apt to be as much displeased with Him as too troublesome to them, as they think He is displeased with them. They are apt to count this divine supremacy as but a piece of tyranny that, by its sovereign will, makes too great encroachments upon their liberties, and that which will eat up all their right and property; and therefore are slavishly afraid of Him, 'fearing heaven's monarchy as a severe and churlish tyranny, from which they cannot absolve themselves,' as the same author speaks¹: and therefore he thus discloseth the private whisperings of their minds: 'the broad gates of hell are opened, the rivers of fire and Stygian inundations run down as a swelling flood, there is thick darkness crowded together, dreadful and ghastly sights of ghosts screeching and howling, judges and tormentors, deep gulfs and abysses full of infinite miseries².' Thus he. The prophet Isaiah gives us this epitome of their thoughts: 'The sinners in Zion are afraid, fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites: who shall dwell with the devouring fire? who shall dwell with everlasting burnings³?' Though I should not dislike these dreadful and astonishing thoughts of future torment, which I doubt even good men may have cause to press home upon their own spirits, while they find ingenuity less active, the more to restrain sin; yet I think

¹ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννίδα φοβούμενος σκυθρωπὴν καὶ ἀπαράιτητον.—*Plut. de Superst.* 166 D.

² Ἄδου τινὲς ἀνοίγονται πύλαι βαθείαι, καὶ ποταμοὶ πυρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ στρυγὸς ἀπορρώγες ἀναπετάσσονται, καὶ σκότος ἐφήπλω-

ται πολυφάνταστον, εἰδῶλων τινῶν χαλεπὰς μὲν ὄψεις, οἰκτρὰς δὲ φωνὰς ἐπιφερόντων, δικάσται δὲ καὶ κολασταί, καὶ χάσματα καὶ μυχοί, κακῶν μυρίων γέμοντες.—*Ibid.* 167 A.

³ Isaiah xxxiii. 14.

it little commends God, and as little benefits us, to fetch all this horror and astonishment from the contemplations of a Deity, which should always be the most serene and lovely: our apprehensions of the Deity should be such as might ennoble our spirits, and not debase them. A right knowledge of God would beget a freedom and liberty of soul within us, and not servility, as Plutarch hath well observed: our thoughts of a Deity should breed in us hopes of virtue, and not gender to a spirit of bondage¹.

But that we may pass on. Because this unnatural resemblance of God as an angry Deity in impure minds, should it blaze too furiously, like the basilisk, would kill with its looks; therefore these painters use their best arts a little to sweeten it, and render it less displeasing. And those that fancy God to be most hasty and apt to be displeased, yet are ready also to imagine Him so impotently mutable, that His favour may be won again with their uncouth devotions; that He will be taken with their formal praises, and, being thirsty after glory and praise and solemn addresses, may, by their pompous furnishing out all these for Him, be won to a good liking of them: and thus they represent Him to themselves *κολακευόμενον, ἢ δεσθαι, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν ἀμελούμενον*, as Lucian speaks too truly, though, it may be, too profanely². And therefore superstition will always abound in these things, whereby this deity of their own, made after the similitude of men, may be most gratified, slavishly crouching to it. We will take

¹ The words of Plutarch, as given in the text of the former editions of our author, and which he evidently had before him, are these: *ἀρετῆς γὰρ ἐλπίς ὁ Θεὸς ἐστίν, οὐ δουλείας πρόφασις.* (*de Superst.* 169 c.) The important word *δουλείας* does not, however, appear to be the correct reading, but *δεκλίας*. The editions of Hutten, Reiske, and the late Paris edition of Didot, all agree on this point. The word *δεκλίας*, moreover, forms the appro-

priate antithesis to *ἀρετῆς*. We must, therefore, slightly alter the wording of the idea taken from Plutarch, and read thus: 'A right knowledge of God would beget a firmness and energy of soul within us, not *timidity*, as Plutarch hath well observed; our thoughts of a Deity should breed in us hopes of virtue, and not gender to a spirit of fear.'

² *De Sacrif.* c. 1.

a view of it in the words of Plutarch, though what refers to the Jews, if it respects more their rites than their manners, may seem to contain too hasty a censure of them. Superstition brings in 'wallowings in the dust, tumblings in the mire, observations of sabbaths, prostrations, uncouth gestures, and strange rites of worship'.¹ Superstition is very apt to think that heaven may be bribed with such false-hearted devotions; as Porphyry hath well explained it by this, that it is 'an apprehension that a man may corrupt and bribe the Deity²:' which (as he there observes) was the cause of all those bloody sacrifices, and of some inhuman ones among the heathen, men imagining *διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐξωνεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν*³ like him in the prophet, that thought, by the fruit of his body, and the firstlings of his flock, to expiate the sin of his soul⁴.

But, it may be, we may seem all this while to have made too tragical a description of superstition; and indeed our author, whom we have all this while had recourse to, seems to have set it forth, as anciently painters were wont to do those pieces in which they would demonstrate most their own skill; they would not content themselves with the shape of one body only, but borrowed

¹ *πηλώσεις, καταβορβορώσεις, σαββατισμούς, ῥίψεις ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, αἰσχροὺς προκαθίσεις, ἀλλοκότους προσκυνήσεις.*—Plut. *de Superst.* 166 A.

² The words of Porphyry do not convey the meaning here ascribed to them. They occur in the treatise *De Abstinētia*, Lib. II. cap. 60: 'Ἀγροῦσι δὲ οἱ τὴν πολυτέλειαν εἰσαγάγοντες εἰς τὰς θυσίας, ὅπως ἅμα ταύτῃ ἐσθὼν κακῶν εἰσάγαγον, δεισιδαιμονίαν, τρυφήν, ὑπόληψιν τοῦ δεκάξου δύνασθαι τὸ θεῖον, καὶ θυσίας ἀκείσθαι τὴν ἀδικίαν, κ.τ.λ.: i. e. 'those who introduce costliness into sacrifices are not conscious that along with it they bring in a swarm of evils—superstition, luxury, a suspicion of the possibility of bribing the Deity, and of remedying injustice by sa-

crifices.' The suspicion here spoken of is not a description of *δεισιδαιμονία*, but both the one and the other are enumerated as belonging to the evils introduced through costliness in sacrifices.

³ Porphyry, *ibid.* The effect here mentioned is rightly attributed to the influence of *δεισιδαιμονία*. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, has been spoken of as sacrificing magnificently, and so becoming superstitious as a consequence. It is then said of Alexander himself, *πῶς δὲ κεχαρισμένα θύειν ἡγούμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ταῦτα, οὐκ ἐξεῖναι ἀδικεῖν οἰήσεται αὐτῷ, μέλλοντι διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐξωνεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν*;

⁴ Micah vi. 7.

several parts from several bodies as might most fit their design, and fill up the picture of that they desired chiefly to represent. Superstition, it may be, looks not so foul and deformed in every soul that is dyed with it, as he hath there set it forth, nor doth it every where spread itself alike: this πάθος, that shrouds itself under the name of religion, will variously discover itself, as it is seated in minds of a various temper, and meets with variety of matter to exercise itself about.

We shall therefore a little further inquire into it, and what the judgments of the soberest men anciently were of it; the rather for that a learned author of our own seems unwilling to own that notion of it which we have hitherto, out of Plutarch and others, contended for; who, though he hath freed it from that gloss which the late ages have put upon it, yet he may seem to have too strictly confined it to a cowardly worship of the ancient Gentile demons, as if Superstition and Polytheism were indeed the same thing; whereas Polytheism, or demon-worship, is but one branch of it. This was partly observed by the learned Casaubon in his notes upon that chapter of Theophrastus περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας, where it is described to be δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, which he thus interprets: *Theophrastus voce δαιμόνιον et deos et dæmones complexus est, et quicquid divinitatis esse particeps malesana putavit antiquitas*¹. And in this sense it was truly observed by Petronius Arbiter,

Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor².

¹ Ἀμέλει ἡ δεισιδαιμονία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον.—Theophr. *Char.* περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας.

The following is the note of Casaubon on the above:

‘Alii sic definiunt—Δεισιδαιμονία ἐστὶ φόβος θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων. Sed Theophrastus voce δαιμόνιον, et deos et dæmones complexus est, et quicquid divinitatis esse

particeps malesana putavit antiquitas. Δειλίαν accipe metum alium ab eo qui pios decet. Scite enim Varro apud Augustinum dicebat deum a religioso vereri, a superstitioso timeri.’

Casaubon, a little further on, quotes the passage from Maximus Tyrius, adduced by our author in page 35.

² Petron. Arb. *Prægm.* xxii. 1.

The whole progeny of the ancient demons, at least in the minds of the vulgar, sprang out of fear, and were supported by it: though, notwithstanding, this fear, when in a being void of all true sense of divine goodness, hath not escaped the censure of superstition in Varro's judgment, whose maxim it was, as St Augustine tells us, *Deum a religioso vereri, a supersticioso timeri*¹: which distinction Servius seems to have made use of in his comment upon Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. where the poet describing the torments of the wicked in hell, he runs out into an allegorical exposition of all, it may be too much in favour of Lucretius, whom he there magnifies. His words are these: *Ipse etiam Lucretius dicit per eos, super quos jamjam casurus imminet lapis, supersticiosos significari, qui inaniter semper verentur, et de diis et cælo et locis superioribus male opinantur. Nam religiosi sunt qui per reverentiam timent*².

But that we may the more fully unfold the nature of this *πάθος*, and the effects of it, which are not always of one sort, we shall first premise something concerning the rise of it.

The common notions of a Deity, strongly rooted in men's souls, and meeting with the apprehensions of guiltiness, are very apt to excite this servile fear: and when men love their own filthy lusts, that they may spare them, they are presently apt to contrive some other ways of appeasing the Deity, and compounding with it. Unhallowed minds, that have no inward foundations of true holiness to fix themselves upon, are easily shaken and tossed from all inward peace and tranquillity: and as the thoughts of some supreme power above them seize upon them, so they are struck with the lightning thereof into

¹ Quale autem illud est, quod cum religiosum a supersticioso ea distinctione discernat, ut a supersticioso dicat timeri deos, a religioso autem tantum vereri ut

parentes, non ut hostes timeri.—*De Civitate Dei*, Lib. vi. cap. ix. § 2.

² Serv. in *Virg.* vi. 596.

inward affrightments, which are further increased by a vulgar observation of those strange, stupendous, and terrifying effects in nature, whereof they can give no certain reason, as earthquakes, thunderings and lightnings, blazing comets, and other meteors of a like nature, which are apt to terrify those especially who are already unsettled and chased with an inward sense of guilt, and, as Seneca speaks, *inevitabilem metum ut supra nos aliquid timeremus incutiunt*¹. Petronius Arbiter hath well described this business for us:

Primus in orbe deos fecit timor, ardua cœlo
Fulmina cum caderent, discussaque mœnia flammis,
Atque ictus flagraret Athos²—

From hence it was that the *libri fulgurales* of the Romans, and other such like volumes of superstition, swelled so much, and that the *pulvinaria deorum* were so often frequented, as will easily appear to any one a little conversant in Livy, who every where sets forth this devotion so largely, as if he himself had been too passionately in love with it.

And though, as the events in nature began sometimes to be found out better by a discovery of their imme-

¹ This is inaccurate. Seneca does not say that thunders, &c. produce awe for a superior power; but he simply asserts that the *philosophers of antiquity turned them to account, to overawe the ignorant*. “In his, prima specie si intueri velis, errat antiquitas. Quid enim tam imperitum est, quam credere fulmina e nubibus Jovem mittere, columnas, arbores, statuas suas nonnunquam petere, ut, impunitis sacrilegiis, percussis ovibus, incensis aris, pecudes innoxias feriat, et ad suum consilium a Jove deos, quasi in ipso parum consilii sit, advocari: illa læta et placata esse fulmina, quæ solus excutiat; pernicio, quibus mittendis major numinum turba interfuit? Si quæris a me, quid sentiam, non existimo tam hebetes fuisse,

ut crederent Jovem aut non æquæ voluntatis, aut certe minus paratum esse. Utrum enim vel tunc, quum emisit ignes, quibus innoxia capita percuteret, scelerata transiret, aut noluit justius mittere, aut non successit? Quid ergo secuti sunt, quum hoc dicerent? *Ad coercendos animos imperitorum sapientissimi viri judicaverunt inevitabilem metum, ut supra nos aliquid timeremus*. Utile erat in tanta audacia scelerum aliquid esse, adversum quod nemo sibi satis potens videretur. Ad conterrendos itaque eos, quibus innocentia nisi metu non placet, posuere super caput vindicem, et quidem armatum.”—Senec. *Nat. Quæst.* Lib. II. cap. XLII.

² Petron. Arb. *Frag.* XXII. 1.

diate natural causes, so some particular pieces of superstitious customs were antiquated and grown out of date, (as is well observed concerning those charms and februations anciently in use upon the appearing of an eclipse, and some others) yet often affrights and horrors were not so easily abated, while they were unacquainted with the Deity, and with the other mysterious events in nature, which begot those furies and unlucky goblins—*ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναίους*—in the weak minds of men¹. To all which we may add the frequent spectres and frightful apparitions of ghosts and mormos: all which extorted such a kind of worship from them as was most correspondent with such causes of it. And those rites and ceremonies which were begotten by superstition, were again the unhappy nurses of it; such as are well described by Plutarch: ‘Feasts, and sacrifices, as likewise observations of unlucky and fatal days, celebrated with eating of raw things, lacerations, fastings, and howlings, and many times filthy speeches in their sacred rites, and frantic behaviour².’

But, as we insinuated before, this root of superstition diversely branched forth itself, sometimes into magic and exorcisms, other times into pedantical rites, and idle observations of things and times, as Theophrastus hath largely set them forth in his tract *Περὶ Δεισιδαιμονίας*³; in

¹ Plutarch. *de Defect. Orac.* 418 C.

² *Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μυστικῶν ἐν οἷς τὰς μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις λαβεῖν ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ δαιμόνων ἀληθείας, εὐστομά μοι κείσθω, καθ’ Ἡρόδοτον* ἑορτὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας, ὥσπερ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπὰς, ἐν αἷς ὤμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοί, νηστεΐαι τε καὶ κοπετοί, πολλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαι πρὸς ἱεροῖς, μανίαι τε ἄλλαι ὀρνώμεναι ῥιψαύχενι σὺν κλόνῳ, θεῶν μὲν οὐδενί, δαιμόνων δὲ φαύλων ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα φήσαιμι’ ἂν τελεῖν μειλίχια καὶ παραμύθια· καὶ τὰς πάλαι ποιούμενας ἀνθρωποθυσίας οὐτε θεοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ προσδέχεσθαι πιθανόν ἐστω, οὔτε, κ.τ.λ.—Plut. *de Defect. Orac.* 417 C.

The above is the text as taken from the edition of Wyttenbach (Oxf.). It is unnecessary here to do more than allude to the various reading of *μανίαι τ’ ἀλαλαί τ’ ὀρνώμεναι* for *μανίαι τε ἄλλαι ὀρνώμεναι*. We have prolonged the quotation in order to include the *ἀνθρωποθυσία* spoken of in the next page.

³ The following are a few of the absurd acts attributed to the superstitious man by Theophrastus.

If a weasel crosses his path he will not go along it, till somebody has gone before him, or he has thrown three stones across the way. He is always purifying his house, and saying it is because Hecate

others, it displayed itself in inventing as many new deities as there were several causes from whence their affrights proceeded, and finding out many *φρικτὰ μυστήρια* appropriate to them, as supposing they ought to be worshipped *cum sacro horrore*. And hence it is that we hear of those inhuman and diabolical sacrifices called *ἀνθρωποθυσίαι*, frequent among the old heathens, as among many others, Porphyry, in his *De Abstinencia*, hath abundantly related, and of those dead men's bones which our ecclesiastical writers tell us were found in their temples at the demolishing of them. Sometimes it would express itself in a prodigal way of sacrificing, for which Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen writer, but yet one who seems to have been well pleased with the simplicity and integrity of the Christian religion, taxeth Julian the emperor for superstition: *Superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans, ut æstimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos*¹: like that Marcus Cæsar, of whom he relates this common proverb: *Οἱ λευκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἄν σὺ νικήσης, ἡμεῖς ἀπώλομεθα*². Besides, many other ways might be named, wherein superstition might occasionally shew itself.

All which may best be understood, if we consider it a little in that composition of fear and flattery which before we intimated: and indeed flattery is most incident to base and slavish minds; and where the fear and jealousy of a Deity disquiet a wanton dalliance with sin, and disturb the filthy pleasure of vice, there this fawning and crouching disposition will find out devices to quiet an angry conscience within, and an offended God without, though as men grow more expert in this cunning, these fears may

has come in. He never puts his foot on a grave, nor ever goes where there is a corpse. If he has a dream, he repairs to the interpreters of dreams, to the soothsayers, to the augurs, to ascertain

to what god or goddess he must pay his vows.

¹ Ammian. Marcell. xxv. 4. 17.

² Quoted by Ammian. Marcell. *in loco citato*.

in some degree abate. This the ancient philosophy hath well taken notice of, and therefore well defined *δεισιδαιμονία* by *κολακεία*, and useth these terms promiscuously. Thus we find Maximus Tyrius, writing concerning the difference between a friend and a flatterer: 'The *pious* man is God's friend, the *superstitious* is a flatterer of God: and indeed most happy and blessed is the condition of the pious man, God's friend; but right miserable and sad is the state of the superstitious. The pious man, emboldened by a good conscience, and encouraged by the sense of his integrity, comes to God without fear and dread: but the superstitious, being sunk and depressed through the sense of his own wickedness, comes not without much fear, being void of all hope and confidence, and dreading the gods as so many tyrants¹.' Thus Plato also sets forth this superstitious temper, though he mentions it not under that name, but we may know it by a property he gives of it, viz. 'to converse with heaven,' distinguishing between three kinds of tempers in reference to the Deity, which he there calls *πάθη*, which are—total atheism, which he says never abides with any man till his old age; and partial atheism, which is a negation of Providence; and a third, which is a persuasion concerning the gods, 'that they are easily won by sacrifices and prayers²,' which he after explains thus: 'that with gifts unjust men may find acceptance with them³.' And this discourse of Plato's upon

¹ Max. Tyr. *Dissert.* 'Quomodo ab adulatore amicus debeat distingui.' 'Ὁ μὲν εὐσεβής, φίλος θεῶ, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων, κόλαξ θεοῦ· καὶ μακάριος εὐσεβής, ὁ φίλος θεοῦ, δυστυχὴς δὲ ὁ δεισιδαίμων. "Ὅν περ οὖν τρόπον ὁ μὲν θαρσύνῃ τῇ ἀρετῇ, πρόσκειται τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνευ δέους· ὁ δὲ ταπεινὸς διὰ μοχθηρίαν, μετὰ πολλοῦ δέους, δύσελπις, καὶ δεδιὼς τοὺς θεοὺς ὥσπερ τοὺς τυράννους.

² θεοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι κατὰ νόμους οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε ἔργον ἀσεβὲς ἐργάσατο ἐκὼν οὔτε λόγον ἀφῆκεν ἀνομιον, ἀλλὰ ἐν δῇ

τι τῶν τριῶν πάσχω, ἢ τοῦτο, ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐχ ἡγούμενος, ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ὄντας οὐ φροντίζω ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τρίτον εὐπαρமுθήτους εἶναι θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς παραγομένους.—*De Legg.* 885 B.

³ ὅτι μὲν γὰρ θεοὶ τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελοῦνται, ἔγωγε οὐ παντάπασιν φαύλως ἀν φαίην ἡμῖν ἀποδεδείχθαι· τὸ δὲ παραιτητοὺς αὐ θεοὺς εἶναι τοῖσιν ἀδικοῦσι, δεχομένους δῶρα, οὔτε τιw συγχωρητέον παντί τ' αὐ κατὰ δύναμιν τρόπῳ ἐλεγκτέον.—*De Legg.* 905 D.

these three kinds of irreligious πάθη Simplicius seems to have respect to in his comment upon Epictetus, where he treats about right opinions in religion¹; and there, having pursued the two former of them, he thus states the latter, (which he calls ἀθείας λόγον) as well as the other two, as a conceit, *quod muneribus et donariis et stipis distributione a sententia deducuntur*²: such men making account, by their devotions, to draw the Deity to themselves, and winning the favour of heaven, to procure such an indulgence to their lusts as no sober man on earth would give them; they, in the mean while, not considering ‘that repentance, supplications, and prayers, &c. ought to draw us nearer to God, not God nearer to us; as in a ship, by fastening a cable to a firm rock, we intend not to draw the rock to the ship, but the ship to the rock³.’ Which last passage of his is therefore the more worthy to be taken notice of, as shewing of how large an extent this irreligious temper is, and of how subtile a nature. This fond and gross dealing with the Deity was that which made the scoffing Lucian so much sport, who, in his treatise *De Sacrificiis*, tells a number of stories how the demons loved to be feasted, and where and how they were entertained, with such devotions which are rather used magically as charms and spells, for such as use them, to defend themselves against those evils which their own fears are apt perpetually to muster up, and to endeavour by bribery to purchase the favour and indulgence of heaven, as Juvenal speaks of the superstitious Egyptian :

¹ Simplic. *Comment. in Epict. cap. xxxi.*

² πρὸς τὸν τρίτον,.....τῆς ἀθείας λόγον ἴωμεν· ὅς εἶναι μὲν τὰ θεῖα καὶ προσοεῖν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὁμολογεῖ, παρατρέπεσθαι δὲ δώροις, καὶ ἀναθήμασι, καὶ κερματίων διαδόσεσιν.—Simpl. *in Epict. cap. xxxi.*

³ Καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡμῶν ἐπιστροφὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγομεν·

τοιούτων τι πάσχοντες, οἷον οἱ πέτρας τινὸς παραλλας κάλων ἐξάψαντες, καὶ τῷ ἐκείνων ἐπισπᾶσθαι ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τὸ ἀκάτιον τῇ πέτρᾳ προσάγοντες, καὶ δι’ ἀπειρίαν τοῦ γινομένου δοκοῦντες οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσιέναι τῇ πέτρᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν πέτραν κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς λέναι. Μεταμέλειαι δὲ, καὶ ἱκετεῖαι, καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλογοῦσι τῷ καλῷ.—Simpl. *ibid.*

Illius lacrymæ meditataque murmura præstant
Ut veniam culpæ non abnuat, ansere magno
Scilicet et tenui popano corruptus Osiris¹.

Though all this while I would not be understood to condemn too severely all servile fear of God, if it tend to make men avoid true wickedness, but that which settles upon these lees of formality.

To conclude. Were I to define superstition more generally according to the ancient sense of it, I would call it 'such an apprehension of God in the thoughts of men, as renders Him grievous and burdensome to them, and so destroys all free and cheerful converse with Him; begetting, in the stead thereof, a forced and jejune devotion, void of inward life and love.' It is that which discovers itself pedantically in the worship of the Deity, in anything that makes up only the body or outward vesture of religion; though there it may make a mighty bluster: and because it comprehends not the true divine good that ariseth to the souls of men from an internal frame of religion, it is therefore apt to think that all its insipid devotions are as so many presents offered to the Deity, and gratifications for Him. How variously superstition can discover and manifest itself, we have intimated before: to which I shall only add this, that we are not so well rid of superstition, as some imagine, when they have expelled it out of their churches, expunged it out of their books and writings, or cast it out of their tongues, by making innovations in names; wherein they sometimes imitate those old Caunii that Herodotus speaks of, who, that they might banish all the foreign gods that had stolen in among them, took their procession through all their country, beating and scourging the air as they went along²; no: for all this, superstition may enter into our chambers, and creep into our closets; it may twine about

¹ *Juv. Sat.* VI. 539.

² *Herod.* I. 172.

our secret devotions, and actuate our forms of belief and orthodox opinions, when it hath no place else to shroud itself, or hide its head in; we may think to flatter the Deity by these, and to bribe it with them, when we are grown weary of more pompous solemnities: nay, it may mix itself with a seeming faith in Christ; as I doubt it doth now in too many who, laying aside all sober and serious care of true piety, think it sufficient to offer up the active and passive righteousness of their Saviour, to a severe and rigid justice, to make expiation for those sins they can be willing to allow themselves in.

A
SHORT DISCOURSE
ON
ATHEISM.

They say unto God, Depart from us; for we desire not the knowledge of Thy ways. What is the Almighty that we should serve Him? and what profit should we have, if we pray unto Him? Job xxi. 14, 15.

Ἐνιοὶ γὰρ ἀποσφαλέντες παντάπασιν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ὤλισθον· οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ὥσπερ ἔλος τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἔλαθον αὐθις ὥσπερ εἰς κρημνὸν ἐμπεσόντες τὴν ἀθεότητα.
PLUTARCH. *de Iside et Osiride*, 378 A.

Ἐνιοὶ φεύγοντες τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ἀθεότητα τραχείαν καὶ ἀντίτυπον, ὑπερπηδήσαντες ἐν μέσῳ κειμένην τὴν εὐσέβειαν. PLUTARCH. *de Superst. ad fin.*



SHORT DISCOURSE

ON

ATHEISM.

That there is a near affinity between atheism and superstition.—That superstition doth not only prepare the way for atheism, but promotes and strengthens it.—That epicurism is but atheism under a mask.—A confutation of the master-notion of Epicurus, together with some other pretences and dogmas of his sect.—That true knowledge of nature is advantageous to religion.—That superstition is more tolerable than atheism.—That atheism is both ignoble and uncomfortable.—What low and unworthy notions the Epicureans had concerning man's happiness: and what trouble they were put to, how to define, and where to place, true happiness.—A true belief of a Deity supports the soul with a present tranquillity and future hopes.—Were it not for a Deity, the world would be uninhabitable.

WE have now done with what we intended concerning superstition, and shall a little consider and search into the pedigree of ATHEISM, which indeed hath so much affinity with superstition, that it may seem to have the same father with it. 'Superstition could be well content there were no God to trouble or disquiet it, and atheism thinks there is none¹.' And as superstition is engendered by a base opinion of the Deity as cruel and tyrannical, (though it be afterwards brooded and hatched by a slavish fear and abject thoughts) so also is atheism: and that sour and ghastly apprehension of God, when it meets with more stout and surly natures, is apt to enrage them, and cankering them with malice against the Deity they

¹ Οὐκ οἴεται θεοὺς εἶναι ὁ ἄθεος, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων οὐ βούλεται, [πιστεύει δὲ ἄκων].
—Plut. de Superst. 170 F.

so little brook, provokes them to fight against it, and undermine the notion of it; as this plastic nature which intends to form living creatures, when it meets with stubborn and unruly matter, is fain to yield to it, and to produce that which answers not her own idea; whence the signatures and impressions of nature sometimes vary so much from that seal that nature would have stamped upon them. 'Ο δεισιδαίμων τῇ προαιρέσει ἄθεος ὢν, ἀσθενέστερός ἐστιν ἢ ὥστε δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν ὃ βούλεται¹. If these melancholic opinions and disquieting fears of the Deity mould not the minds of men into devotion, as finding them too churlish and untameable to receive any such impressions; they are then apt to exasperate men against it, and stir them up to contend with that Being which they cannot bear, and to destroy that which would deprive them of their own liberty. These unreasonable fears of a Deity will always be moving into flattery or wrath. Atheism could never have so easily crept into the world, had not superstition made way, and opened a back-door for it: it could not so easily have banished the belief of a Deity, had not that first accused and condemned it as destructive to the peace of mankind; and therefore it hath always justified and defended itself by superstition; as Plutarch hath well expressed it: 'Superstition afforded the principle of generation to atheism, and afterwards furnished it with an apology, which, though it be neither true nor lovely, yet wants it not a specious pretence².' And therefore Simplicius, as we heard before³, calls the notion of superstition ἀθείας λόγον, as having an ill savour of atheism in it, seeing (as he gives an account of it) it disrobes the Deity of true majesty and perfection, and represents it as weak and infirm, clothed with such fond,

¹ Plutarch, *de Superst.* 170 F.

προφάσεως δὲ τινος οὐκ ἄμοιρον οὔσαν.—

² Ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία τῇ ἀθεότητι καὶ γενέσθαι παρέσχεν ἀρχὴν, καὶ γενομένη διδωσιν ἀπολογίαν, οὐκ ἄληθῃ μὲν οὐδὲ καλῇ,

Plutarch, *de Superst.* 171 A.

³ Vid. *Discourse on Superstition*, p. 36.

feeble, and impotent passions, as men themselves are. And Dionysius Longinus, that noble rhetorician, fears not to challenge Homer as atheistical for his unsavoury language respecting the gods, which indeed was only the offspring of his superstition¹. If the superstitious man thinks that God is altogether like himself, which indeed is a character most proper to such, the atheist will soon say in his heart, ‘there is no God;’ and will judge it, not without some appearance of reason, to be better there were none; as Plutarch hath discoursed it. ‘Were it not better for the Gauls and Scythians not to have had any notion, fancy, or history of the gods, than to think them such as delighted in the blood of men offered up in sacrifices upon their altars, as reckoning this the most perfect kind of sacrifice and consummate devotion²?’ For thus his words are to be translated in reference to those ancient Gauls and Scythians, whom almost all histories testify to have been *ἀνθρωποθύται* which horrid and monstrous superstition was anciently very frequent among the heathen, and was sharply taxed by Empedocles of old,

Μορφήν δ’ ἀλλάξαντα πατήρ φίλον υἱὸν αἵρας
Σφάζει, ἐπευχόμενος μέγα νήπιος³.—

This made Lucretius cry out with so much indignation, when he took notice of Agamemnon’s diabolical devotion in sacrificing his daughter Iphigenia to make expiation during his Trojan expedition,

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum⁴.

And indeed what sober man could brook such an esteem of himself as this blind superstition, which overspread the

¹ Ὅμηρος γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, παραδιδούς τραύματα θεῶν, στάσεις, τιμωρίας, δάκρυα, δεσμὰ, πάθη πάμφυρτα, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει, θεοὺς πεποιηκέναι, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους.—Dionys. Long. *de Sublim.* ix. § 7.

² Οὐκ ἄμεινον οὖν ἦν Γαλάταις ἐκείνοις καὶ Σκύθαις τοπαράπαν μῆτε ἔννοιαν εἶχειν

θεῶν, μῆτε φαντασίαν, μῆτε ἱστορίαν, ἢ θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζεν χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων σφαττομένων αἵμασι, καὶ τελευτάτην θύσαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν ταύτην νομίζοντας;—Plut. *de Superst.* 171 B.

³ Empedocles *Frag. de Purificat.* 430. Quoted also by Plutarch, *ibid.*

⁴ Lucret. *de Rer. Nat.* i. 102.

heathen world, and (I doubt) is not sufficiently rooted out of the Christian, fastened upon God himself? which made Plutarch so much in defiance of it cry out, as willing almost to be an atheist as to entertain the vulgar superstition, ‘As for me,’ saith he, ‘I had rather men should say that there is no such man, nor ever was, as Plutarch, than to say that he is, or was, an inconstant, fickle man, apt to be angry, and for every trifle revengeful,’ &c. as he goes on farther to express this blasphemy of superstition¹.

But it may not be amiss, to learn from Atheists themselves what was the impulsive cause that moved them to banish away all thoughts and sober fear of a Deity—what was the principle upon which this black opinion was built, and by which it was sustained. And this we may have from the confessions of the Epicureans, who, though they seemed to acknowledge a Deity, yet I doubt not but those that search into their writings will soon embrace Cicero’s censure of them, *Verbis quidem ponunt, reipsa tollunt deos*². Indeed it was not safe for Epicurus (though he had a good mind to let the world know how little he cared for their deities) to profess he believed there were none, lest he should have met with the same entertainment for it that Protagoras did at Athens; who, for declaring himself doubtful, εἴτε εἰσι, εἴτε μή εἰσι θεοί, was himself put to death, and his books burnt in the streets of Athens, ὑπὸ κήρυκα—*sub voce præconis*—as Diogenes Laertius and others record³: and indeed the

¹ Ἀνθρώπος ἀβέβαιος, εὐμετάβολος, εὐ-
χερὴς πρὸς ὀργήν, ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τι-
μωρητικός, κ.τ.λ.—Plutarch, *de Superst.*
170 A.

² Quamquam video nonnullis videri,
Epicurum, ne in offensionem Athenien-
sium caderet, verbis reliquisse deos, re
sustulisse.—*De Nat. Deor.* I. 30.

Epicurus re tollit, oratione relinquit
deos.—*Ibid.* I. 44.

³ ‘Περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι εἶθ’
ὥς εἰσιν, εἶθ’ ὥς οὐκ εἰσιν. πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ
κωλύοντα εἰδέναι, ἣ τε ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχυὶς
ὧν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.’ Διὰ ταύτην δὲ
τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος ἐξεβλήθη
πρὸς Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὰ βιβλία αὐτοῦ κατέ-
καυσαν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὑπὸ κήρυκα ἀναλεξά-
μενοι παρ’ ἐκάστου τῶν κεκτημένων.—*Diog.*
Laert. IX. 8. 51.

Nam Abderites quidem Protagoras,

world was never so degenerated anywhere, as to suffer atheism to appear in public view.

But that we may return, and take the confessions a little of these secret atheists of the Epicurean sect: and of these Cicero gives us a large account in his books *De Finibus*, and other parts of his philosophy. Torquatus, the Epicurean, liberally spends his breath to cool that too much heat of religion, as he thought, in those that could not apprehend God as any other than *curiosum et plenum negotii deum*, (as one of that sect doth phrase it¹), and so he states this maxim of the religion that then was most in use, saying, *Superstitio, qua qui est imbutus, quietus esse nunquam potest*². By the way, it may be worth our observing, how this monstrous progeny of men, when they would seem to acknowledge a Deity, could not forget their own beloved image, which was always before their eyes; and therefore they would have it as careless of anything, but its own pleasure and idle life, as they themselves were. So easy is it for all sects, some way or other, to slide into a compliance with the Anthropomorphitæ, and to bring down the Deity to a conformity to their own image.

But we shall rather choose a little to examine Lucretius on this point, who hath, in the name of all his sect, largely told us the rise and original of this design. After a short introduction to his following discourse of nature, he thus begins his prologue in commendation of the exploit of Epicurus, as he fancies it:

Humana ante oculos fœde cum vita jaceret,
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione,
Quæ caput a cœli regionibus ostendebat
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans;

.....quum in principio libri sui sic posuisset, *De diis, neque ut sint, neque ut non sint, habeo dicere*, Atheniensium jussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus, libri-

que ejus in concione combusti.—Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* I. 23.

¹ *De Nat. Deor.* I. 20.

² *De Fin.* I. 18.

Primum Graius homo mortales tendere contra
 Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contra:
 Quem neque fana deum, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
 Murmure compressit cælum¹.——

And a little after, in a sorry ovation, proudly cries out,

Quare religio pedibus subjecta vicissim
 Obteritur; nos exæquat victoria cælo².

But to proceed. Our author observing the timorous minds of men to have been struck with this dreadful superstition, from the observation of some stupendous effects and events (as he pleaseth rather to call them) in nature; he therefore, following herein the steps of his great master Epicurus, undertakes so to solve all those knots into which superstition was tied up, by unfolding the secrets of nature, as that men might find themselves loosened from those *sævi domini* and *crudeles tyranni*, as he calls the vulgar creeds of the Deity. And so he begins with a simple confutation of the opinion of the creation, which he supposed to contain a sure and sensible demonstration of a Deity, and to have sprung up from an admiring ignorance of natural productions:

Quippe ita formido mortales continet omnes,
 Quod multa in terris fieri cœloque tuentur,
 Quorum operum causas nulla ratione videre
 Possunt, ac fieri divino numine rentur³.

And towards the end of this first book,

Primum quod magnis doceo de rebus, et artis
 Religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo⁴.

But herein all the Epicureans (who are not the true, but foster-fathers of that natural philosophy they brag of, and of which indeed Democritus was the first author) do themselves miserably blunder. For though a lawful acquaintance with all the events and phenomena that shew themselves

¹ Lucret. de Rer. Nat. 1. 63.

² Ibid. 1. 79.

³ Lucret. de Rer. Nat. 1. 152.

⁴ Ibid. 1. 930.

upon this mundane stage, would contribute much to free men's minds from the slavery of dull superstition: yet would it also breed a sober and amiable belief of the Deity, as it did in all the Pythagoreans, Platonists, and other sects of philosophers, if we may believe themselves; and an ingenuous knowledge hereof would be as fertile with religion, as the ignorance thereof, in affrighted and base minds, is with superstition.

For which purpose I shall need only to touch upon the master-notion of Epicurus, by which he undertakes to solve all difficulties that might hold our thoughts in suspense about a Δημιουργός, or a Creator; which is that *plenum*—which is all one with *corpus*—and *inane*; that this body—which, in his philosophy, is nothing but an infinity of insensible atoms moving to and fro in an empty space—is, together with that space in which it is, sufficient to beget all those phenomena which we see in nature. Which, however true it might be, motion being once granted, yet herein Cicero hath well stopped the wheel of this over-hasty philosophy: *Quum in rerum natura duo quærenda sint, unum, quæ materia sit ex qua quæque res efficiatur; alterum, quæ vis sit quæ quidque efficiat: de materia disseruerunt; vim et causam efficiendi reliquerunt*¹. Which is as much as if some conceited piece of sophistry should go about to prove that an automaton had no dependency upon the skill of an artificer, by descanting upon the several parts of it, without taking notice, in the mean while, of some external weight or spring that moves it: or, to use his own similitude, as if one that undertakes to analyze any learned book, should tell us how so many letters meeting together in several combinations, should beget all that sense that is contained therein, without minding that wit that cast them all into their several ranks. And this made

¹ Cic. de Fin. 1. 6.

Aristotle, otherwise not over-zealous of religion, soberly acknowledge some 'first mover'—τὸ πρῶτον κινῶν ἀκίνητον.

And yet, could we allow Epicurus this power of motion to be seated in nature, yet that he might perform the true task of a naturalist, he must also give us an account how such a force and power in nature should subsist: which indeed is easy to do, if we call in Θεὸν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς,—God himself as the architect and mover of this divine artifice; but without some infinite power, impossible.

And we should further inquire, how these moveable and rambling atoms come to place themselves so orderly in the universe, and observe that absolute harmony and decorum in all their motions, as if they kept time with the musical laws of some Almighty mind that composed all their lessons, and measured out their dances up and down in the universe; and also how it comes to pass, if they be only moved by chance and accident, that such regular mutations and generations should be begotten by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, as sometimes they speak of, they having no centre to seat themselves about in an infinite vacuity, as Cicero argues; and how these bodies, that are once moved by some impulse from their former station, return again, or at least come to stay themselves, and do not rather move perpetually the same way the first impulse and direction carried them; or why they do not there rest where their motion first began to cease, if they were interrupted by anything without them: or again, if the proper motion of these atoms be always toward some centre, as Epicurus sometimes is pleased to state the business—*lineis rectis*, as he saith—then how comes there, as Cicero replies, to be any generation? or if there be a *motus declinationis* joined with this motion of gravity, (which was one of the κυρίαί δόξαι of Epicurus, not borrowed from Democritus) then why should not all

tend the same way? and so all those motions, generations, and appearances in nature vanish, seeing all variety of motion would be taken away which way soever this unhallowed opinion be stated¹?

Thus we see, though we should allow the principle of Epicurus and the fundamental absurdity in the frame of nature, yet it is too airy and weak a thing to support that massy bulk of absurdities which he would build upon it. But it was not the lot of any of his stamp to be over-wise (however they did boast most in the title of *Sophi*) as is well observed of them; for then they might have been so happy too as to have dispelled these thick and filthy mists of atheism, by those bright beams of truth that shine in the frame of this inferior world, wherein, as St Paul speaks, the τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ is made manifest².

Atheism most commonly lurks in *confinio scientiæ et ignorantia*: when the minds of men begin to draw those gross, earthly vapours of sensual and material speculations by dark and cloudy disputes, they are then most in danger of being benighted in them. There is a natural sense of God that lodges in the minds of the lowest and dullest sort of vulgar men, which is always roving after Him, catching at Him, though it cannot lay any sure hold on Him; which works like a natural instinct antecedent to any mature knowledge, as being indeed the first principle of it: and if I were to speak precisely in the mode of the Stoics, I would rather call it ὁρμὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, than, with Plutarch, θεοῦ νόησιν. But when contentious disputes,

¹ The substance of the foregoing remarks will be found in Cic. *de Fin.* i. c. vi. Conf. *de Fato*, c. x.: Sed Epicurus declinatione atomi vitari fati necessitatem putat. Itaque tertius quidam motus oritur extra pondus et plagam, quum declinat atomus intervallo minimo. Id appellat

ἐλάχιστον. Quam declinationem sine causa fieri si minus verbis, re cogitur confiteri. Non enim atomus ab atomo pulsa declinat. Nam qui potest pelli alia ab alia, si gravitate feruntur ad perpendicularum corpora individua, rectis lineis, ut Epicuro placet?

² Rom. i. 19.

and frothy reasonings, and contemplations informed by fleshly affections, conversant only about the outside of nature, begin to rise up in men's souls; they may then be in some danger of depressing all those inbred notions of a Deity, and of reasoning themselves out of their own sense, as the old sceptics did: and therefore it might perhaps be wished, that some men that have not religion, had more superstition to accompany them in their passage from ignorance to knowledge.

But we have run out too far in this digression: we shall now return, and observe how our former author takes notice of another piece of vulgar superstition, which he thinks fit to be chased away by atheism, and that is, 'the terrors of the world to come,' which he thus sets upon in his third book:

Animi natura videtur

Atque animæ claranda meis jam versibus esse,
Et metus ille foras præceps Acheruntis agendus
Funditus humanam vitam qui turbat ab imo,
Omnia suffundens mortis nigrore¹——

And afterwards, he tells us how this fear of the gods thus proceeding from the former causes, and from those spectres and ghastly apparitions with which men were sometimes terrified, begat all those fantastic rites and ceremonies in use among them, as their temples, sacred lakes and pools, their groves, altars, images, and other like vanities, as so many idle toys to please these deities with; and at last concludes himself thus into atheism, as a strong fort to preserve himself from these cruel deities that superstition had made, because he could not find the way to true religion.

Quæ nunc causa deum per magnas numina gentes
Pervulgarit, et ararum compleverit urbes,

¹ Lucret. *De Rer. Nat.* III. 35.

Suscipiendaque curarit solennia sacra,
 Quæ nunc in magnis florent sacra rebu' locisque;
 Unde etiam nunc est mortalibus insitus horror
 Qui delubra deum nova toto suscitât orbi
 Terrarum, et festis cogit celebrare diebus;
 Non ita difficile est rationem reddere verbis¹.

Thus we see how superstition strengthened the wicked hands of atheism; so far is a formal and ritual way of religion, proceeding from baseness and servility of mind, (though backed with never so much rigour and severity) from keeping it out. And I wish some of our opinions in religion in these days may not have the same evil influences as the notorious Gentile superstition of old had, as well for the begetting of atheism, as I doubt it is too manifest they have for other errors.

Thus we should now leave this argument; only before we pass from it, we shall observe two things which Plutarch hath suggested to us. The first whereof is, that however unlovely a thing superstition be, yet it is more tolerable than atheism, which I shall repeat in his words: 'We should endeavour to take off superstition from our minds, as a film from our eyes; but if that cannot be, we must not therefore pluck out our eyes, and blind the faith that generally we have of the Deity².' Superstition may sometimes keep men from the outward acts of sin, and so their future punishment may have some abatement. Besides that atheism offers the greatest violence to men's souls that may be, pulling up the notions of a Deity, which have spread their roots quite through all the powers of men's souls.

The second is this; 'that atheism itself is a most ignoble and uncomfortable thing,' as Cicero hath largely

¹ Lucret. *De Rer. Nat.* v. 1160.

² Δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀμέλει τῆς περὶ θεῶν δόξης, ὥσπερ ὄψεως λήμνη, ἀφαιρεῖν τὴν δεισι-
 δαιμονίαν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, μὴ συν-

εκκόπτειν, μηδὲ τυφλοῦν τὴν πίστιν ἣν οἱ
 πλείστοι περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσι.—Plut. 'Non
 posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum.'
 1101 C.

discussed it, and especially Plutarch, in the above-named treatise of his, written by way of confutation of Colotes the Epicurean, who wrote a book to prove that a man could not live quietly by following any other sects of philosophers besides his own¹; as if all true good were only conversant ‘about the belly, and all the pores and passages of the body²,’ and the way to true happiness was *σαρκοποιεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅλον*³, or else *τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς κατασυνβωτεῖν*, as Plutarch hath not more wittily, than judiciously, replied upon him.

What is all that happiness that ariseth from these bodily pleasures to any one that hath any high or noble sense within him? This gross, muddy, and stupid opinion is nothing else but a *dehonestamentum humani generis*, that casts as great a scorn and reproach upon the nature of mankind as may be, and sinks it into the deepest abyss of baseness. And, certainly, were the highest happiness of mankind such a thing as might be felt by a corporeal touch; were it of so ignoble a birth as to spring out of this earth, and to grow up out of this mire and clay; we might well sit down, and bewail our unhappy fates, that we should rather be born men than brute beasts, which enjoy more of this world’s happiness than we can do, without any sin or guilt. How little of pleasure these short lives taste here! which only lasts so long as the indigency of nature is in supplying, and after that, only ‘a flying shadow, or flitting dream’ of that pleasure which is choked as soon as craving nature is satisfied, remains in the fancy,

¹ Κολώτης βιβλίον ἐξέδωκεν, ἐπιγράψας Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι κατὰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων δόγματα οὐδὲ ζῆν ἐστίν.—Plut. *Adv. Colot.* sub init.

The same treatise of Colotes is also referred to in the introduction to the above-cited work of Plutarch: ‘Non posse, &c.’

Κολώτης ὁ Ἐπικούρου συνήθης, βιβλίον ἐξέδωκεν, κ.τ.λ.

² Οἴονται δὲ, περὶ γαστέρα τάγαθόν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πόρους τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπαντας, δι’ ὧν ἡδονὴ καὶ μὴ ἀλγηδὼν ἐπισέρχεται.—*Ibid.* 1087 D.

³ *Ibid.* 1096 E. ⁴ *Ibid.* 1096 C.

οἶον ὑπέκκαυμα τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, as Plutarch hath well observed in the same discourse¹.

And therefore Epicurus, seeing how slippery the soul was to all sensual pleasure, which was apt to slide away perpetually from it; and, again, how little of it the body was capable of where it had a shorter stay; he and his followers could not well tell where to place this beggarly guest: and therefore, as Plutarch speaks: ‘one while they would place it in the body, and then lead it back again into the soul, not knowing where to bestow it².’ And Diodorus, and the Cyreniaci, and the Epicureans, as Cicero tells us, who all could fancy nothing but a bodily happiness, yet could not agree whether it should be *voluptas*, or *doloris vacuitas*³, or something else; it being ever found so hard a thing to define, like that base matter of which it is begotten, which, by reason of its penury and scantiness of being, as philosophers tell us, doth *effugere intellectum*, and is nothing else but a shadowy kind of nothing—something that hath a name, but nothing else. I dare say that all those that have any just esteem of humanity, cannot but, with a noble scorn, disdain such a base-born happiness as this is, generated only out of the slime of this earth: and yet this is all the portion of atheism, which teaches the entertainers of it to believe themselves nothing else but so many heaps of more refined dust, fortuitously gathered together, which, at last, must be all blown away again.

But a true belief of a Deity is a sure support to all serious minds; which, besides the future hopes it is

¹ σκιά τις ὑπολείπεται καὶ ὄναρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀποπταμένης, οἶον ὑπέκκαυμα τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, κ.τ.λ.—Plut. ‘Non posse, &c.’ 1089 B.

² Ὅρα δὴ πρῶτον μὲν οἷα ποιοῦσιν, τὴν εἶτε ἡδονὴν ταύτην εἶτε ἀπονίαν ἢ εὐπα-

θείαν, ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταίροντες ἐκ τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, εἶτα πάλιν ἐκ ταύτης εἰς ἐκείνο τῷ μὴ στέγειν ἀπορρέουσιν καὶ περιολισθαίνουσιν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῇ ἀρχῇ συνάπτειν.—Plut. *ibid.* 1089 D.

³ *De Fin.* II. 11.

pregnant with, entertains them here with tranquillity and inward serenity. What the Stoic said in his cool and mature thoughts, οὐκ ἔστι ζῆν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κενῷ θεῶν καὶ κενῷ προνοίας—‘it is not worth the while to live in a world empty of God and Providence¹,’ is the sense of all those that know what a Deity means. Indeed, it were the greatest unhappiness that might be, to have been born into such a world, where we should be perpetually tossed up and down by a rude and blind fortune, and be perpetually liable to all those abuses which the savage lusts and passions of the world would put upon us. It is not possible for anything well to bear up the spirit of that man, that shall calmly meditate with himself on the true state and condition of this world, should that mind and wisdom be taken away from it, which governs every part of it, and overrules all those disorders that at any time begin to break forth in it. Were there not an omniscient skill to temper, and fitly to rank in their due places all those quarrelsome and extravagant spirits that are in the world, it would soon prove an uninhabitable place, and sink under the heavy weight of its own confusion; which was wittily signified in that fable of Phaëton, who, being admitted to drive the chariot of the sun but for one day, by his rude and unskilful guidance of it made it fall down, and burn the world. Remove God and Providence out of the world, and then we have nothing to depend upon but chance and fortune, the humours and passions of men; and he that could then live in it, had need be as blind as these lords would be, that he might not see his

¹ This passage is again referred to by our Author at the end of the 9th Chapter on ‘The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion.’ It is probably a quotation from memory of the following from Marcus Antoninus: Τὸ (δὲ) ἐξ ἀνθρώπων

ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσιν, οὐδὲν δευόν. κακῷ γάρ σε οὐκ ἂν περιβάλοιεν. Εἰ δὲ ἦτε οὐκ εἰσιν, ἡ οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων· τί μοι ζῆν ἐν κόσμῳ κενῷ θεῶν, ἡ προνοίας κενῷ;—Marc. Antonin. (*De Seipso*, &c.) Lib. II. cap. 8.

own misery always staring upon him; and had need be more senseless and stupid that he might not be affected with it. "The wicked through the pride of his countenance will not seek after God: God is not in all his thoughts¹." "O Lord, Father and God of my life, give me not a proud look; but turn away from thy servants a giant-like mind²."³

¹ Psal. x. 4.

² γιγαντώδη ψυχῆν. Sic Edit. Complut.

³ Ecclus. xxiii. 4.



A

DISCOURSE

DEMONSTRATING THE

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

Σῶμα γὰρ ἐκ γαίης ἔχομεν, καὶ πάντες ἐς αὐτὴν
Λύμενοι κόνις ἐσμέν· ἅηρ δ' ἀνὰ πνεῦμα δέδεκται.

PHOCYLIDES, v. 102.

Εὐσεβὴς νῶ πεφυκῶς, οὐ πάθοις γ' οὐδὲν κακὸν κατθανών·
ἄνω τὸ πνεῦμα διαμένει κατ' οὐρανόν.

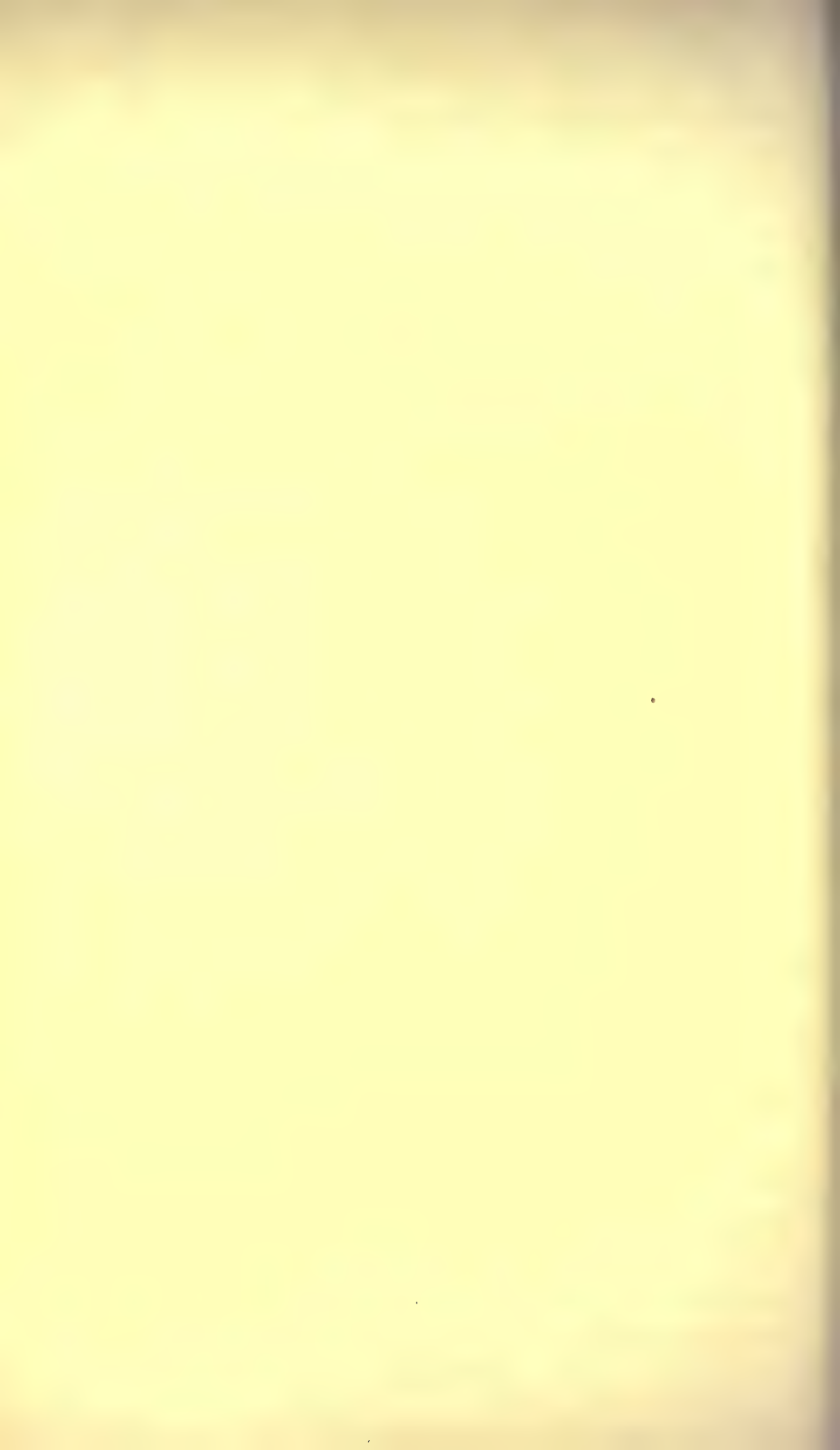
EPICARMUS apud CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* IV. c. 26.

Ὁ ἀγαθὸς—οὐ δεῖ ἄπεισι, καὶ γινώσκει πρὶν ἀπιέναι, οὐ ἀνάγκη
αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι οἰκεῖν, καὶ εὐελπίς ἐστιν ὥς μετὰ θεῶν ἔσται.

PLOTIN. *Ennead.* IV. 4. 45.

Οὐ βούλεται ὁ κακὸς ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν.

HIEROCL. *in Aur. Carm.* p. 124.



A
DISCOURSE
ON THE
IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

CHAPTER I.

The first and main principles of religion, viz. 1. That God is. 2. That God is a rewarder of them that seek Him: wherein is included the great article of the Immortality of the Soul. These two principles acknowledged by religious and serious persons in all ages. 3. That God communicates Himself to mankind by Christ. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul discoursed of in the first place, and why.

HAVING finished our two short discourses concerning those two *anti-deities*, viz. *superstition* and *atheism*; we shall now proceed to discourse more largely concerning the main heads and principles of religion.

And here we are to take notice of those two cardinal points which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews makes the necessary foundations of all religion, viz. “That God is, and That He is a rewarder of them that seek Him¹.” To which we should add, *the immortality of the reasonable soul*, but that *that* may seem included in the former: and, indeed, we can neither believe any invisible reward of which he there speaks, without an anterior belief of the soul’s immortality; neither can we entertain a serious belief of that, but the notions of *pæna* and *præmium* will naturally follow from it. We never met with any who were persuaded of the former, that ever doubted of the latter: and therefore the former two have

¹ Heb. xi. 6.

been usually taken alone for the first principles of religion, and have been most insisted upon by the Platonists; and, accordingly, a novel Platonist writing a summary of Plato's divinity, entitles his book, *De Deo et Immortalitate Animæ*. And also the Stoical philosophy requires a belief of these as the fundamental principles of all religion; of the one whereof Epictetus himself assures us, 'Know that the main foundation of piety is this: to have ὀρθὰς ὑπολήψεις—right opinions and apprehensions of God, viz. That He is, and that He governs all things καλῶς καὶ δικαίως¹. And the other is sufficiently implied in that cardinal distinction of their τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, and τὰ μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, and is more fully expressed by Simplicius. For, however the Stoics may seem to lay some ground of suspicion, as if they were dubious on this point, yet I think that which Cicero and others deliver concerning their opinion herein, may fully answer all scruples, viz. That, as they made certain vicissitudes of conflagrations and inundations, whereby the world should perish in certain periods of time; so they thought the souls of men should also be subject to these periodical revolutions; and therefore, though they were of themselves immortal, should, in these changes, fall under the power of the common fate.

And, indeed, we scarce ever find that any were deemed religious, that did not own these two fundamentals. For the Sadducees, the Jewish writers are wont commonly to reckon them among the Epicureans², because, though they held a God, yet they denied the immortality of men's souls, which the new Testament seems to include, if not especially to aim at, in imputing to them a denial of the

¹ Τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, ἵσθι ὅτι τὸ κυριώτατον ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, ὀρθὰς ὑπολήψεις περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ὡς ὄντων, καὶ διοικοῦντων τὰ ὅλα καλῶς καὶ δικαίως.—Epict. *Enchirid.* cap. XXXI.

² The term יְהוּדִים (Epicureans) was applied by the Jews to two sorts of

persons; 1st, to those who denied any fundamental principle of their religion: in this sense it was convertible with the word יְהוּדִים (heretics). 2ndly, to such as treated with levity and irreverence the sayings of their wise men.

resurrection; which is therefore more fully explained in the Acts, where it is added that they held there was "neither angel nor spirit¹." And these two principles are chiefly aimed at in those two inscriptions upon the temple at Delphi, the one, EI, referring to God, by which title those that came in to worship were supposed to invoke Him, acknowledging His immutable and eternal nature; the other, ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ, as the admonition of the Deity again to all His worshippers, to take notice of the dignity and immortality of their own souls, as Plutarch and Cicero, and also Clemens Alexandrinus expound them².

But, if we will have the fundamental articles of Christian religion, we must add to the former, *The communication of God to mankind through Christ*; which last the Scripture treats of at large, so far as concerns our practice, with that plainness and simplicity, that I cannot but think, that whosoever shall, ingeniously and with humility of spirit addressing himself to God, converse therewith, will see the bright beams of divinity shining forth in it, and, it may be, find the text itself much plainer than all those glosses that have been put upon it; though perhaps

¹ Chap. xxiii. 8.

² Hæc enim una (sc. sapientia) nos quum ceteras res omnes, tum, quod est difficillimum, docuit, ut nosmet ipsos nosceremus: cujus præcepti tanta vis tanta sententia est, ut ea non homini cuiquam, sed Delphico deo tribueretur.—Cic. *de Legg.* i. 22.

Est illud quidem vel maximum, animo ipso animum videre: et nimirum hanc habet vim præceptum Apollinis, quo monet, ut se quisque noscat.....Quum igitur, nosce te, dicit, hoc dicit, nosce animum tuum.—Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 22.

ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ Γνωθὶ σαυτόν, πολλὰ ἐνδείκνυται· καὶ ὅτι θνητὸς εἶ, καὶ ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγένον· καὶ ἡδὴ..... καὶ εἰς τί γέγονας γνῶθι, φησί, καὶ τίνας εἰκὼν ὑπάρ-

χεις· τίς τέ σου ἡ οὐσία, καὶ τίς ἡ δημιουργία, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκείωσις τίς, καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὁμοία.—Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. c. iv.

Plutarch treats at length of the meaning of the word EI, in the form of a dialogue, in which each of the several speakers gives his own opinion of its signification. One of them, Ammonius, delivers his opinion thus: 'Ο μὲν (γὰρ) θεὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα προσιόντα ὅλον ἀσπαζόμενος προσαγορεύει τὸ Γνωθὶ σαυτόν· δ τοῦ χαίρει δὴ οὐθὲν μείζον ἐστίν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πάλιν ἀμειβόμενοι τὸν θεόν, Εἰ φαμέν, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀψευδῆ καὶ μόνην μόνῃ προσήκουσαν τὴν τοῦ εἶναι προσαγορεύεσιν ἀποδιδόντες.—Plut. *de EI Delphico*, 392 A. Vide also Plat. *Charmides*, 164 E.

it is not so clear in matters of speculation, as some magisterial men are apt to think it is.

Now for these three articles of faith and practice, I think if we duly consider the Scriptures, or the reason of the thing itself, we shall easily find all practical religion to be referred to them, and built upon them. *The nature of God and of our own immortal souls* both show us what our religion should be, and also the necessity of it; and the doctrine of *free grace in Christ*, the sweet and comfortable means of attaining to that perfection and blessedness, which the other belief teaches us to aim at.

In pursuing these, we shall first begin with *the immortality of the soul*, which, if it be once cleared, we can neither leave any room for atheism (which those, I doubt, are not ordinarily very free from, that have gross material notions of their own souls) nor be wholly ignorant what God is: for, indeed, the chief natural way whereby we can climb up to the understanding of the Deity, is by a contemplation of our own souls. We cannot think of Him, but according to the measure and model of our own intellect, or frame any other idea of Him than what the impressions of our own souls will permit us: and therefore the best philosophers have always taught us to inquire for God within ourselves; 'Reason in us,' as Cicero tells us, being *participata similitudo rationis æternæ*¹: and,

¹ These words are falsely ascribed to Cicero, both here, and in the first Chapter of the 'Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion.' Though the idea contained in them is in accordance with various passages of Cicero, occurring in his *De Nat. Deorum*, *De Finibus*, *De Officiis*, *De Legibus*, &c., yet neither are the exact words his, nor does the language agree with his usage.

The following passage from St Thom. Aquinas doubtless furnished the above quotation: 'Ipsam enim lumen intellectuale, quod est in nobis, nihil est aliud

quam quædam *participata similitudo* luminis increati, in quo continentur *rationes æternæ*.'

In the other passage above referred to, where the same words are again ascribed to Cicero, our author adds thus: 'reason in man is *lumen de lumine*.' This would seem conclusive as to the fact of the reference to Aquinas being the correct one. The words of Aquinas immediately following are presently referred to in the text: 'Unde in Psalm. iv. 6 dicitur: *Multi dicunt, Quis ostendit nobis bona? Cui quæstioni Psalmista respondet dicens:*

accordingly, some good expositors have interpreted that place in St John's gospel, "He is that true light which enlightens every man that cometh into the world¹;" which if I were to gloss upon in the language of the Platonists, I should do it thus: λόγος ἐστὶ φῶς ψυχῶν—'the Eternal Word is the light of souls;' which the vulgar Latin referred to in Psal. iv. 7, *Signatum est supra nos lumen vultus tui, Domine*, as Aquinas observes. But we shall not search into the full nature of the soul, but rather make our inquiry into the immortality of it, and endeavour to demonstrate that.

CHAPTER II.

Some considerations preparatory to the proof of the soul's immortality.

BUT before we fall more closely upon this, viz. the demonstrating the soul's immortality, we shall premise three things.

I *That the immortality of the soul doth not absolutely need any demonstration to clear it, but might be assumed rather as a principle or postulatum, seeing the notion of it is apt naturally to insinuate itself into the belief of the most vulgar sort of men.* Men's understandings commonly lead them as readily to believe that their souls are immortal, as that they have any existence at all. And, though they be not all so wise and logical, as to distinguish aright between their souls and their bodies, or tell what kind of thing that is which they commonly call their soul; yet they are strongly inclined to believe that some part of

Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine; quasi dicat: Per ipsam sigillationem divini luminis in nobis omnia

demonstrantur.—Thom. Aquin. 1. *Sum. Theol.* Quæst. LXXXIV. 5. Ed. Migne.

¹ Chap. I. 9.

them shall survive another, and that that soul, which, it may be, they conceive by a gross phantasm, shall live, when the other more visible part of them shall moulder into dust. And therefore all nations have consented in this belief, which hath almost been as vulgarly received as the belief of a Deity, as a diligent converse with history will assure us; it having been never so much questioned by the idiotical sort of men, as by some unskilful philosophers, who have had wit and fancy enough to raise doubts, like evil spirits, but not judgment enough to send them down again.

This *consensus gentium* Cicero thinks enough whereby to conclude a law and maxim of nature¹; which though I should not universally grant, seeing sometimes error and superstition may strongly plead this argument; yet I think for those things that are the matter of our first belief, that notion may not be refused. For we cannot easily conceive how any prime notion, that hath no dependency on any other antecedent to it, should be generally entertained, did not the common dictate of nature or reason, acting alike in all men, move them to conspire together in the embracing of it, though they knew not one another's minds. And this, it may be, might first persuade Averroes to think of a *common intellect*, because of the uniform judgments of men in some things. But, indeed, in those notions, which we may call *notiones ortæ*, there a *communis notitia* is not so free from all suspicion; which may be cleared by taking an instance from our present argument. The notion of the immortality of the soul is such a one as is generally owned by all those, that yet are not able to collect it by a long series and concatenation of sensible observations, and, by a logical

¹ De quo omnium natura consentit, id verum esse necesse est.—Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* l. 17.

Omni in re consensio omnium gen-

tium lex naturæ putanda est.—*Tusc. Disp.* l. 13.

Quod si omnium consensus naturæ vox est, &c.—*Tusc. Disp.* l. 15.

dependence of one thing upon another, deduce it from sensible experiments—a thing that, it may be, was scarce ever done by the wisest philosophers; but is rather believed with a kind of repugnancy to sense, which shews all things to be mortal, and which would have been too apt to have deluded the ruder sort of men, did not a more powerful impression upon their souls forcibly urge them to believe their own immortality. Though, indeed, if the common notions of men were well examined, perhaps some common notion adherent to this of the immortality may be as generally received, which yet in itself is false; and that, by reason of a common prejudice by which the earthly and sensual part of man will equally influence all men, until they come to be well acquainted with their own souls; as, namely, a notion of the soul's materiality, and, it may be, its traduction too, which seems to be as generally received by the vulgar sort as the former. But the reason of that is evident; for the souls of men exercising themselves first of all *κινήσει προβατικῇ*, as the Greek philosopher expresseth it—merely by a 'progressive kind of motion'—spending themselves about bodily and material acts, and conversing only with sensible things; they are apt to acquire such deep stamps of material phantasms to themselves, that they cannot imagine their own being any other than material and divisible, though of a fine ethereal nature: which kind of conceit, though it may be inconsistent with an immortal and incorruptible nature, yet hath had too much prevalency in philosophers themselves, their minds not being sufficiently abstracted while they have contemplated the highest Being of all. And some think Aristotle himself cannot be excused on this point, who seems to have thought God himself to be nothing else but *μέγα ζῶον*, as he styles him. But such common notions as these are, arising from the deceptions and hallucinations of sense, ought not to prejudice those which not

sense, but some higher power, begets in all men. And so we have done with that.

2 The *second* thing I should premise, should be in place of a *Postulatum* to our following demonstrations, or rather a caution about them, which is; *that, to a right conceiving of the force of any such arguments as may prove the soul's immortality, there must be an antecedent converse with our own souls.* It is no hard matter to convince any one, by clear and evident principles, fetched from his own sense of himself, who hath ever well meditated on the powers and operations of his own soul, that it is immaterial and immortal.

But those very arguments that to such will be demonstrative, to others will lose something of the strength of probability: for, indeed, it is not possible for us well to know what our souls are, but by their *κινήσεις κυκλικαί*—their ‘circular and reflex motions’—and converse with themselves, which only can steal from them their own secrets. All those discourses which have been written of the soul's heraldry, will not blazon it so well to us as itself will do. When we turn our own eyes in upon it, it will soon tell us its own royal pedigree and noble extraction, by those sacred hieroglyphics which it bears upon itself. We shall endeavour to interpret and unfold some of them in our following discourse.

3 There is one thing more to be considered, which may serve as a common basis or principle to our following arguments, and it this hypothesis; *that no substantial and indivisible thing ever perisheth.* And this Epicurus and all of his sect must needs grant, as indeed they do, and much more than it is lawful to plead for; and therefore they make this one of the first principles of their atheistical philosophy:

— gigni

De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti¹.

¹ Pers. III. 83.

But we shall here be content with that sober thesis of Plato in his *Timæus*, who attributes the perpetuation of all substances to the benignity and liberality of the Creator, whom he therefore brings in thus speaking to the angels—those *νέοι θεοί*, as he calls them¹. ‘You are not of yourselves immortal, nor indissoluble; but would relapse and slide back from that being which I have given you, should I withdraw the influence of my own power from you: but yet you shall hold your immortality by a patent of mere grace from myself².’ But to return: Plato held that the whole world, howsoever it might meet with many periodical mutations, should remain eternally; which I think our Christian divinity doth no where deny: and so Plòtinus frames this general axiom, ‘that no substance shall ever perish³.’ And, indeed, if we collate all our own observations and experience, with such as the history of former times hath delivered to us, we shall not find that ever any substance was quite lost; but though this Proteus-like matter may perpetually change its shape, yet it will constantly appear under one form or another, what art soever we use to destroy it: as it seems to have been set forth in that old gryphe, or riddle, of the Peripatetic school, *Elia Lelia Crispis, nec mas, nec fœmina, nec androgyna, nec casta, nec meretrix, nec pudica; sed omnia,*

¹ τοῖς νέοις παρέδωκε θεοῖς σώματα πλάττειν θνητά, κ.τ.λ.—Plat. *Tim.* 42 D.

² The following is the remarkable passage of Plato, a free translation of part of which is given above.

Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἃ δὲ ἐμοὶ γενόμενα ἄλυστα ἐμοὶ γε ἐθέλοντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ θεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν, τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εἰς λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. δι’ ἃ καὶ ἐπείπερ γεγέννησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἐστὲ οὐδ’ ἄλυστοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὐ τι μὲν δὴ λυθήσεσθέ γε οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλῆς μετίζοντες ἐτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων, οἷς ὅτ’ ἐγίγνεσθε ξυνεδείσθε.—Plato, *Tim.* 41 A.

The words of Plato did not escape the notice of Plotinus. ‘Ἀλλὰ πῶς θνητὴν φύσιν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ τόνδε τὸν τόπον, ἔστω δεικνύειν τὸ πᾶν’ ἢ τὸ, ‘Ἀλλ’ ἐπείπερ ἐγένεσθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἐστέ, οὐ τι γε μὴν λυθήσεσθε δι’ ἐμέ. Thus rendered in the Translation of Ficinus: ‘Sed quomodo naturam dicit mortalem? Quod enim dixit circa hunc locum mala revolvī, designare concedatur universum: num forte per illud confirmatur, quod in Timæo inquit: sed quoniam estis geniti, immortales quidem non estis; neque tamen unquam solvemini, mea virtute servati.’—*Enn.* I. 8. 7.

³ οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἀπολείται.—*Enn.* IV. 7. 14.

&c. as Fortunius Licetus hath expounded it¹. Therefore, it was never doubted whether ever any piece of substance was lost, till of later times some hot-brained Peripatetics, who could not bring their fiery and subtile fancies to any cool judgment, began rashly to determine that all material forms (as they are pleased to call them) were lost. For, having once jumbled and crowded in a new kind of being, never anciently heard of, between the parts of a contradiction, that is, matter and spirit, which they call *material forms*, because they could not well tell whence these new upstarts should arise, nor how to dispose of them when matter began to shift herself into some new garb, they condemned them to utter destruction; and yet, lest they should seem too rudely to control all sense and reason, they found out this common ‘tale which signifieth nothing,’ that these substantial forms were educed *ex potentia materiæ*, whenever matter began to appear in any new disguise, and afterwards again returned *in gremium materiæ*; and so they thought them not quite lost. But this curiosity consisting only of words fortuitously packed up together, being too subtile for any sober judgment to lay hold upon, and which they themselves could never yet tell how to define, we shall as carelessly lay it aside, as they boldly obtrude it upon us, and take the common distinction of all *substantial being* for granted, viz. That it is either body, and so divisible, and of three dimensions; or else it is something which is not properly a *body* or *matter*, and so hath no such dimensions as that the parts thereof

¹ The following is a copy of the title-page of the work here referred to. ‘Allegoria Peripatetica de Generatione, Amicitia, et Privatione in Aristotelicum Ænigma *Elia Lelia Crispis*. Fortunius Licetus Genuensis, in Patavino Lyceo Physiologus ordinarius Amplissimo Senatori Veneto Paulo Mauroceno, D.D.D.’ (Patavii, 1630). The work consists of two parts: in the former, the opinions of others with re-

gard to the inscription are refuted; in the latter, Fortunius Licetus gives his own interpretation. The words of the text will be found in the introductory pages to Part I. The absurdity of stating (as is done in the general preface), that the inscription may probably be a fragment of a lost work of Aristotle, is in complete accordance with the senseless matter of which the volume is made up.

should be crowding for place, and justling one with another, not being all able to lodge together, or run one into another: and this is nothing else but what is commonly called *spirit*. Though yet we will not be too critical in depriving every thing which is not grossly corporeal of all kind of extension.

CHAPTER III.

The first argument for the immortality of the soul. That the soul of man is not corporeal. The gross absurdities upon the supposition that the soul is a complex of fluid atoms, or that it is made up by a fortuitous concourse of atoms: which is the notion of Epicurus concerning body. The principles and dogmas of the Epicurean philosophy in opposition to the immaterial and incorporeal nature of the soul, asserted by Lucretius; but discovered to be false and insufficient. That motion cannot arise from body or matter. Nor can the power of sensation arise from matter: much less can reason. That all human knowledge hath not its rise from sense. The proper function of sense, and that it is never deceived. An addition of three considerations for the enforcing of this first argument, and further clearing the immateriality of the soul. That there is in man a faculty which, 1st, controls sense: and 2ndly collects and unites all the perceptions of our several senses. 3rdly, That memory and prevision are not explicable upon the supposition of matter and motion.

WE shall therefore now endeavour to prove, that the soul of man is something really distinct from his body, of an indivisible nature, and so cannot be divided into such parts as should flit one from another; and, consequently, that it is apt of its own nature to remain to eternity, and so will do, except the decrees of heaven should abandon it from being.

And, first, we shall prove it *ab absurdo*, and here do as the mathematicians use to do in such kind of demonstrations: we will suppose that, if the reasonable soul be

not of such an immaterial nature, then it must be a body, and so suppose it to be made up as all bodies are; where, because the opinions of philosophers differ, we shall take only one, viz. that of Epicurus, which supposeth it to be made up by a fortuitous concourse of atoms; and in that demonstrate against all the rest: for, indeed, herein a *particular* demonstration is a *universal*, as it is in all mathematical demonstrations of this kind. For, if all that which is the basis of our reasons and understandings, which we here call *the substance of the soul*, be nothing else but a mere body, and therefore be infinitely divisible, as all bodies are; it will be all one in effect whatsoever notion we have of the generation or production thereof. We may give it, if we please, finer words, and use more demure and smooth language about it than Epicurus did, as some that, lest they should speak too rudely and rustically of it by calling it *matter*, will name it *efflorescentia materiæ*: and yet, lest that should not be enough, add Aristotle's quintessence to it also: they will be so trim and courtly in defining it, that they will not call it by the name of *air*, *ignis*, or *flamma*, as some of the ancient vulgar philosophers did, but, *flos flammæ*: and yet the Epicurean poet could use as much chymistry in exalting his fancy as these subtile doctors do; and when he would dress out the notion of it more gaudily, he resembles it to *flos Bacchi*, and *spiritus unguenti suavis*¹. But, when we have taken away this disguise of wanton wit, we shall find nothing better than mere body, which will be recoiling back perpetually into its own inert and sluggish passiveness: though we may think we have quickened it never so much by this subtile artifice of words and phrases, a man's newborn soul will, for all this, be but little better

¹ Bacchi quom flos evanuit, aut quom
 Spiritus unguenti suavis diffugit in auras.—

Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* III. 222.

than his body; and, as that is, be but a *rasura corporis alieni*—made up of some small and thin shavings pared off from the bodies of the parents by a continual motion of the several parts of it; and must afterwards receive its augmentation from that food and nourishment which is taken in, as the body doth. So that the very grass we walk over in the fields, the dust and mire in the streets that we tread upon, may, according to the true meaning of this dull philosophy, after many refinings, macerations, and maturations, which nature performs by the help of motion, spring up into so many rational souls, and prove as wise as any Epicurean, and discourse as subtilely of what it once was, when it lay drooping in a senseless passiveness. This conceit is so gross, that one would think it wanted nothing but that witty sarcasm that Plutarch cast upon Neocles the Epicurean, to confute it: ἡ μήτηρ ἀτόμους ἔσχευεν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσαύτας, οἶαι συνελθοῦσαι σοφὸν ἂν ἐγέννησαν¹.

But, because the heavy minds of men are so frequently sinking into this earthly fancy, we shall further search into the entrails of this philosophy; and see how like that is to a rational soul, of which it pretends to declare the production. Lucretius, first of all taking notice of the mighty swiftness and celerity of the soul in all its operations, lest his matter should be too soon tired and not able to keep pace with it, first casts the atoms prepared for this purpose into such perfect spherical and small figures as might be most capable of these swift impressions; for so he :

At, quod mobile tantopere est, constare rotundis
Perquam seminibus debet, perquamque minutis,
Momine uti parvo possint impulsa moveri².

But here, before we go any further, we might inquire what it should be that should move these small and

¹ Plut. Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum, 1100 A. The sarcasm was

equally aimed at Epicurus himself.

² Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* III. 187.

insensible globes of matter. For the two principles of Epicurus, which he calls *plenum* and *inane*, will here by no means serve our turn to find out motion. For, though our *communes notitiæ* assure us, that wherever there is a multiplicity of parts, (as there is in every quantitative being) there may be a variety of application in those parts one to another, and so a mobility; yet motion itself will not so easily arise out of a *plenum*, though we allow it an empty space, and room enough, to play up and down in. For we may conceive a body—which is his *plenum*—only as *trinè dimensum*, being *longum*, *latum*, *et profundum*, without attributing any motion at all to it: and Aristotle in his *De Cælo* doubts not herein to speak plainly, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος κίνησις οὐκ ἐγγίνεται—‘that motion cannot arise from a body.’ For, indeed, this power of motion must needs argue some efficient cause, as Cicero hath well observed, if we suppose any rest antecedent¹; or if any body be once moving, it must also find some potent efficient to stay it and settle it in rest, as Simplicius hath somewhere in his comment upon Epictetus wisely determined. So that, if we will suppose either motion or rest to be contained originally in the nature of any body; we must of necessity conclude some potent efficient to produce the contrary, or else attribute this power to bodies themselves; which will, at last, grow unbounded and infinite, and indeed altogether inconsistent with the nature of a body.

But yet, though we should grant all this which Lucretius contends for, how shall we force up these particles of matter into any true and real perceptions, and make them perceive their own or others’ motions, which he calls *motus sensiferi* ? For, having first laid down his principles of all being, as he supposeth, (neither is he

¹ Nam et ipsa declinatio ad libidinem fingitur, ait enim declinare atomum sine causa: quo nihil turpius Physico, quam

fieri sine causa quidquam dicere.—*De Fin.* I. 6.

² *Rer. Nat.* III. 273.

willing to leave his deities themselves out of the number) he only requires these *postulata* to unfold the nature of all, *concursum*, *motus*, *ordo*, *positura*, *figuræ*¹. But how any such thing as sensation, or much less, reason, should spring out of this barren soil, how well tilled soever, no composed mind can imagine. For, indeed, that infinite variety which is in the magnitude of parts, their positions, figures, and motions, may easily, and indeed must needs produce an infinite variety of phenomena, which the Epicurean philosophy calls *eventa*. And, accordingly, where there is a sentient faculty, it may receive the greatest variety of impressions from them, by which the perceptions, which are the immediate result of a knowing faculty, will be distinguished: yet cannot the power itself of sensation arise from them, any more than vision can rise out of a glass, whereby it should be able to perceive these *idola* that paint themselves upon it, though it were never so exactly polished, and they much finer than they are or can be.

Neither can those small *corpuscula*, which in themselves have no power of sense, ever produce it by any kind of concourse or motion; for so a cause might, in its production, rise up above the height of its own nature and virtue; which I think every calm contemplator of truth will judge impossible: for, (since whatsoever any effect hath, it must needs derive from its causes, and can receive no other tincture and impression than they can bestow upon it) that signature must first be in the cause itself, which is by it derived to the effect. And, therefore, the wisest philosophers amongst the ancients universally concluded that there was some higher principle than mere matter, which was the cause of all life and sense, and that that was immortal: as the Platonists, who thought this reason sufficient to move them to assert a mundane

¹ Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* i. 686.

soul¹. And Aristotle, though he talks much of nature, yet delivers his mind so cloudily, that all that he hath said of it may pass with that which himself said of his *Acroatici libri*, or *Physics*, that they were ἐκδεδομένοι καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένοι. Nor is it likely that he who was so little satisfied with his own notion of nature as being the cause of all motion and rest, as seemingly to desert it while he placeth so many intelligences about the heavens, could much please himself with such a gross conceit of mere matter, that that should be the true moving and sentient *entelech* of some other matter; as it is manifest he did not.

But indeed Lucretius himself, though he could, in the exuberance of his over-flushed and fiery fancy, tell us,

Quod si delira hæc furiosaque cernimus esse
Et ridere potest non ex ridentibus auctus,
Et sapere, et doctis rationem reddere dictis,
Non ex seminibus sapientibus, atque disertis²:

yet, in more cool thoughts, he found his own common notions too sturdy to be so easily silenced; and, therefore, set his wits at work to find the most quintessential particles of matter that may be, that might do that feat, which those smooth spherical bodies, *calor*, *aër*, and *ventus* (for all come into this composition) could not do: and this was of such a subtile and exalted nature, that his earthly fancy could not comprehend it, and, therefore, he confesses plainly he could not tell what name to give it, though, for want of a better, he calls it *mobilem vim*; as neither could his master before him, who was pleased to compound the soul, as Plutarch relates, of four ingredients³. But because this giant-like Proteus found himself here bound with such strong cords, that, notwithstanding all

¹ Vid. Plat. *Tim.* 36 E. sqq.

² Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* II. 985.

³ Ἐπίκουρος, (sc. ὑποτίθεται τὴν ψυχὴν) κρᾶμα ἐκ τεσσάρων, ἐκ ποιοῦ πυρώδους, ἐκ

ποιοῦ ἀερῶδους, ἐκ ποιοῦ πνευματικοῦ, ἐκ τετάρτου τῶν ἀκατονομάστου δ ἦν αὐτῶ αἰσθητικόν.—Plut. *de Placit. Philosoph.* 898 D.

his struggling, he could by no means break them off from him, we shall relate his own words the more largely.

Sic calor, atque aër, et venti cæca potestas
Mista creant unam naturam, et mobilis illa
Vis, initum motus abs se quæ dividit ollis:
Sensifer unde oritur primum per viscera motus.
Nam penitus prorsum latet hæc natura, subestque;
Nec magis hac infra quidquam est in corpore nostro;
Atque anima est animæ proporro totius ipsa:
Quod genus in nostris membris, et corpore toto
Mista latens animi vis est, animæque potestas,
Corporibus quia de parvis paucisque creata est.
Sic tibi nominis hæc expers vis, facta minutis
Corporibus, latet¹——

Thus we see how he found himself overmastered with difficulties, while he endeavoured to find the place of the sensitive powers in matter: and yet this is the highest that he dares aim at, namely, to prove that sensation might from thence derive its original, as stiffly opposing any higher power of reason; which we shall *in lucro ponere* against another time.

But, surely, had not the Epicureans abandoned all logic, together with some other sciences, (as Cicero and Laërtius tell us they did)² they would here have found themselves too much pressed with this argument, (which yet some will think to be but *levis armatura* in respect of some other) and have found it as little short of a demonstration to prove the soul's immortality as the Platonists themselves did. But herein how they dealt, Plotinus hath well observed of them all who denied lives and souls to be immortal—which he asserts—and make them nothing but bodies, that when they were pinched with the strength of any argument fetched from the

¹ Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* III. 270.

Diog. Laërt. Lib. x. 20.

² Τὴν διαλεκτικὴν δὲ ὡς παρέλκουσαν

Vid. Cic. *Acad.* II. 30.

ἀποδοκιμάζουσιν. Ἀρκεῖν γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.—

φύσις δραστήριος of the soul, it was usual amongst them to call this body πνεῦμά πως ἔχον, or *spiritus certo quodam modo se habens*; to which he well replies, τί τὸ πολυθρύλ-λητον αὐτοῖς πως ἔχον, εἰς ὃ καταφεύγουσιν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τίθεσθαι ἄλλην παρὰ τὰ σώματα φύσιν δραστήριον¹. Where, by this φύσις δραστήριος, seems to be nothing meant but that same thing which Lucretius called *vim mobilem*, and he would not allow it to be any thing else but a body, though what kind of body he could not tell: yet by it he understands not merely an active power of motion, but a more subtile energy, whereby the force and nature of any motion is perceived and insinuated by its own strength in the bodies moved; as if these sorry bodies, by their impetuous justling together, could awaken one another out of their drowsy lethargy, and make each other hear their mutual impetuous knocks: which is as absurd as to think a musical instrument should hear its own sounds, and take pleasure in those harmonious airs that are played upon it. For that which we call *sensation*, is not the motion or impression which one body makes upon another, but a *recognition of that motion*; and, therefore, to attribute that to a body, is to make a body privy to its own acts and passions, to act upon itself, and to have a true and proper self-feeling virtue; which Porphyry² hath elegantly expressed thus: ‘In the sensations of living creatures the soul moves, as if unbodied harmony herself should play upon an instrument, and smartly touch the well-tuned strings: but the body is like that harmony which dwells inseparably in the strings themselves, which have no perception of it.’

Thus we should now leave this topic of our demonstration, only we shall add this as an appendix to it,

¹ Enn. iv. 7. 4.

² Όταν τὸ ζῶον αἰσθάνηται, εἰκεν ἡ μὲν ψυχὴ ἁρμονία χωριστῇ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰς

χορδὰς κινούσῃ ἡρμοσμένης τῇ δὲ ἐν ταῖς χορδαῖς ἁρμονία ἀχωρίστῳ τὸ σῶμα.—
Porphyr. *Sentent.* c. xix.

which will further manifest the soul's incorporeal and immaterial nature; that is, that there is a higher principle of knowledge in man than mere sense, neither is that the sole original of all that science which breaks forth in the minds of men; which yet Lucretius maintains, as being afraid lest he should be awakened out of this pleasant dream of his, should any higher power rouse his sleepy soul: and, therefore, he thus lays down the opinion of his sect:

Invenies primis ab sensibus esse creatam
Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli:
Nam majore fide debet reperirier illud,
Sponte sua veris quod possit vincere falsa¹.

But yet this goodly champion doth but lay siege to his own reason, and endeavour to storm the main fort thereof, which but just before he defended against the Sceptics who maintained that opinion, *that nothing could be known*; having replied to which by that vulgar argument, that if nothing can be known, then neither do we know this, *that we know nothing*; he pursues them more closely with another; *that neither could they know what it is to know, or what it is to be ignorant*:

Quæram, quum in rebus veri nil viderit ante,
Unde sciat, quid sit scire, et nescire vicissim:
Notitiam veri quæ res falsique crearit².

But yet if our senses were the only judges of things, this reflex knowledge, whereby we know what it is to know, would be as impossible as he makes it for sense to have innate ideas of its own, antecedent to those stamps which the radiations of external objects imprint upon it. For this knowledge must be antecedent to all that judgment which we pass upon any *sensatum*, seeing, except we first know what it is to know, we could not judge or

¹ Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* iv. 479.

² *Ibid.* iv. 475.

determine aright upon the approach of any of these *idola* to our senses.

But our author may, perhaps, yet seem to make a more full confession for us in these two points:

First, That no sense can judge another's objects, nor convince it of any mistake¹:

—ideoque necesse est,
Non possint alios alii convincere sensus,
Nec porro poterunt ipsi reprehendere sese²:

If therefore there be any such thing within us as controls our senses, as all know there is; then must that be of a higher nature than our senses are.

But, *secondly*, he grants further, that all our sensation is nothing else but perception, and therefore wheresoever there is any hallucination, that must arise from something else within us besides the power of sense:

—quoniam pars horum maxima fallit
Propter opinatus animi, quos addimus ipsi,
Pro visis ut sint, quæ non sunt sensibu' visa³.

In which words he hath very happily lighted upon the proper function of sense, and the true reason of all those mistakes which we call the deceptions of sense; which, indeed, are not truly so, seeing they arise only from a higher faculty, and consist not in sensation itself, but in those deductions and corollaries that our judgments draw from it.

We shall here, therefore, grant that which the Epicurean philosophy, and the Peripatetic too, though not without much caution, pleads for universally—*That our senses are never deceived*—whether they be *sani* or *læsi*, 'sound or distempered,' or whatsoever proportion or dis-

¹ Probably the meaning intended by the above obscure sentence is this: 'that no sense can judge of the objects of another sense, nor convince that other sense

of any mistake.'

² Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* IV. 496.

³ *Ibid.* IV. 465.

tance the object or medium bears to it: for if we well scan this business, we shall find that nothing of judgment belongs to sense, it consisting only *ἐν αἰσθητηρίῳ πάθει*, 'in perception;' neither can it make any just observation of those objects that are without, but only discerns its own passions, and is nothing else but *γνώσις τῶν παθῶν*, and tells how it finds itself affected, and not what is the true cause of those impressions which it finds within itself; which seems to be the reason of that old philosophical maxim recited by Aristotle; that these *simulacra* were only in our senses¹; which notion a late author hath pursued. Therefore, when the eye finds the sun's circle, represented within itself, of no greater bigness than a foot diameter, it is not at all herein mistaken; nor a distempered palate, when it tastes a bitterness in the sweetest honey, as Proclus, a famous mathematician and Platonist, hath well determined: 'The senses in all things of this nature do but declare their own passions or perceptions, which are always such as they seem to be²,' whether there be any such *parallelum signaculum* in the object as bears a true analogy with them or not: and therefore, in truth, they are never deceived in the execution of their own functions. And so doth Aristotle conclude, that error is neither in sense nor fancy, 'it is in no faculty but only that in which is reason³.' Though it be as true, on the other side, that Epicurus and all his

¹ Οἱ πρότερον φυσιολόγοι τοῦτο οὐ καλῶς ἔλεγον, οὐθὲν οἰόμενοι οὔτε λευκὸν οὔτε μέλαν εἶναι ἀνευ ὀφείας, οὐδὲ χυμὸν ἀνευ γεύσεως.—Aristot. *De An.* III. c. 2.

² Αἱ μὲν αἰσθήσεις τὸ ἐαυτῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσι πάθημα, καὶ οὐ πάντα ψεύδονται.—Procl. in *Plat. Tim.* 76 E.

³ Οὐδενὶ ὑπάρχει ᾧ μὴ καὶ λόγος. The translation of these words, as given above by our Author, is incorrect. The words occur in the following quotation: 'Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ νοεῖν, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ μὴ ὀρθῶς, τὸ μὲν ὀρθῶς φρόνησις καὶ ἐπιστήμη

καὶ δόξα ἀληθής, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὀρθῶς τὰναντία τούτων· οὐδὲ τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτο τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθησις τῶν ἰδίων αἰεὶ ἀληθής, καὶ πάντων ὑπάρχει τοῖς ζῴοις, διανοεῖσθαι δ' ἐνδέχεται καὶ ψευδῶς, καὶ οὐδενὶ ὑπάρχει ᾧ μὴ καὶ λόγος.—Aristot. *De An.* III. c. 3.

Perceptions by the senses (says he) are true, and are the property of all animals; but it is possible to make a false use of the imagination which is possessed by none (οὐδενὶ scil. ζῴῳ) in whom reason does not exist.

sect were deceived, while they judged the sun, and moon, and all the stars, to be no bigger than that picture and image which they found of them in their own eyes; for which silly conceit, though they had been for many ages sufficiently laughed at by wise men, yet could not Lucretius tell how to enlarge his own fancy, but believes the *idolum* in his own visive organ to be adequate to the sun itself, in despite of all mathematical demonstration; as indeed he must needs, if there were no higher principle of knowledge than sense is, which is the most indisciplinable thing that may be, and can never be taught that truth which reason and understanding might attempt to force into it¹. 'Though reason inculcates this notion ten thousand times over, that the sun is bigger than the earth, yet will not the eye be taught to see it any bigger than a foot breadth²:' and therefore he rightly calls it, as all the Platonical and Stoical philosophy doth, *ἄλογόν τι*, and it may well be put among the rest of the *ἄλογα πάθη* of the Stoics.

Thus I hope, by this time, we have found out 'some more noble power in the soul than that is³, by which it accommodates itself to the body, and, according to the measure and proportion thereof, converseth with external matter. And this is the true reason why we are so apt to be mistaken in sensible objects, because our souls, sucking in the knowledge of external things thereby, and not minding the proportion that is between the body, and them, mindless of its own notions, collates their corporeal impressions with external objects themselves, and

¹ Nec nimio solis major rota, nec minor ardor

Esse potest, nostris quam sensibus esse videtur.

Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* v. 565.

Εἰρηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ συνισταμένων πάντων παθῶν. Ὅτε τε ὁ ἥλιός ἐστι τὸ μέγεθος οἷος φαίνεται.—

Diog. Laert. *Vit. Heracliti*, § 7.

² ἡ δὲ αἰσθησις κἄν μυριάκις ἀκούῃ τοῦ λόγου λέγοντος ὅτι μείζων ὁ ἥλιος τῆς γῆς ὅμως ποδιαῖον αὐτὸν ὁρᾷ.—Procl. in *Plat. Tim.* 77 A.

³ Δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι ἐστὶ τις κρείττων τῶν αἰσθήσεων δύναμις.—Procl. in *Plat. Tim.* 76 E.

judgeth of them one by another. But whensoever our souls act in their own power and strength, untwisting themselves from all corporeal complications, they then can find confidence enough to judge of things in a seeming contradiction to all those other *visa corporea*.

And so, I suppose, this argument will amount to no less than a demonstration of the soul's immateriality, seeing to all sincere understanding it is necessary that it should thus abstract itself from all corporeal commerce, and return from thence nearer into itself.

Now what we have to this purpose more generally intimated, we shall further branch out in these two or three particulars.

First, That that mental faculty and power whereby we judge and discern things, is so far from being a body, that it must retract and withdraw itself from all bodily operation whensoever it will nakedly discern truth. For, should our souls always mould their judgment of things according to those *παθήματα* and impressions which seem to be framed thereof in the body, they must then do nothing else but chain up errors and delusions one with another instead of truth: as, should the judgments of our understandings wholly depend upon the sight of our eyes, we should then conclude that our mere accesses and recesses from any visible object have such a magical power to change the magnitudes of visible objects, and to transform them into all varieties of figures and fashions; and so attribute all that variety to them which we find in our corporeal perceptions. Or, should we judge of gustables by our taste, we should attribute to one and the selfsame thing all that variety which we find in our own palates. Which is an unquestionable argument that that power whereby we discern things, and make judgments of them different, and sometimes contrary to those perceptions that are the necessary results of all organical

functions, is something distinct from the body; and therefore, though the soul, as Plato hath well observed, be *μεριστὴ περὶ τὰ σώματα*,—various and divisible accidentally in these sensations and motions wherein it extends and spreads itself, as it were, upon the body, and so, according to the nature and measure thereof, perceives its impressions; yet it is *ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἀμερίστη*—indivisible, returning into itself¹. Whensoever it will speculate on truth itself, it will not then listen to the several clamours and votes of these rude senses which always speak with divided tongues; but it consults some clearer oracle within itself: and therefore Plotinus hath well concluded concerning the body, ‘should a man make use of his body in his speculations²,’ it would entangle his mind with so many contradictions, that it would be impossible to attain to any true knowledge of things. We shall conclude this therefore, as Cicero doth his contemplation of the soul’s operations about the frame of nature, the fabric of the heavens, and motions of the stars: *Animus qui hæc intelligit, similis est ejus qui ea fabricatus in cælo est*³.

Secondly, We also find such a faculty within our own souls as collects and unites all the perceptions of our several senses, and is able to compare them together; something in which they all meet as in one centre: which Plotinus hath well expressed; ‘that in which all those several sensations meet, as so many lines drawn from several points in the circumference, and which comprehends them all, must needs be one⁴.’ For, should that be various and consisting of several parts, which thus

¹ τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχουσης οὐσίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνομένης μεριστῆς, κ. τ. λ.—*Plat. Tim.* 35 A. Cf. *Plot. Enn.* iv. Lib. i. and ii.

² Ἐμπόδιον τοῦτο, εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς σκέψεσι προσχρῆτο.—*Enn.* iv. 3. 19.

³ Quorum (sc. astrorum) conversiones omnesque motus qui animo vidit, is docuit,

similem animum suum ejus esse, qui ea fabricatus esset in cælo.—*Tusc. Disp.* i. 25.

⁴ Δεῖ τοῦτο ὥσπερ κέντρον εἶναι, γραμμὰς δὲ συμβαλλούσας ἐκ περιφέρειας κύκλου, τὰς πανταχόθεν αἰσθήσεις πρὸς τοῦτο περαινέειν, καὶ τοιοῦτον τὸ ἀντιλαμβάνομενον εἶναι, ἐν ὅντως.—*Enn.* iv. 7. 6.

receives all these various impressions, then must the sentence and judgment passed upon them be various too. Aristotle says, 'That must be one that judgeth things to be diverse;' and that must judge too, setting all before it at once¹. Besides, we could not conceive how such an immense variety of impressions could be made upon any piece of matter, which should not obliterate and deface one another. And, therefore, Plotinus hath well disputed against them who make all sensation *τυπώσεις καὶ ἐνσφραγίσεις ἐν ψυχῇ*².—which brings me to the third.

Thirdly, That knowledge which the soul retains in itself of things past, and, in some sort, prevision of things to come, whereby many grow so sagacious in foreseeing future events, that they know how to deliberate and dispose of present affairs, so as to be ready furnished and prepared for such emergencies as they see in a train and series of causes which sometimes work but contingently—I cannot think Epicurus himself could, in his cool thoughts, be so unreasonable as to persuade himself, that all the shuffling and cutting of atoms could produce such a divine piece of wisdom as this is. What matter can thus bind up past, present, and future time together? which while the soul of man doth, it seems to imitate God's eternity, as far as its own finite nature will permit it to strive after an imitation of it; and, grasping and gathering together a long series of duration into itself, makes an essay to free itself from the rigid laws of it, and to purchase to itself the freedom of a true eternity. And as, by its *χρονικαὶ πρόοδοι*, (as the Platonists are wont to speak) 'chronical and successive operations,' it unravels and unfolds the contexture of its own indefinite intellectual powers by

¹ Δεῖ τὸ ἐν λέγειν ὃ τι ἕτερον..... ἐν ἀχωρίστῳ χρόνῳ.

De An. III. c. 2.

² Τὰς αἰσθήσεις οὐ τυπώσεις οὐδ' ἐνσφραγίσεις λέγοντες ἐν ψυχῇ γίγνεσθαι,

οὐδὲ τὰς μνήμας πάντως τε καὶ ἀκολουθῶς ἐροῦμεν, κατοχὰς μαθημάτων καὶ αἰσθησέων εἶναι, τοῦ τόπου μείναντος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ὅς μὴδὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐγένετο.—*Plot. Enn.* IV. 6. 1.

degrees; so, by this memory and prevision, it recollects and twists them all up together again into itself. And though it seems to be continually sliding from itself in those several vicissitudes and changes which it runs through, in the constant variety of its own effluxes and emanations; yet is it always returning back again to its first original, by a swift remembrance of all those motions and multiplicity of operations, which have begot in it the first sense of this constant efflux¹. As if we should see a sunbeam perpetually flowing forth from the bright body of the sun, and yet ever returning back to it again; it never loseth any part of its being, because it never forgets what itself was: and though it may number out never so vast a length of its duration, yet it never comes nearer to its old age, but carrieth a lively sense of its youth and infancy along with it, which it can at pleasure lay a fast hold on.

But if our souls were nothing else but a complex of fluid atoms, how should we be continually roving and sliding from ourselves, and how soon forget what we once were! The new matter that would come in to fill up that vacuity which the old had made by its departure, would never know what the old was, nor what that should be that would succeed: 'that new pilgrim and stranger-like soul would always be ignorant of what the other before it knew, and we should be wholly some other bulk of being than we were before,' as Plotinus hath excellently observed². It was a famous speech of wise Heraclitus, *εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν δις οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης*,—'a man cannot enter twice into the same river'³: by which he was wont

¹ The word *περίοδοι*, 'circuitus,' rather than *πρόοδοι*, 'progressus,' appears adapted to the argument of our author. Doubtless the latter word is of common occurrence in Proclus and other Platonists; yet the pages of Plato himself supply numerous instances in point of the usage of *περίοδοι*, e. g. *ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδοι*. *Tim.* 47 A. *τῶν κατὰ φύσιν...περιόδων*. *Tim.* 83 A.

ἐν πολλαῖς χρόνου καὶ μακραῖς περιόδοις. *Phæd.* 107 E. *ἐν τετραπλασίαις περιόδοις χρόνου*. *Tim.* 86 A.

² 'Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ξένη ψυχὴ αὐτῇ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἔσται, ὣν ἡ ἑτέρα οἶδε, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ ἄλλος ὄγκος ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν τι ἀπορρέεσται αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ τι προσελεύσεται, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔσται τὸ αὐτό;—*Enn.* IV. 7. 5.

³ *Ποταμῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστω ἐμβῆναι δις τῷ*

symbolically to express the constant flux of matter, which is the most unstable thing that may be. And if the philosophy of Epicurus could free this heap of refined atoms, which it makes the soul to be, from this inconstant and flitting nature, and teach us how it could be *μόνιμον τί*—some stable and immutable thing, always resting entire while it is in the body; though we would thank him for such a goodly conceit as this is, yet we would make no doubt but it might as well be able to preserve itself from dissolution and dissipation *out* of this gross body, as *in* it: seeing it is no more secured from the constant impulses of that more gross matter, which is restlessly moving up and down in the body, than it is out of it: and yet, for all that, we should take the leave to ask Cicero's question with his sober disdain: *Quid enim? obsecro te, terrane tibi aut hoc nebuloso et caliginoso caelo aut sata aut concreta videtur tanta vis memoriæ*¹? Such a jewel as this is too precious to be found in a dunghill: mere matter could never thus stretch forth its feeble force, and spread itself over all its own former pre-existences. We may as well suppose this dull and heavy earth we tread upon to know how long it hath dwelt in this part of the universe it now dwells in, and what variety of creatures have in all past ages sprung forth from it, and all those occurrences and events which have, during all this time, happened upon it.

αὐτῷ, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, οὐδὲ θνητῆς οὐσίας
ὅς τις ἀψασθαι κατὰ ἔξω· κ.τ.λ.—Plut. de

EI *Delphico*, 392 B.

¹ *Tusc. Disp.* I. 25.

CHAPTER IV.

The second argument for the immortality of the soul. Actions either automatical or spontaneous. That spontaneous and elicit actions evidence the distinction of the soul from the body. The evasion of Lucretius very slight and weak. That the liberty of the will is inconsistent with the Epicurean principles. That the conflict of reason against the sensitive appetite argues a being in us superior to matter.

WE have done with that which we intended for the first part of our discourse of the soul's immortality: we have hitherto looked at it rather *in concreto* than *in abstracto*—rather as a thing complicated with, and united to, the body; and therefore considered it in those operations which, as they are not proper to the body, so neither are they altogether independent of it, but are rather of a mixed nature.

We shall now take notice of it in those properties, in the exercise whereof it hath less commerce with the body, and more plainly declares its own high descent to us; that it is able to subsist and act without the aid and assistance of this matter which it informs.

And here we shall take that course which Aristotle did in his books *De Anima*, and first of all inquire, 'Whether it hath ἰδίον τι,—some kind of action so proper and peculiar to itself, as not to depend upon the body.' And this soon offers itself, in the first place, to us in those elicit motions of it, as the moralists are wont to name them, which, though they may end in those they call imperate acts, yet have their first emanation from nothing else but the soul itself.

For this purpose, we shall take notice of two sorts of actions which are obvious to the experience of every one that observes himself, according to a double source and emanation of them, which a late philosopher hath very happily suggested to us. The first are those actions which

arise up within us without any animadversion; the other are those that are consequent to it.

1. For we find frequently such motions within ourselves which first are, before we take notice of them, and which, by their own turbulency and impetuousness, force us to an advertency: as those fiery spirits, and that inflamed blood, which sometimes fly up into the head; or those gross and earthly fumes that disturb our brains; the stirring of many other humours which beget within us grief, melancholy, anger, or mirth, or other passions; which have their rise from such causes as we were not aware of, or to which we gave no consent to create this trouble to us. Besides, all those passions and perceptions which are begotten within us by some external motions which derive themselves through our senses, and fiercely knocking at the door of our minds and understandings, force them sometimes from their deepest debates and musings of some other thing, to open to them, and give them an audience.

Now, as to such motions as these are, it being necessary for the preservation of our bodies that our souls should be acquainted with them, man's body was so contrived, and his soul so united to it, that they might have a speedy access to the soul. Indeed, some ancient philosophers thought that the soul, descending more deeply into the body, as they express it, first begat these corporeal motions unknown to itself by reason of its more deep immersion, which afterwards, by their impetuousness, excited its advertency. But, whatsoever truth there is in that assertion, we clearly find from the relation of our own souls themselves, that our soul disowns them, and acknowledgeth no such motions to have been so busy by her commission; neither knows what they are, from whence they arise, or whither they tend, until she hath duly examined them. But these corporeal motions, as they seem

to arise from nothing else but merely from the *machina* of the body itself; so they could not at all be sensated but by the soul.

Neither, indeed, are all our own corporeal actions perceived by us, but only those that may serve to maintain a good correspondence and intelligence between the soul and body, and so foment and cherish that sympathy between them, which is necessary for the subsistence and well-being of the whole man in this mundane state. And, therefore, there is very little of that which is commonly done in our body, which our souls are at all informed of. The constant circulation of the blood through all our veins and arteries; the common motions of our animal spirits in our nerves; the maceration of food within our stomachs, and the distribution of chyle and nourishment to every part that wants the relief of it; the constant flux and reflux of more sedate humours within us; the dissipations of our corporeal matter by insensible transpiration, and the accesses of new matter in the room of it; all this we are little acquainted with by any vital energy which ariseth from the union of soul and body: and therefore, when we would acquaint ourselves with the anatomy and vital functions of our own bodies, we are fain to use the same course and method that we would to find out the same things in any other kind of animal, as if our souls had as little to do with any of these in our own bodies, as they have in the bodies of any brute creature.

2. But, on the other side, we know as well, that many things that are done by us, are done at the dictate and by the commission of our own wills; and, therefore, all such actions as these are, we know how, without any great store of discursive inquiry, to attribute to their own proper causes, as seeing the efflux and propagation of them. We do not, by a naked speculation, know our bodies first to have need of nourishment, and then, by the edict of

our wills, enjoin our spirits and humours to put themselves into a hungry and craving posture within us, by corroding the tunicles of the stomach; but we first find our own souls solicited by these motions, which yet we are able to gainsay, and to deny those petitions which they offer up to us. We know we commonly meditate and discourse of such arguments as we ourselves please: we mould designs, and draw up a plot of means answerable thereto, according as the free vote of our own souls determines; and use our own bodies many times, notwithstanding all the reluctance of their nature, only as our instruments to serve the will and pleasure of our souls. All which, as they evidently manifest a true distinction between the soul and the body, so they do as evidently prove the supremacy and dominion which the soul hath over the body. Our moralists frequently dispute what kind of government that is whereby the soul, or rather will, rules over the sensitive appetite, which they ordinarily resolve to be *imperium politicum*; though I should rather say, that all good men have rather a true *despotical power* over their sensitive faculties, and over the whole body, though they use it only according to the laws of reason and discretion. And, therefore, the Platonists and Stoics thought the soul of man to be absolutely freed from all the power of astral necessity, and uncontrollable impressions arising from the subordination and mutual sympathy and dependence of all mundane causes; which is their proper notion of fate. Neither ever durst that bold astrology which presumes to tell the fortunes of all corporeal essences, attempt to enter into the secrets of man's soul, or predict the destinies thereof. And, indeed, whatever the destinies thereof may be, that are contained in the vast volume of an Infinite and Almighty Mind, yet we evidently find a τὸ ἐφ' ἑμῶν, an αὐτεξούσιον,—‘a liberty of will within ourselves,’ in spite of the stubborn malice of

all second causes. And Aristotle, who seems to have disputed so much against that *αὐτοκινησία* of souls, which his master before him had soberly maintained, does indeed but quarrel with that common sense and experience which we have of our souls; this *αὐτοκινησία* of the soul being nothing else but that innate force and power which it hath within it, to stir up such thoughts and motions within itself as it finds itself most free to. And, therefore, when we reflect upon the productions of our own souls, we are soon able to find out the first efficient cause of them. And, though the subtilty of some wits may have made it difficult to find out whether the understanding or the will, or some other faculty of the soul, be the first mover, whence the *motus primo primus* (as they please to call it) proceeds; yet we know it is originally the soul itself, whose vital acts they all are: and, although it be not ‘the first cause, as deriving all its virtue from itself,’ as Simplicius distinguisheth, yet it is ‘vitally co-working with the first causes of all¹.’ But, on the other side, when we come to examine those motions which arise from the body, this stream runs so far under ground, that we know not how to trace it to its head; but we are fain to analyze the whole artifice, looking from the spirits to the blood, from that to the heart, viewing all along the mechanical contrivance of veins and arteries: neither know we, after all our search, whether there be any *perpetuum mobile* in our own bodies, or whether all the motions thereof be only the redundancy of some external motions without us; nor how to find the first mover in

¹ The *De Anima* of Aristotle opens thus: Τῶν καλῶν καὶ τιμίων τὴν εἰδῆσιν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, μᾶλλον δ' ἐτέραν ἐτέρας ἢ κατ' ἀκρίβειαν ἢ τῶν βελτιώρων τε καὶ θαυμασιωτέρων εἶναι, δι' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἰστορίαν εὐλόγως ἂν ἐν πρώτοις τιθεῖμεν. On this, Simplicius re-

marks that though Aristotle did not regard the soul as the first cause, yet he looked upon it as naturally bound up with the first causes of all: ...οὐ γὰρ ὡς αὐτόθεν πρώτην, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις φυσικῇ, διὰ τὴν οἶον συνεχὴ πρὸς αὐτὰ ὑπόβασιν.

nature; and though we could find out that, yet we know that there is a fatal determination which sits in all the wheels of mere corporeal motion; neither can they exercise any such noble freedom as we constantly find in the wills of men, which are as large and unbounded in all their elections, as reason itself can represent being itself to be.

Lucretius, that he might avoid the force of this argument, according to the genius of his sect, feigns this liberty to arise from a *motion of declination*, whereby his atoms, always moving downwards by their own weight towards the centre of the world, are carried a little obliquely, as if they tended toward some point different from it, which he calls *clinamen principiorum*¹. Which riddle, though it be as good as any else which they, who held the materiality and mortality of souls in their own nature, can frame to solve this difficulty; yet is of such a private interpretation, that I believe no Œdipus is able to expound it. But yet, by what we may guess at it, we shall easily find that this insolent conceit (and all else of this nature) destroys the freedom of will, more than any fate which the severest censors thereof, whom he sometimes taxeth, ever set over it. For how can anything be made subject to a free and impartial debate of reason, or fall under the level of free-will, if all things be the mere result either of a fortuitous or fatal motion of bodies, which can have no power or dominion over themselves? and why should he, or his great master, find so much fault with the superstition of the world, and condemn the opinions of other men, when they compare them with that transcendent sagacity they believe themselves to be the masters of, if all were nothing else but the mere issue of material motions; seeing that necessity which would arise from a different concurrence and motion of several particles

¹ Id facit exiguum clinamen principiorum.—Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* II. 292.

of matter, begetting that diversity of opinions and wills, would excuse them all from any blame?

Therefore, to conclude this argument, whatever essence finds this freedom within itself, whereby it is absolved from the rigid laws of matter, may know itself also to be immaterial; and, having dominion over its own actions, it will never desert itself: and, because it finds itself *non vi aliena sed sua moveri*, as Cicero argues¹, it feels itself able to preserve itself from the foreign force of matter, and can say of all those assaults which are at any time made against those sorry mud walls which in this life enclose it, οὐδέν πρὸς ἐμέ, as the Stoic did,—‘all this is nothing to me,’ who am yet free, and can command within, when this feeble carcase is able no longer to obey me; and when that is shattered and broken down, I can live any where else without it; for I was not *that*, but had only a command over it, while I dwelt in it.

But before we wholly desert this head, we may add some further strength to it, from the observation of that conflict which the reasons and understandings of men maintain against the sensitive appetite: and wheresoever the higher powers of reason in a man’s soul prevail not, but are vanquished by the impetuosity of their sensual affections, through their own neglect of themselves; yet are they never so broken, but they may strengthen themselves again: and, where they subdue not men’s inordinate passions and affections, yet even there will they condemn them for them. Whereas, were a man all of one piece,

¹ Sentit igitur animus se moveri: quod quum sentit, illud una sentit, se vi sua, non aliena moveri: nec accidere posse, ut ipse unquam a se deseratur.—*Tusc. Disp.* I. 23.

Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, quum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria præteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantæ scientiæ, tot inventa, non

posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, esse mortalem; quumque semper agitetur animus, nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia nunquam se ipse sit relicturus: et, quum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quidquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi.—*De Senect.* c. XXI.

and made up of nothing else but matter, these corporeal motions could never check or control themselves; these material dimensions could not struggle with themselves, or, by their own strength, render themselves anything else than what they are. But this *αὐτεξούσιος ζωή*, as the Greeks call it,—this ‘self-potent life’ which is in the soul of man, acting upon itself, and drawing forth its own latent energy, finds itself able to tame the outward man, and bring under those rebellious motions that arise from the mere animal powers, and to tame and appease all those seditions and mutinies that it finds there. And if any can conceive all this to be nothing but a mere fighting of the mal-contented pieces of matter one against another, each striving for superiority and pre-eminence; I should not think it worth the while to teach such a one any higher learning, as looking upon him to be endued with no higher a soul than that which moves in beasts or plants.

CHAPTER V.

The third argument for the immortality of the soul. That mathematical notions argue the soul to be of a truly spiritual and immaterial nature.

WE shall now consider the soul awhile in a further degree of abstraction, and look at it in those actions which depend not at all upon the body, wherein it doth *τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνουσίαν ἀσπάζεσθαι*, as the Greeks speak, and converseth only with its own being¹. Which we shall

¹ *μόνος γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μερικῶν ζῶων ὁ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχων ἑαυτῷ συγγίνεσθαι δύναται καὶ στέργειν ἑαυτόν, ὁ δὲ κακὸς πᾶς ὁρῶν εἰς τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ αἰσχος ἀνίλλεται μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτόν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν, ἐπτόηται δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ διώκει τὰς πρὸς ἄλλους*

ὁμιλίας, εἰς ἑαυτόν ὁρῶν οὐ δυνάμενος, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ὁρῶν ἑαυτόν καλὸν χαίρει καὶ εὐφραίνεται καὶ τίκτων ἐν ἑαυτῷ νοήματα καλὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνουσίαν ἀσπάζεται.—
Procl. in Plat. Tim. 173 c.

first consider in those λόγοι μαθηματικοί, or 'mathematical notions,' which it contains in itself, and sends forth from within itself; which, as they are in themselves indivisible, and of such a perfect nature as cannot be received or immersed into matter; so they argue that subject in which they are seated to be of a truly spiritual and immaterial nature. Such as a pure point, *linea ἀπλατής*, latitude abstracted from all profundity, the perfection of figures, equality, proportion, symmetry and assymetry of magnitudes, the rise and propagation of dimensions, infinite divisibility, and many such like things; which every ingenious son of that art cannot but acknowledge to be the true characters of some immaterial being, seeing they were never buried in matter, nor extracted out of it: and yet these are transcendently more certain and infallible principles of demonstration than any sensible thing can be. There is no geometrician but will acknowledge angular sections, or the cutting of an arch into any number of parts required, to be most exact without any diminution of the whole; but yet no mechanical art can possibly so perform either, but that the place of section will detract something from the whole. If any one should endeavour, by any mechanical subtilty, to double a cube, as the Delian oracle once commanded the Athenians, requiring them to duplicate the dimensions of Apollo's altar¹; he would find it as impossible as they did, and be as much laughed at for his pains as some of their mechanics were. If therefore no matter be capable of any geometrical affections, and the apodictical precepts of geometry be altogether inimitable in the purest matter that fancy can imagine; then must they needs depend upon something infinitely more pure than matter, which hath all that

¹ ἔτι δ' ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἔλεγε, χρησμοῦ δοθέντος, ὅπως τὸν ἐν Δῆλῳ βωμὸν διπλασιάσωσι, ὃ τῇς ἀκρας ἕξεως περὶ γεωμε-

τρίαν ἔργον ἐστίν, οὐ τοῦτο προστάττειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γεωμετρεῖν διακελεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.—Plut. de EI Delphico, 386 E.

stability and certainty within itself, which it gives to those infallible demonstrations.

We need not here dispute with Empedocles, 'We know earth by earth, fire by fire, and water by water¹,' that is, by the archetypal ideas of all things in our own souls; though, it may be, it were no hard matter to prove that, as in this case St Austin did, when in his book *De Quant. Animæ*, he would prove the immortality of the soul from these notions of quantity, which come not by any possible sense or experience which we can make of bodily being; and, therefore, concludes they must needs be immediately engraven upon an immaterial soul². For, though we could suppose our senses to be the school-dames that first taught us the alphabet of this learning; yet nothing else but a true mental essence could be capable of it, or so much improve it as to unbody it all, and strip it naked of any sensible garment, and then only, when it hath done it, embrace it as its own, and commence a true and perfect understanding of it. And, as we all hold it impossible to contract any material quality, which will perpetually spread itself commensurably to the matter it is in, into a mathematical point: so is it much more impossible to extend and stretch forth any

¹ Γαλῆ μὲν γὰρ γαλῆν ὁπώπαμεν, ὕδατι
δ' ὕδωρ,
Αἰθέρι δ' αἰθέρα διαν, ἀτὰρ πυρὶ πῦρ
ἀτθῆλον,
Στοργῇ δὲ στοργήν, νεῖκος δέ τε νε-
κεῖ λυγρῶ.

—Empedocles, *Frag. De Nat. Lib. II.*
333. Cf. Aristotle, *de Anim.* I. c. 2.

² This is not a strictly accurate statement of the argument of St Augustine. His work, *De Quantitate Animæ*, takes its name from only one of the subjects relating to the soul discussed in it, principally though it may be.—(*Retract. Lib. I. cap. VIII.*) In that part, the immortality of the soul is not treated of, except so far as immortality is connected with incorporeity.

'A. Unquamne igitur oculis istis corporeis, vel tale punctum, vel talem lineam, vel talem latitudinem vidisti? E. Omnino nunquam. Non enim sunt ista corporea. A. Atqui si corporea corporeis oculis mira quadam rerum cognatione cernuntur; oportet animum quo videmus illa incorporalia, corporeum corpusve non esse.'—*De Quant. An.* § XIII. The immortality of the soul was intended to be treated of by St Augustine when he should consider the question, 'Cur corpori fuerit data.' 'Æternitatem autem ejus (animæ sc.) si ulla est, opportune scrutabimur cum illud quod quantum posuisti, Cur corpori fuerit data, quantum fas est tractare cœperimus.' *Ibid.* § xx.

immaterial and unbodied quality or notion according to the dimensions of matter, and yet to preserve the integrity of its own nature.

Besides, in these geometrical speculations, we find that our souls will not consult with our bodies, or ask any leave of our fancies in what manner, or how far, they shall distribute their own notions by a continued progress of invention; but acting of themselves, are most free and liberal, and make fancy only to serve their own purpose in painting out, not what matter will afford a copy of, but what they themselves will dictate to it; and, if that should be too busy, silence and control it by their own imperial laws. They so little care for matter in this kind of work, that they banish it as far as may be from themselves, or else chastise and tame the unruly and refractory nature of it, that it should yield itself pliable to their sovereign commands. These *embodied* bodies (for so this present argument will allow me to call them) which our senses converse with, are perpetually justling together, contending irresistibly each for its own room and space, and will not admit of any other into it, preserving their own intervals: but when they are once, in their unbodied nature, entertained in the mind, they can easily penetrate one another ὅλα δι' ὅλα. The soul can easily pile the greatest number up together in herself, and by her own force sustain them all, and make them all lodge together in the same space: she can easily assemble all those five regular bodies together in her own imagination, and blend them together, and then entering into the very heart and centre of them, discern all their properties and several relations one to another; and thus easily find herself freed from all material or corporeal confinement; shewing how all that which we call body, rather issued forth by an infinite projection from some mind, than that it should exalt itself into the nature of any mental being;

and, as the Platonists and Pythagoreans have long since well observed, how our bodies should rather be in our souls, than our souls in them. And so I have done with that particular.

CHAPTER VI.

The fourth argument for the immortality of the soul. That those clear and stable ideas of truth which are in man's mind, evince an immortal and immaterial substance residing in us, distinct from the body. The soul more knowable than the body. Some passages out of Plotinus and Proclus for the further confirming of this argument.

AND now have we traced the immortality of the soul, before we were aware, through those three relations or σχέσεις, or (if you will) degrees of knowledge, which Proclus in his comment upon Plato's *Timæus* hath attributed to it, which he calls τῶν γνωστικῶν δυνάμεων σειρά¹. The first is αἴσθησις ἄλογος,—a naked perception of sensible impressions, without any work of reason². The second, δόξα κατὰ λόγον,—a miscellaneous kind of knowledge arising from a collation of its sensations with its own more obscure and dark ideas³. The third, διάνοια καὶ λόγος,—discourse and reason⁴, by which the Platonists describe mathematical knowledge, which, because it spins out its own notions by a constant series of deductions, knitting up consequences one upon another by demonstrations, is by him called νόσις μεταβατική,—‘a progressive kind of knowledge;’ to which he adds a fourth, which we shall now make use of for a further proof of the immortality of the soul. There is, therefore, fourthly, νόσις ἀμετάβατος⁵, which is a naked intuition of eternal

¹ Procl. in Plat. *Tim.* 76 c. sqq.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ νόσις μεταβατική, ‘a transitive kind of knowledge;’ νόσις ἀμετάβατος, ‘an intransitive kind of knowledge.’—*Ibid.*

truth which is always the same, which never rises nor sets, but always stands still in its vertical, and fills the whole horizon of the soul with a mild and gentle light. There are such calm and serene ideas of truth, as shine only in composed souls, and cannot be discerned by any troubled or unstable fancy, that necessarily prove a *μόνιμον καὶ στάσιμόν τι*,—‘some permanent and stable essence’ in the soul of man, which (as Simplicius on Epictetus well observes) ariseth only ‘from some immoveable and unchangeable cause which is always the same¹.’ For these operations about truth we now speak of, are not *χρονικαὶ ἐνέργειαι*,—any ‘chronical energies,’—as he further expresses it; but the true badges of an eternal nature, and speak a *ταυτότης* and *στάσις* (as Plato is wont to phrase it) in man’s soul. Such are the archetypal ideas of justice, wisdom, goodness, truth, eternity, omnipotency, and all those either moral, physical, or metaphysical notions, which are either the first principles of science, or the ultimate complement and final perfection of it. These we always find to be the same, and know that no exorcisms of material mutations have any power over them: though we ourselves are but of yesterday, and mutable every moment, yet these are eternal, and depend not upon any mundane vicissitudes; neither could we ever gather them from our observation of any material thing, where they were never sown.

If we reflect but upon our own souls, how manifestly do the species of reason, freedom, perception, and the like, offer themselves to us, whereby we may know a thousand times more distinctly what our souls are than what our bodies are? For the former we know by an immediate converse with ourselves, and a distinct sense of their

¹ ...δῆλον οὖν ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀκινήτου τινὸς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀμεταβλήτου αἰτίας, τῆς αἰεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσης. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ποτὲ μὲν τὰδε νοοῦντος ἢ ποιοῦντος,

ποτὲ δὲ χρονικὰς τὰς ἐνεργείας ἔχοντος, προηγείσθαι ἀνάγκη τὸ αἰεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, καὶ ὡσαύτως, καὶ ἐν ἀμερεὶ καὶ ἀκινήτῳ αἰῶνι πάντα ἐνεργεῖν.—Simpl. in Epict. c. xxxi.

operations; whereas all our knowledge of the body is little better than merely historical, which we gather up by scraps and piecemeal from more doubtful and uncertain experiments which we make of them: but the notions which we have of a mind, *i. e.* something within us that thinks, apprehends, reasons, and discourses, are so clear and distinct from all those notions which we can fasten upon a body, that we can easily conceive that, if all body-being in the world were destroyed, yet we might then as well subsist as we now do. For whensoever we take notice of those immediate motions of our own minds, whereby they make themselves known to us, we find no such thing in them as extension or divisibility, which are contained in every corporeal essence: and having no such thing discovered to us from our nearest familiarity with our own souls, we could never so easily know whether they had any such things as bodies joined to them or not, did not those extrinsical impressions, that their turbulent motions make upon them, admonish them thereof.

But, as the more we reflect upon our own minds, we find all intelligible things more clear, (as when we look up to the heavens, we see all things more bright and radiant, than when we look down upon this dark earth when the sunbeams are withdrawn from it:) so, when we see all intelligible being concentrating together in a greater oneness, and all kind of multiplicity running more and more into the strictest unity, till at last we find all variety and division sucked up into a *perfect simplicity*, where all happily conspire together in the most undivided peace and friendship; we then easily perceive that the reason of all diversity and distinction is *μετάβασις ἀπὸ νοῦ εἰς λογισμόν*—to use the words of Plotinus not much differently from their meaning¹. For though, in our contentious

¹ A misquotation from memory. The passage alluded to is evidently the con-

tinuation of the paragraph reproduced on page 101. In the former part, rising

pursuits after science, we cast wisdom, power, eternity, goodness, and the like, into several formalities, that so we may trace down science in a constant chain of deductions; yet, in our naked intuitions and visions of them, we clearly discern that goodness and wisdom lodge together, justice and mercy kiss each other: and all these, and whatsoever pieces else, into which our distorted reason may sometimes break divine and intelligible being, are fast knit up together in the invincible bonds of eternity. And in this sense is that notion of Proclus, descanting upon Plato's riddle of the soul,—ὡς γεννητὴ καὶ ἀγέννητος, 'as if it were generated and yet not generated'—to be understood; χρόνος ἅμα καὶ αἰὼν περὶ ψυχὴν,—the soul partaking of time in its broken and particular conceptions and apprehensions, and of eternity in its comprehensive and stable contemplations¹. I need not say that when

(ἐγειρόμενος), as he expresses it, into himself, and carrying on his contemplations apart from the body and all things else, he sees only marvellous beauty, and a connexion of life and energy with the divine essence; but if, after this, εἰς λογισμὸν ἐκ νοῦ καταβάς—the force of the compound verb, which gives much of its vigour to the passage, is lost by the misquotation—if, says he, he *descends* to reasoning, he becomes perplexed as to the mode of his descent, and the manner in which the soul maintains her spirituality, still being within the body.

The words are used by our author, as he himself admits, with some adaptation; but, as in other places, he has here attributed to Plotinus words of very good significance in themselves, although modified in one particular which gives point to the original. Vide Plotin. *Enn.* iv. 8. 1. Part of the same passage is again quoted near the beginning of the 9th chapter.

¹ τοιαύτη γὰρ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, τὴν δὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ὄντος ἅμα μὴ δυνάμεν δέξασθαι. δηλοῖ γοῦν ζῶσα κατὰ μετὰβασιν καὶ προβολὴν ἄλλων λόγων καὶ ἄλλων οὐκ ἔχου-

σα τὴν ἀπειρον ζῶν ἅμα πάσαν παρούσαν. αἰεὶ οὖν ἀνελλίττουσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς ζῶν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχει γιγνομένην αἰεὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀπειρουμένην, ἀλλ' οὐκ οὖσαν ἀπειρον, δι' ἣν αἰεὶ προσλαμβάνει ζῶν οὐσιώδη καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῇ πάντως· τὸ γὰρ ἐκάστου τελειουργὸν πάντως κατὰ φύσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ αὐτοκίνητος ἔστω, ὡς ἐρεῖ προῦν ὁ Τιμαίος, ἑαυτῇ τῆς οὐσιώδους ἔστιν αἰτία ζωῆς καὶ ἣν ἔχει ζῶν οὐσιώδη, δὴν ἔχει ἅμα ἑαυτῇ διδούσα· ταύτη ἅμα καὶ ἀγέννητος ἔστι καὶ γεννητὴ, δι' ἣν μὲν αἰεὶ ἔχει οὐσίαν καὶ ζῶν, αἰζῶσος οὖσα καὶ αἰεὶ οὖσα, δι' ἣν δὲ αἰεὶ δέχεται, γιγνομένη αἰεὶ καὶ οὐσία καὶ ζῶν, διχόθεν οὖσα, καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, καὶ δι' ἑαυτὴν μὲν αἰεὶ οὖσα, διὰ δὲ τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς αἰεὶ γιγνομένη, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν, καὶ εἶναι ὃ ἔστι καὶ γίνεσθαι, δι' ἑαυτὴν δὲ θάτερον μόνον. τὸ γὰρ αἰεὶ τι προσλαμβάνειν ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἔχει μόνων, ὁρθῶς καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους εἰπόντος, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἑαυτῷ αἰτιον, ὃ κατὰ χρόνον εἴ ἔχει, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰωνίως, ἵνα μὴ τὸ αἰτιον ὀφείλων εἶναι τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ πρότερον ἅμα ἢ τῷ γιγνομένῳ. χρόνος οὖν ἅμα καὶ αἰὼν περὶ ψυχὴν, ὡς ἀγέννητον αἰὼν, ὡς γεννητὴν χρόνος διὸ πῇ αἰωνίως ἔστω ὡς ἀνώλεθρος, ἀλλ' οὐχ

the soul has once attained to the top of this bright Olympus, it will then no more doubt of its own immortality, or fear any dissipation, or doubt whether any drowsy sleep shall hereafter seize upon it: no; it will then feel itself grasping fast and safely its own immortality, and view itself in the horizon of eternity. In such sober kind of ecstasies did Plotinus find his own soul separated from his body, as if it had divorced it for a time from itself: 'I being often awakened into a sense of myself, and being sequestered from my body, and betaking myself from all things else into myself; what admirable beauty did I then behold,' &c. as he himself tells us¹. Thus is that intelligence begotten which Proclus calls 'a correction of science:' his notion is worth our taking notice of, and gives us, in a manner, a brief recapitulation of our former discourse, shewing how the higher we ascend in the contemplation of the soul, the higher still we rise above this low sphere of sense and matter. His words are these: 'Science as it is in the soul (by which he means the discursive power of it) is blameless, but yet is corrected by the mind; as resolving that which is indivisible, and dividing simple being as if it were compounded: as fancy corrects sense for discerning with passion and material mixture, from which that purifies its object; opinion corrects fancy, because it apprehends things by forms and phantasms, which itself is above; and science corrects opinion, because it knows without discerning of causes; and the mind, (as was insinuated) or the intuitive faculty, corrects the scientific, because, by a progressive kind of analysis, it divides the intelligible object, where itself knows and sees things together in their undivided essence: wherefore this only

ἀπλῶς αἰώνιος, ὡς εἶρηται ἐν Νόμοις.—Procl.
in Plat. Tim. 177 E—178 A.

¹ Πολλὰκις ἐγχειρόμενος εἰς ἑμαυτὸν ἐκ

τοῦ σώματος, καὶ γιγνώμενος τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
ἔξω, ἑμαυτοῦ δὲ εἰσω, θαυματοῦν ἡλικὸν
ὁρῶν κάλλος, κ.τ.λ.—Enn. IV. 8. 1.

is immoveable, and science, or scientific reason, is inferior to it in the knowledge of true being¹. Thus he.

But here we must use some caution, lest we should arrogate too much to the power of our own souls, which indeed cannot raise up themselves into that pure and steady contemplation of true being; but will rather act with some multiplicity or *ἐτερότης* (as they speak) attending it². But thus much of its high original may appear to us, that it can (as our author told us) correct itself, for dividing and disjoining therein, as knowing all to be every way one most entire and simple: though yet all men cannot easily improve their own understandings to this high degree of comprehension; and therefore all ancient philosophers, and Aristotle himself, made it the peculiar privilege of some men more abstracted from themselves and all corporeal commerce.

CHAPTER VII.

What it is that, beyond the highest and most subtle speculations whatsoever, does clear and evidence to a good man the immortality of his soul. That true goodness and virtue beget the most raised sense of this immortality. The excellent discourse of Plotinus to this purpose.

AND now, that we may conclude the argument in hand, we shall add but this one thing further to clear the soul's immortality, and it is, indeed, that which

¹ Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἡ ἐπιστήμη ὡς μὲν ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀνέλεγκτός ἐστιν, ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὑπὸ νοῦ ἀνεκλιττουσα τὸ ἀμερές καὶ συνθέτως αἰρούσα τὸ ἀπλοῦν. ἐπεὶ καὶ αἰσθησιν μὲν ἐλέγχει φαντασία, διότι μετὰ πάθους γιγνώσκει κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἢ διάκρισιν, ὧν αὐτὴ καθαρᾷ: δόξα δὲ φαντασίαν, διότι μετὰ τοῦ τύπου καὶ μορφῆς, ὧν αὐτὴ κρείττων· ἐπιστήμη δὲ δόξαν, διότι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολογισμοῦ γιγνώσκει, ὃν αὐτὴ μά-

λιστα καταδεῖ· καὶ νοῦς δὲ, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐπιστήμην, διότι μεταβατικῶς διαιρεῖ τὸ γνωστὸν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁμοῦ πᾶν μετὰ τῆς αἰτίας. νοῦς οὖν ὁ μόνος ἀνίκητος, ἐπιστήμη δὲ καὶ ἐπιστημονικὸς λόγος ὑπὸ νοῦ κρατεῖται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄντος γνῶσιν.—Procl. in Plat. Tim. 104 D.

² Vid. Plot. Enn. VI. 6. 4: 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πλάτων, κ. τ. λ.

breeds a true sense of it, viz. *True and real goodness*. Our highest speculations of the soul may beget a sufficient conviction thereof within us, but yet it is only true goodness and virtue in the souls of men, that can make them both know and love, believe and delight themselves in their own immortality. Though every good man is not so logically subtile as to be able, by fit mediums, to demonstrate his own immortality, yet he sees it in a higher light. His soul, being purged and enlightened by true sanctity, is more capable of those divine irradiations, whereby it feels itself in conjunction with God, and by a *συναύγεια*, (as the Greeks speak) the light of divine goodness mixing itself with the light of its own reason, sees more clearly, not only that it may, if it please the supreme Deity, of its own nature exist eternally, but also that it shall do so: it knows it shall never be deserted of that free goodness that always embraceth it; it knows that Almighty love which it lives by, to be stronger than death, and more powerful than the grave; it will not suffer those holy ones that are partakers of it to lie in hell, or their souls to see corruption; and, though worms may devour their flesh, and putrefaction enter into those bones that fence it, yet it knows that its Redeemer lives, and that it shall at last see Him with a pure intellectual eye, which will then be clear and bright, when all that earthly dust, which converse with this mortal body filled it with, shall be removed; it knows that God will never forsake His own life which He hath quickened in it; He will never deny those ardent desires of a blissful fruition of Himself, which the lively sense of His own goodness hath excited within it: those breathings and gaspings after an eternal participation of Him are but the energy of His own breath within us: if He had had any mind to destroy it, He would never have shewn it such things as He hath done; He would not raise it up to such

mounts of vision, to shew it all the glory of that heavenly Canaan, flowing with eternal and unbounded pleasures, and then precipitate it again into that deep and darkest abyss of death and non-entity. Divine goodness cannot—it will not—be so cruel to holy souls that are such ambitious suitors for His love. The more they contemplate the blissful effluxes of His divine love upon themselves, the more they find themselves strengthened with an undaunted confidence in Him; and look not upon themselves in these poor bodily relations and dependencies, but in their eternal alliances, *ὡς κόσμιοι, ὡς υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, (as Arrian sometimes speaks¹)—as the sons of God, who is the Father of souls, souls that are able to live anywhere in this spacious universe, and better out of this dark and lonesome cell of bodily matter, which is always checking and clogging them in their noble motions, than in it: as knowing that, when they leave this body, they shall then be received into everlasting habitations, and converse freely and familiarly with that Source of Life and Spirit which they conversed with in this life in a poor, disturbed, and straitened manner. It is, indeed, nothing else that makes men question the immortality of their souls, so much as their own base and earthly loves, which first makes them *wish* their souls were not immortal, and then to *think* they are not: which Plotinus hath well observed, and, accordingly, hath soberly pursued this argument.

I cannot omit a large recital of his discourse, which tends so much to disparage that flat and dull philosophy which these latter ages have brought forth; as also those

¹ Ὁ τοίνυν τῇ διοικήσει τοῦ κόσμου παρηκολουθηκώς, καὶ μεμαθηκώς, ὅτι τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κυριώτατον καὶ περιεκτικώτατον πάντων τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σύστημα τὸ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῦ, ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τὰ σπέρματα καταπέπτωκεν οὐκ εἰς τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν μόνον, οὐδ' εἰς τὸν πάππον, ἀλλ' εἰς

ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς γεννώμενά τε καὶ φύόμενα, προηγουμένως δ' εἰς τὰ λογικά (ὅτι κοινωνεῖν μόνον ταῦτα πέφυκε τῷ θεῷ τῆς συναναστροφῆς, κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐπιπεπλεγμένα.) διατὶ μὴ εἴπη τις αὐτὸν κόσμον; διατὶ μὴ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ; κ.τ.λ.—Arrian. in *Epictet.* Lib. I. c. 9.

heavy-spirited Christians that find so little divine life and activity in their own souls, as to imagine them to fall into such a dead sleep as soon as they leave this earthly tabernacle, that they cannot be awakened again, till that last trumpet, and the voice of an archangel, shall rouse them up. Our author's discourse is this. Having first premised this principle—that every divine thing is immortal; 'Let us now consider a soul (saith he), not such a one as is immersed into the body having contracted unreasonable concupiscence and anger (according to which they were wont to distinguish between the irascible and concupiscible faculty) and other passions; but such a one as hath cast away these, and, as little as may be, communicates with the body: such a one as this will sufficiently manifest that all vice is unnatural to the soul, and something acquired only from abroad; and that the best wisdom and all other virtues lodge in a purged soul, as being allied to it. If, therefore, such a soul shall reflect upon itself, how shall it not appear to itself to be of such a kind of nature as divine and eternal essences are? for wisdom and true virtue, being divine effluxes, can never enter into any unhallowed and mortal thing: it must therefore needs be divine, seeing it is filled with a divine nature by its kindred and consanguinity therewith. Whoever, therefore, amongst us is such a one, differs but little in his soul from angelical essences; and that little is the present inhabitation in the body, in which he is inferior to them. And if every man were of this exalted temper, or any considerable number had but such holy souls, there would be no such infidels as would, in any sort, disbelieve the soul's immortality. But now the vulgar sort of men, beholding ✓ the souls of the generality so mutilated and deformed with vice and wickedness, cannot think of the soul as of any divine and immortal being; though, indeed, they ought to judge of things as they are in their own naked

essences, and not with respect to that which extra-essentially adheres to them; which is the great prejudice of knowledge. Contemplate, therefore, the soul of man, denuding it of all that which itself is not, or let him that does this, view his own soul; then he will believe it to be immortal, when he shall behold it fixed in an intelligible and pure nature; he shall then behold his own intellect contemplating, not any sensible thing, but eternal things, with that which is eternal, that is, with itself, looking into the intellectual world, being itself made all lucid, intellectual, and shining with the sunbeams of eternal truth, borrowed from the first good, which perpetually rayeth forth his truth upon all intellectual beings. One thus qualified may seem, without arrogance, to take up that saying of Empedocles, "Farewell, all earthly allies! I am henceforth no mortal being, but an immortal angel, ascending up into divinity, and reflecting upon that likeness of it which I find in myself." When true sanctity and purity shall ground him in the knowledge of divine things, then shall the inward sciences, that arise from the bottom of his own soul, display themselves; which indeed are the only true sciences: for the soul runs not out of itself to behold temperance and justice abroad, but its own light sees them in the contemplation of its own being, and that divine essence which was before enshrined within itself¹.

¹ Λάβωμεν δὲ ψυχὴν, μὴ τὴν ἐν σώματι, ἐπιθυμίας ἀλόγους καὶ θυμοῦς προσλαβοῦσαν, καὶ πάθη ἄλλα ἀναδεξαμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταῦτα ἀποτριψαμένην, καὶ καθ' ὅσον οὖν τε μὴ κοινωνοῦσαν τῷ σώματι, ἥτις καὶ δῆλον ποιεῖ ὡς προσθῆκαι τὰ κακὰ τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ ἀλλοθεν, καθηραμένη δὲ αὐτῇ ἐνυπάρχει τὰ ἀριστα, φρόνησις, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἀρετὴ, οἰκεῖα ὄντα. Εἰ οὖν τοιοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ ὅταν ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἀνέλθῃ, πῶς οὐ τῆς φύσεως ἐκείνης, οἷον φαμέν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ αἰδίου παντὸς εἶναι; φρόνησις γὰρ καὶ ἀρετὴ ἀληθὴς θεῖα ὄντα οὐκ ἂν ἐγγένοιτο φαῦλε τινὶ

καὶ θνητῷ πράγματι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη θεῖον τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι, ἅτε θεῶν μετὸν αὐτῷ διὰ συγγένειαν, καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον. Διὸ καὶ ὅστις τοιοῦτος ἡμῶν, ὀλίγον ἂν παραλλάττῃ τῶν ἄνω τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῇ, μόνον τοῦτο, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι, ἐλαττοῦμενος. Διὸ καὶ, εἰ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τοιοῦτος ᾔην, ἡ πληθὸς τι τοιαύταις ψυχαῖς κεχρημένον, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ᾔην ἄπιστος, ὥς μὴ πιστεύειν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς πάντῃ ἀθάνατον εἶναι. Νῦν δὲ πολλαχοῦ λελωβημένην τὴν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψυχῇν ὁρῶντες, οὔτε ὡς περὶ θεοῦ, οὔτε ὡς περὶ ἀθανάτου χρήματος διανοοῦνται. Δεῖ

I might, after all this, add many more reasons for a further confirmation of this present thesis, which are as numerous as the soul's relations and productions themselves are; but to every one who is willing to do justice to his own soul, this evidence we have already brought in is more than sufficient.

CHAPTER VIII.

An appendix, containing an inquiry into the sense and opinion of Aristotle concerning the immortality of the soul. That, according to him, the rational soul is separable from the body, and immortal. The true meaning of his intellectus agens and patiens.

HAVING done with the several proofs of the soul's immortality,—that great principle of natural theology, which if it be not entertained as a *communis notitia*, (as I doubt not but that it is by the vulgar sort of men,) or as an axiom, or, if you will, a theorem of free and impartial reason, all endeavours in religion will be very cool and languid—it may not be amiss to inquire a little concerning his opinion, whom so many take for the great intelligencer of nature, and omniscient oracle of truth; though it be too manifest that he hath so defaced the

δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἐκάστου σκοπεῖσθαι, εἰς τὸ καθαρὸν αὐτοῦ ἀφορῶντα, ἐπεὶ περ τὸ προστεθὲν ἐμπόδιον αἰετὶ πρὸς γνῶσιν τοῦ ὧ προσετέθη γίγνεται. Σκόπει δὴ ἀφελῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ ἀφελῶν ἑαυτὸν ἰδέτω, καὶ πιστεύσει ἀθάνατος εἶναι, ὅταν ἑαυτὸν θεάσῃται ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, καὶ ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ γεγεννημένον. Ὅψεται γὰρ νοῦν ὄρωντα οὐκ αἰσθητόν τι, οὐδὲ τῶν θνητῶν τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰδίῳ τὸ αἰετὶον κατανοοῦντα, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ αὐτὸν νοητὸν καὶ φωτεινὸν γεγεννημένον, ἀληθεῖα καταλαμβάνον, τῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὃ πᾶσιν ἐπιλάμπει τοῖς νοητοῖς ἀλήθειαν ὡς πολλὰκις αὐτῷ δόξαι

τοῦτο δὴ καλῶς εἰρῆσθαι· χαίρει', ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἀμβροτος, πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀναβὰς, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ ὁμοιότητα ἀτενίσας. Εἰ δ' ἡ κἀχαρισ ποιεῖ ἐν γνῶσει τῶν ἀρίστων εἶναι, καὶ αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι ἔνδον οὔσαι ἀναφαίνονται, αἱ δὴ καὶ ὄντως ἐπιστῆμαί εἰσιν. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔξω που δραμοῦσα ἡ ψυχὴ σωφροσύνην καθορᾷ καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ παρ' αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ κατανοήσει ἑαυτῆς, καὶ τοῦ ὁ πρότερον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἀγάλματα ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδρυμένα ὄρῶσα, ὅλα ὑπὸ χρόνου τοῦ πεπληρωμένα, καθαρὰ ποιησαμένη. — Plot. *Enn.* IV. 7. 10. Cf. *Emped. Fragm.* v. 355 (Stein).

sacred monuments of the ancient metaphysical theology by his profane hands, that it is hard to see that lovely face of truth which was once engraven upon them, (as some of his own interpreters have long ago observed); and so blurred those fair copies of divine learning which he received from his predecessors, that his late interpreters, who make him their all, are sometimes as little acquainted with his meaning and design, as they are with that elder philosophy which he so corrupts; which, indeed, is the true reason why they are so ambiguous in determining his opinion of the soul's immortality, though he often asserts and demonstrates it in his three books *De Anima*. We shall not here traverse this notion through them all, but only briefly take notice of that which hath made his expositors stumble so much in this point; the main whereof is that definition which he gives of the soul, wherein he seems to make it nothing else for the genus of it, but an entelechia or informative thing, which spends all its virtue upon that matter which it informs, and cannot act any other way than merely by information; being indeed nothing else but some material *εἶδος*, like an impression in wax which cannot subsist without it, or else the result of it: whence it is that he calls only either material forms, or the functions and operations of those forms, by this name. But, indeed, he intended not this for a general definition of the soul of man, and therefore, after he had laid down this particular definition of the soul, he tells us expressly, that that which we call the rational soul is 'separable from the body, because it is not the entelech of any body'.

¹ "Οτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ χωριστὴ τοῦ σώματος, ἣ μέρη τινὰ αὐτῆς, εἰ μεριστὴ πέφυκεν, οὐκ ἀδελον· ἐνίων γὰρ ἡ ἐντελέχεια τῶν μερῶν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἐνιά γε οὐθὲν κωλύει, διὰ τὸ μηθενὸς εἶναι σώματος ἐντελεχείας. Ἐτι δὲ ἀδελον εἰ οὕτως ἐντελέχεια τοῦ σώματος ἡ ψυχὴ ὥσπερ πλωτὴρ πλοίου.—*De An.* II. c. 1.

'The rational soul has two states or conditions: one so far as it abides in itself, the other as it proceeds into body: and, considered, indeed, as abiding in itself, it is a form separated from body, always intelligent and blessed: but, considered as proceeding into body, it is said to be the soul of man, and is not always

The demonstration of this he lays down in several places of all those three books, by inquiring ‘whether the soul hath any proper function or operation of its own¹,’ or whether all be compounded, and result from the soul and body together: and, in this inquiry, finding that all sensations and passions arise as well from the body as from the soul, and spring out of the conjunction of both of them, (which he therefore calls *ἐνυλοι λόγοι*, as being begotten by the soul upon the body) he concludes that all this savours of nothing else but a material nature, inseparable from the body². But then, finding acts of mind and understanding, which cannot be propagated from matter, or causally depend upon the body, he resolves the principles from whence they flow to be immortal; which he thus sets down: ‘Now as for the mind and theoretical power, it appears not,’ viz. that they belong to that soul which in the former chapter was defined by *ἐντελέχεια*, ‘but it seems to be another kind of soul, and that only is separable from the body, as that which is eternal and immortal from that which is corruptible³.’ But the other powers or

intelligent, but energises intellectually with study and labour, and is the form of man. Hence, Aristotle, in this treatise, does not consider nor define the rational soul, unless so far as it is conjoined to the body, to which it imparts existence. It has, therefore, two relations to the body: one, so far as it is its form and first energy: the other, so far as it uses the body, now ‘informed by it, and governs it in the same manner as the pilot governs the ship.’—Taylor.

¹ *Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργων ἢ παθημάτων ἴδιον, ἐνδέχεται δὲ αὐτὴν χωρίζεσθαι.*—*De An.* I. c. 1.

² *Ibid.* sub fin.

³ *Περὶ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς θεωρητικῆς δυνάμεως, οὐδὲν πω φανερόν, ἀλλ’ ἔοικε ψυχῆς γένος ἕτερον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐνδέχεται χωρίζεσθαι, καθάπερ τὸ αἰδιον τοῦ φθαρτοῦ.*—*De An.* II. c. 2.

In conjunction with the views of Aristotle respecting the soul, as separable, or inseparable, from the body, we may consider the opinion of a deep-thinking philosopher among the Jews. Maimonides, in like manner, looks upon the *vegetative* and *sensitive* part of the soul as inseparable from the body, and therefore perishing together with it. The *rational* part, on the contrary, he considers as separable from the body, and so existing after its destruction. Further, the difference between the two writers is what we might expect. The Greek philosopher believed in the *eternal* destruction of the body, and therefore with him the rational soul, though immortal, was to pass its future existence altogether apart from the body. With the Jew, the resurrection of the body was an article of faith, and therefore the rational soul was to be reunited

parts of the soul, viz. the vegetative and sensitive, are not separable, *καθάπερ φασί τινες*,—‘as some think.’ Where, by the ‘some’ whom he here refutes, he manifestly means the Platonists and Pythagoreans, who held that all kinds of souls were immortal, as well the souls of beasts as of men¹; whereas he, upon that former inquiry, concluded that nothing was immortal, but that which is the seat of reason and understanding: and so his meaning is, that this rational soul is altogether a distinct essence from those others; or else that glory which he considers he reaps from his supposed victory over the other sects of philosophers, will be much eclipsed, seeing they themselves did not so much contend for that which he decries, viz. an exercise of any such informative faculties in a state of separation; neither do we find them much more reject one part of that complex axiom of his—‘that which is sensitive is not without the body, but the intellect or mind is separable,’—than they do the other².

to it at some future period.

אין צורה הנפש הזאת מחוברת
מן היסודות כרי שתפרד להם ואינה
מכח הנשמה עד שתהא צריכה לנשמה
כמו הנשמה צריכה לנוף אלא מאת
ה' מן השמים היא לפיכך כשיפרד
הגולם שהוא מחובר מן היסודות
ותאבד הנשמה מפני שאינה מצויה
אלא עם הנוף וצריכה לנוף בכל
מעשיה לא תכרת הצורה הזאת לפי
שאינה צריכה לנשמה במעשיה אלא
יודעת ומשגת הדעות הפרודות מן
הגולמים ויודעת בורא הכל ועומדת
לעולם ולעולמי עולמים הוא שאמר
שלמה בחכמתו וישוב העפר אל הארץ
כשהיה והרוח תשוב אל האלהים אשר
נתנה :

—Maimonides, *de Fund. Legis*, cap. iv. §15.

The form of this vegetative part of the soul is not compounded of the elements, so as to be resolved into them again; nor is it virtually connected with the sensitive part, so as to require the sensitive part, as the sensitive part stands in need of the

body; but it is direct from God, coming from heaven. Therefore, when the body, composed of the elements, is dissolved, this sensitive part of the soul perishes, inasmuch as it cannot exist apart from the body, but has need of it in all its operations.

This form [the rational], on the contrary, is not destroyed, inasmuch as it has no need of the sensitive part in its operations, but has understanding and intelligence apart from the body, knowing the universal Creator, and abiding for ever. This is the meaning of Solomon, when he said in his wisdom, ‘The dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.’—Eccles. xxi. 7.

¹ Numenius and others appear to have misunderstood the meaning of Plato, and to have extended to the souls of *beasts* expressions which were meant originally to be limited in their application to the *human* soul.

² τὸ μὲν αἰσθητικὸν οὐκ ἀνευ σώματος, ὁ δὲ [νοῦς] χωριστός, κ.τ.λ.—*De An.* III. c. 4.

The other difficulty with which Aristotle's opinion seems to be clogged, is that conclusion which he lays down, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νοῦς, φθαρτός¹, which is commonly thus expounded, *intellectus patiens est corruptibilis*. But all this difficulty will soon be cleared, if once it may appear how ridiculous their conceit is, who, from that chapter, fetch that idle distinction of *intellectus agens et patiens*; meaning by the *agens*, that which prepares phantasms, and exalts them into the nature of intelligible species, and then propounds them to the *patiens* to judge thereof: whereas, indeed, he means nothing else by his νοῦς παθητικός, but the understanding *in potentia*, and by his νοῦς ποιητικός, the same *in actu* or *in habitu*, as the schoolmen are wont to phrase it: and, accordingly, thus lays down the meaning and method of this notion of his. In the preceding chapter of that book, he disputes against Plato's connate species, as being afraid lest, if the soul should be prejudiced by any home-born notions, it would not be indifferent to the entertaining of any other truth. Where, by the way, we may observe how unreasonable his argument is: for if the soul hath no such stock of principles to trade with, nor any proper notions of its own that might be a κριτήριον of all opinions, it would be so indifferent to any, that the foulest error might be as easily entertained by it as the fairest truth; neither could it ever know what guest it receives, whether truth, or falsehood. But yet our author found himself able to swallow down this absurdity, though, when he had done, he could not well digest it. For he could not but take notice of that which was obvious for any one to reply—that πᾶς νοῦς ἐστὶ νοητός, and so, reflecting upon itself, may find matter within to work upon; and so lays down this scruple in a way not much different from his masters. 'But the soul itself is also intelligible, as well as all other intelligible natures

¹ *De An.* III. c. 5.

are; and in those beings which are purely abstracted from matter, that which understands is the same with that which is understood¹. Thus he. But not being master of this notion, he finds it a little too unruly for him, and proceeds to inquire why the soul should not then always be *in actu*; getting rid of the whole difficulty at once by telling us, that our souls are here clogged with a hyle or matter that cleaves to them, and so all the matter of their knowledge is contained in sensible objects, which they must extract out of them, being themselves only *ἐν δυνάμει*, or *in potentia ad intelligendum*. Just as in a like argument he would needs persuade us, that the understanding beholds all things in the glass of fancy; and then, questioning how our *πρῶτα νοήματα* or ‘first principles of knowledge’ should be phantasms, he grants ‘that they are not indeed phantasms, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασμάτων—but yet they are not without phantasms²’; which he thinks is enough to say, and so, by his mere dictate, without any further discussion, to solve that knot; whereas, in all reflex acts, whereby the soul reviews its own opinions, and finds out the nature of them, it makes use of neither sense nor phantasms; but acting immediately by its own power, finds itself *ἀσώματον καὶ χωριστὴν σωματίων*, as Simplicius observes³.

But to return: this hyle, or matter, which our author supposeth to hinder a free and uninterrupted exercise of understanding, is indeed nothing else but the soul’s potentiality; and not any kind of divisible or extended nature. And, therefore, when he thus distinguisheth between his *intellectus agens* and *patiens*, he seems to mean almost nothing else but what our ordinary metaphysicians do in their distinction of *actus* and *potentia*, (as Simplicius hath

¹ ὅπερ συμβαίνει ἐπὶ τοῦ νοῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ νοητὸς ἐστὶν ὥσπερ τὰ νοητά. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄνευ ὕλης τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ τὸ

νοοῦν καὶ τὸ νοούμενον.—*De An.* III. c. 4.

² *De An.* III. c. 8.

³ Simplic. in Aristot. *De An.* Lib. I. c. 1.

truly observed) when they tell us, that the finest created nature is made up of these two compounded together. For we must know that the genius of his philosophy led him to fancy a ὑποκείμενον τι,—‘a certain subject or obedi- ential power’ in everything that fell within the compass of physical speculation, or that had any relation to any natural body; and some other power which was εἰδοποιούν,— that was of an active and operating nature: and, conse- quently, that both these principles were in the soul itself, which, as it was capable of receiving impressions and species from the fancy, and in a *posse* to understand, so it was passive; but as it doth actually understand, so it is ποιητικός, or active. And with this notion he begins his fifth chapter. ‘Seeing that in every nature there is some- thing which, as a first subject, is all things potentially, and some active principle which produceth all things, as art doth in matter; it is necessary that the soul also par- take of these differences¹.’ And this he illustrates by light and colours; resembling the passive power of the intellect to colours, the active or energetical to light: and therefore he says, ‘It is separable, unmixed, and impassi- ble²;’ and so at last concludes, ‘in the state of separation, this intellect is always that which it is (that is, it is always active and energetical, as he had told us before, τῇ οὐσίᾳ ὧν ἐνέργεια—the essence of it being activity), and this only is immortal and eternal: but we do not remember because it is impassible³.’ In these last words he seems to dis- prove Plato’s *Reminiscencia*, because the soul in a state of separation being always in act, the passive power

¹ Ἐπεὶ δ’ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ φύσει ἐστὶ τι τὸ μὲν ὕλην ἐκάστω γένει (τοῦτο δὲ ὁ πάντα δυνάμει ἐκείνα), ἕτερον δὲ τὸ αἰ- τιον καὶ ποιητικόν, τῷ ποιεῖν πάντα, οἷον ἡ τέχνη πρὸς τὴν ὕλην πέπονθεν, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὑπάρχειν ταύτας τὰς διαφορὰς.
—*De An.* III. c. 5.

² χωριστὸς, καὶ ἀμυγῆς, καὶ ἀπαθῆς.—*Ibid.*

³ χωρισθεὶς δ’ ἐστὶ μόνον τοῦθ’ ὅπερ ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰδίον. Οὐ μνημονεύομεν δὲ, ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἀπαθές.
—*Ibid.*

of it, which then first begins to appear when it is embodied, could not represent or contain any such traditional species as the energetical faculty acted upon before; seeing there was then no fancy to retain them in, as Simplicius expounds it: because in all remembrance we must reflect upon our fancy¹. And this our author seems to glance at, it being indeed never out of his eye, in these words we have endeavoured to give an account of; ‘but the passive intellect is corruptible, and without this we can understand nothing in this life².’ And thus our forenamed commentator hesitates not to gloss on them.

CHAPTER IX.

A main difficulty concerning the immortality of the soul—viz. The strong sympathy of the soul with the body—answered. An answer to another inquiry, viz. Under what account impressions derived from the body do fall in morality.

WE have now done with the confirmation of this point, which is the main basis of all religion, and shall not at present trouble ourselves with those difficulties that may seem to encumber it; which, indeed, are only such as beg for a solution, but do not, if they be impartially considered, proudly contest with it. And such of them as depend upon any hypothesis which we may apprehend to be laid down in Scripture, I cannot think to be of any such moment, but that any one who deals freely and ingenuously with this portion of God’s truth,

¹ διὸ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν μνημονευτῶν νοή-
σει, δεόμεθα πάντως τοῦ μέχρι φαντασίας
προϊόντος λόγου. ‘Because in the exercise
of the mind by memory, we absolutely re-

quire the imaginative stretch of reason.’—
Simpl. in Aristot. De An. Lib. III. c. 5.

² ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νοῦς φθαρτὸς, καὶ ἀνευ
τούτου οὐθὲν νοεῖ.—De An. III. c. 5.

may from thence find a far better method of answering, than he can of moving any scruples against the soul's immortality; which that most strongly everywhere supposes, and does not so positively and *ρητῶς* lay down, as presume that we have an antecedent knowledge of it, and, therefore, principally teaches us the right way and method of providing in this life for our happy subsistence in that eternal estate. And, as for what pretends to reason or experience, I think it may not be amiss briefly to search into one main difficulty concerning the soul's immortality; and that is,—that strange kind of dependency which it appears to have on the body, whereby it seems constantly to comply and sympathize therewith, and to assume to itself the frailties and infirmities thereof, to laugh and languish as it were together with that: and so when the body is composed to rest, our soul seems to sleep together with it; and as the spring of bodily motion seated in our brains is more clear or muddy, so the conceptions of our minds are more distinct or disturbed.

To answer this difficulty, it might be enough, perhaps, to say, that the sympathy of things is no sufficient argument whereby to prove the identity of their essences, as I think all will grant; yet we shall endeavour more fully to solve it.

And, for that purpose, we must take notice, that though our souls be of an incorporeal nature, as we have already demonstrated, yet they are united to our bodies, not as assisting forms or intelligences, as some have thought, but in some more immediate way; though we cannot tell what that is, it being the great arcanum in man's nature; that it was which troubled Plotinus so much, when he had contemplated the immortality of it, that, as he speaks of himself¹, *εἰς λογισμὸν ἐκ νοῦ καταβὰς, ἀπορῶ πῶς ποτε καὶ νῦν καταβαίνω, καὶ ὅπως ποτέ μοι ἔνδον*

¹ *Enn.* IV. 8, 1. Cf. Note 1, p. 99.

ἡ ψυχὴ γεγένηται τοῦ σώματος, τοῦτο οὐσα οἶον ἐφάνη καθ' ἑαυτὴν, καὶ περ οὐσα ἐν σώματι. But, indeed, to make such a complex thing as man is, it was necessary that the soul should be so united to the body, as to share in its passions and infirmities so far as they are void of sinfulness. And as the body alone could not perform any act of sensation or reason, and so itself become a ζῶον πολιτικόν, so neither would the soul be capable of providing for the necessities of the body, without some way whereby a feeling and sense of them might be conveyed to it; neither could it take sufficient care of this corporeal life, as nothing pertaining to it, were it not solicited to a natural compunction and compassion by the indigencies of our bodies. It cannot be a mere mental speculation that would be so sensibly affected with hunger, or cold, or other griefs that our bodies necessarily partake of, to move our souls to take care for their relief: and were there not such a commerce between our souls and bodies, as that our souls also might be made acquainted by a pleasurable and delightful sense of those things that most gratify our bodies, and tend most to the support of their crasis and temperament; the soul would be apt wholly to neglect the body, and commit it wholly to all changes and casualties. Neither would it be anything more to us than the body of a plant¹ or star, which we contemplate sometimes with as much contentment as we do our own bodies, knowing as much of the theory of the one as of the other. And the relation that our souls bear to such peculiar bodies as they inhabit, is one and the same in point of notion and speculation with that which they have to any other body: and therefore that which determines the soul to this body more than that, must be some subtile *vinculum* that knits and unites it to it in a more physical way, which therefore Proclus sometimes

¹ The reading of the original edition is 'plant,' not 'planet.'

calls 'a spiritual kind of vehicle', whereby corporeal impressions are transferred to the mind, and the dictates and decrees of that are carried back again into the body to act upon and move it. Heraclitus, wittily glancing at these mutual aspects and intercourses, calls them 'the responsals or antiphons wherein each of them catcheth at the other's part, and keeps time with it'; and so he tells us that there is 'a way that leads upwards and downwards between the soul and body', whereby their affairs are made known to one another. For as the soul could not have a sufficient appreciation of the state and condition of our bodies, except it received some impressions from them; so neither could our souls make use of our bodies, or derive their own virtue into them as they do, without some intermediate motions. For as some motions may seem to have their beginning in our bodies, or in some external mover, which are not known by our souls till their advertency be awakened by the impetuosity of them; so some other motions are derived by our own wills into our bodies, but yet in such a way as they cannot be into any other body; for we cannot, by the mere magical virtue of our wills, move anything else without ourselves, nor follow any such virtue by a concurrent sense of those mutations that are made by it, as we do in our own bodies.

¹ Οἱ γὰρ οὖν θεοὶ καὶ τοῖς ὀχήμασιν αὐτῶν λογοειδεῖς ἐλλάμπουσι ζωὰς, αὐτοὶ νοεράς ἔχοντες ψυχὰς, δαίμονες δὲ οἱ κατὰ λόγον ἰδίως ἀφωρισμένοι καὶ ἀλόγοις χρώνται δυνάμεσι κρατοῦντες αὐτῶν, αἱ δὲ ἡμέτεραι ψυχαὶ πολλῶ πλέον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀχήματι ζωὴν ἀλογον οὖσαν ὡς πρὸς αὐτὰς, πλεονάζουσι δὲ τῷ καὶ ἄλλῃν ἀλογον προσλαμβάνειν, ἔκστασιν οὖσαν τῆς ἐν πνεύματι ζωῆς, ἣν οἱ νέοι θεοὶ προσυφαίνουσι. πᾶν μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο ἀθάνατον, ὃ κατὰ μίμησιν ἔχουσι τῶν ὄλων, ἡ δὲ προσθήκη τῆς δευτέρας ἐστὶ θνητοειδής. ἡ δ' οὖν ἐν ἐκείνῳ μία αἴσθησις καὶ ἀπαθὴς ἐν τῷ πνευμα-

τικῷ ὀχήματι μίαν αἴσθησιν ἀπογεννα παθητικὴν, αὕτη δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ὀστρεώδει σώματι πολλὰς καὶ παθητικὰς, καὶ ἡ ἐν ἐκείνῳ μία δύναμις ὀρεκτικὴ τὰς ἐν τῷ πνεύματι παρήγαγε πλείους ὀρεκτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐχούσας τι χωριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀστρεώδους σώματος καὶ παιδεύεσθαι δυνάμενας, αὗται δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷδε τῷ σώματι τελευτάς καὶ ἐνύλους.—Procl. in Plat. Tim. 312 A.

² ἀμοιβὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων.—Plot. Enn. IV. 8, 1.

³ ἰδὸς ἄνω καὶ κάτω.—Ibid. Cf. Diog. Laert. de Vit. Heracl.

And as this conjugal affection and sympathy between soul and body are thus necessary to the being of mankind; so we may further take notice of some peculiar part within us where all this first begins: which a late sagacious philosopher hath happily observed to be in that part of the brain, from whence all those nerves that conduct the animal spirits up and down the body take their first original; seeing we find all motions that first arise in our bodies, to direct their course straight up to that, as continually respecting it, and there only to be sensated, and all the imperate motions of our wills issuing forth from the same consistory¹. Therefore the animal spirits, by reason of their constant mobility and swift motion, ascending to the place of the origination of our nerves, move the soul, which there sits enthroned, in some mysterious way; and descending at the beck of our wills from thence, move all the muscles and joints in such sort as they are guided and directed by the soul. And if we observe the subtile mechanism of our own bodies, we may easily conceive how the least motion in these animal spirits will, by their relaxing or distending the nerves, membranes, and muscles, according to their different quantity, or the celerity and quality of their motions, beget all kinds of

¹ On confond aussi quelquefois les inclinations ou habitudes qui disposent à quelque passion, avec la passion même, ce qui est néanmoins facile à distinguer. Car, par exemple, lorsqu'on dit dans une ville que les ennemis la viennent assiéger, le premier jugement que font les habitants du mal qui leur en peut arriver est une action de leur âme, non une passion : et bien que ce jugement se rencontre semblable en plusieurs, ils n'en sont pas toujours également émus, mais les uns plus, les autres moins, selon qu'ils ont plus ou moins d'habitude ou d'inclination à la crainte : et avant que leur âme reçoive l'émotion en laquelle seule consiste la passion, il faut qu'elle fasse ce jugement, ou

bien, sans juger, qu'elle conçoive au moins le danger, et en exprime l'idée dans le cerveau : ce qu'elle fait par une autre action qu'on nomme imaginer, et que par même moyen elle détermine les esprits qui vont du cerveau dans les nerfs, à entrer en ceux de ces nerfs qui servent à resserrer les ouvertures du cœur, ce qui retarde la circulation du sang, en suite de quoi tout le corps devient pâle, froid, et tremblant : et les nouveaux esprits qui viennent du cœur vers le cerveau sont agités de telle façon qu'ils ne peuvent aider à y former d'autres images que celles qui excitent en l'âme la passion de la crainte, &c.—Des Cartes (*Œuvres*, Cousin, Tom. IX. p. 244).

motions likewise in the organical part of our bodies. And, therefore, that our souls may the better inform our bodies, they must perceive all their varieties; and because they have such an immediate proximity to these spirits, therefore, also, all the motions of our souls in the highest way of reason and understanding are apt to stir these quick and nimble spirits always attending upon them, or else fix them too much. And thus we may easily see that, should our souls be always acting and working within us, our bodies could never take that rest and repose which is requisite for the conservation of nature. As we may easily perceive in all our studies and meditations that are most serious, our spirits are the more fixed, attending the beck of our minds. And, except this knot whereby our souls are wedded to our bodies were unloosed so that our souls were free from them, they could not act, but presently some motion or other would be impressed upon our bodies: as every motion in our bodies that is extraordinary, when our nerves are distended with the animal spirits, by a continual communication of itself in these nerves, like so many intended chords to their original, moves our souls; and so, though we always perceive that one of them is primarily affected, yet we also find the other presently, by consent, to be affected too.

And because the soul hath all corporeal passions and impressions thus conveyed to it, without which it could not express a due benevolence to that body which peculiarly belongs to it; therefore, as the motions of these animal spirits are more or less either disorderly and confused, or gentle and composed, so those souls, especially, which have not, by the exercise of true virtue, got the dominion over them, are also more or less affected proportionably in their operations. And therefore, indeed, to question whether the soul, that is of an immortal nature, should entertain these corporeal passions, is to

doubt whether God could make a man or not, and to question that which we find by experience in ourselves; for we find both that it doth thus, and yet that the original of these is sometimes from bodies, and sometimes again by the force of our wills they are impressed upon our bodies.

Here, by the bye, we may consider in a moral way what to judge of those impressions that are derived from our bodies to our souls, which the Stoics call *ἄλογα πάθη*—not because they are repugnant to reason, or are aberrations from it; but because they derive not their original from reason, but from the body, which is *ἄλογόν τι* and are, by Aristotle, more agreeably to the ancient dialect, called ‘material or corporeal ideas or impressions.’ And these we may safely reckon, I think, amongst our *adiaphora* in morality, as being in themselves neither good nor evil, (as all the ancient writers have done) but only formed into either by that stamp that the soul prints upon them, when they come to be entertained into it. And, therefore, whereas some are apt, in the most severe way, to censure *τὰς πρώτας κατὰ φύσιν ὁρμάς*,—all those commotions and passions that first affect our souls; they might do well more cautiously to distinguish between such of these motions as have their origination in our bodies, and such as immediately arise from our souls: else, may we not too hastily displace the ancient *termini*, and remove the land-marks of virtue and vice? For, seeing the soul could not descend into any corporeal act, as it must do while it is more present to one body than another, unless it could partake of the griefs and pleasures of the body; can it be any more sinful for it to sensate this, than it is for it to be united to the body? If our soul could not know what it is to eat or drink, except by a

¹ *ἔννοιαι λόγου*.—*De An.* I. c. 1.

mere ratiocination, collecting, by a dry syllogistical discourse, that meats and drinks preserve the health and fabric of the body, repairing what daily exhales from it, without sensating any kind of grief in the want, or refreshment in the use, of them; it would soon suffer the body to languish and decay. And, therefore, as these bodily infirmities and passions are not evil in themselves; so neither are they evil as they first affect our souls. When our animal spirits, begot of fine and good blood, gently and nimbly play up and down in our brains, and swiftly fly up and down our whole bodies, we presently find our fancies raised with mirth and cheerfulness: and as, when our fancies are thus exalted, we may not call this the energy of grace; so, if our spleen or hypochondria, swelling with terrene and sluggish vapours, send up such melancholic fumes into our heads as move us to sadness and timorousness, we cannot justly call that vice; nor when the gall does pour forth its bitter juice into our liver, which, mingling itself with the blood, begets fiery spirits that presently fly up into our brain, and there beget impressions of anger within us. The like we may say of those corporeal passions which are not bred, first of all, by any peccant humours or distemperatures in our own bodies, but are excited in us by any external objects which, by those *idola* and images that they present to our senses, or rather those motions they make in them, may presently raise such commotions in our spirits: for our body not only maintains a conspiracy and consent of all its own parts, but it also bears a like relation to other mundane bodies with which it is conversant, as being a part of the whole universe. But when our soul, once moved by the undisciplined petulancy of our animal spirits, shall foment and cherish that irrational grief, fear, anger, love, or any other such like passions contrary to the dictates of reason; it then sets the stamp of sinfulness upon them.

It is the consent of our own wills that, by brooding over them, brings forth those hateful serpents. For though our souls be espoused to these earthly bodies, and cannot but in some measure sympathize with them, yet hath the soul a true dominion over its own acts. It is not the mere passion, if we take it in a physical sense, but rather some inordinate action of our own wills that entertain it: and these passions cannot force our wills, but we may be able to chastise and allay all the inordinancy of them by the power of our wills and reason: and therefore God hath not made us under the necessity of sin, by making us men subject to such infirmities as these are, which are merely ζῶαι σωμάτων, as the Greek philosopher hath well called them,—‘the blossomings and shootings forth of bodily life within us;’—which is but τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, or humanity¹.

And, if I mistake not, our divinity is wont sometimes to acknowledge some such thing in our Saviour Himself, who was in all things made like to us, our sinfulness excepted. He was “a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief²,” as the prophet Isaiah speaks of Him: and when He was in bodily agonies and horrors, the powerful assaults thereof upon His soul moved Him to petition His Father, that, “if it were possible, that bitter cup might pass from Him³,” and the sense of death so much afflicted Him, that it bred in Him the sad griefs which St Peter expresseth by ‘the pangs or throes of death⁴,’ and that fear which extorted a desire to be freed from it, as is implied in the expression, ‘He was delivered from what He feared;’ for so the words, being nothing else but an

¹ Ἄλλ’ αἱ μὲν ἄλογοι ὀρέξεις, τοῦτ’ ἐστι, θυμὸς, καὶ ἐπιθυμία, προσεχέεις οὖσαι τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ ζῶαι τῶν σωμάτων οἶσαι, ὡς δοκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κράσεως τῶν σωμάτων ἀναβλαστάνειν, πολὺ τὸ ἑτεροκλήτων ἔχουσι.—

Simpl. in *Epicetet.* cap. I. § 1.

² Isai. liii. 3.

³ Matt. xxvi. 39.

⁴ τὰς ὥδυνας τοῦ θανάτου.—Acts ii.

Hebraism, are to be rendered¹. And we are wont to call this ‘the language and dictate of nature,’ which lawfully endeavours to preserve itself, though presently a higher principle must bring all these under a subjection to God, and a free submission to His good pleasure: as it was with our Saviour, who moderated all these passions by a ready resignation of Himself and His own will up to the will of God; and though His humanity craved for ease and relaxation, yet that Divine nature that was within Him would not have it with any repugnancy to the supreme will of God.

¹ εἰσακουσθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας.—Heb. v. 7.

A
DISCOURSE
CONCERNING THE
EXISTENCE AND NATURE OF GOD.

‘Ο γὰρ ἑαυτὸν γνοὺς, γινώσεται θεόν· θεὸν δὲ ὁ γνοὺς, ὁμοιωθήσεται θεῷ· ὁμοιωθήσεται δὲ θεῷ, ὁ ἄξιος γενόμενος θεοῦ· ἄξιος δὲ γίνεται θεοῦ, ὁ μὴδὲν ἀνάξιον πράττων θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ φρονῶν μὲν τὰ αὐτοῦ, λαλῶν δὲ ἅ φρονεῖ, ποιῶν δὲ ἅ λαλεῖ.

AGAFETUS *De Off. Reg.* 3.

Ex tot generibus nullum est animal, præter hominẽm, quod habeat notitiam aliquam dei: ipsisque in hominibus nulla gens est neque tam immansueta, neque tam fera, quæ non, etiamsi ignoret, qualem habere deum deceat, tamen habendum sciat.

CIC. *De Legibus*, 1. 8.

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
EXISTENCE AND NATURE OF GOD.

CHAPTER I.

That the best way to know God is by an attentive reflection upon our own souls. God more clearly and lively pictured upon the souls of men, than upon any part of the sensible world.

WE shall now come to the other cardinal principle of all religion, and treat something concerning God: and here we shall not so much demonstrate that He is, as *what* He is.

Both these we may best learn from a reflection upon our own souls, as Plotinus hath well taught us: ‘He who reflects upon himself, reflects upon his own original¹,’ and finds the clearest impression of some eternal nature and perfect being stamped upon his own soul. And, therefore, Plato seems sometimes to reprove the ruder sort of men in his times for their contrivance of pictures and images to put themselves in mind of the *θεοί*, or angelical beings, and exhorts them to look into their own souls, which are the fairest images, not only of the lower divine natures, but of the Deity itself; God having so copied forth Himself into the whole life and energy of man’s soul, as that the lovely characters of Divinity may be most easily seen and read of all men within themselves²: as

¹ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφων, εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐπιστρέφει.—*Enn.* VI. 9, 2.

² σπουδάζαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνοιχθέντος οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τις ἐώρακε τὰ ἐντὸς ἀγάλματα. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ ἥδη ποτ’ εἶδον, καὶ μοι

ἔδοξεν οὕτω θεῖα καὶ χρυσᾷ εἶναι καὶ πάγκαλα καὶ θαυμαστά, κ. τ. λ.—*Plat. Sympos.* 216 E.

Clemens Alex. adopts the same idea. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ ἀπεικόνισμα εὐροίμεν ἂν τὸ

they say Phidias, the famous statuary, after he had made the statue of Minerva with the greatest exquisiteness of art, to be set up in the Acropolis at Athens, afterwards impressed his own image so deeply in her buckler, *ut nemo delere posset aut divellere, qui totam statuam non imminueret*¹. And if we would know what the impress of souls is, it is nothing but God Himself, who could not write His own name so as that it might be read, except in rational natures. Neither could He make such, without imparting such an imitation of His own eternal understanding to them, as might be a perpetual memorial of Himself within them. And whenever we look upon our own soul in a right manner, we shall find a Urim and Thummim there, by which we may ask counsel of God Himself, who will have this always borne upon its breast-plate.

There is nothing that so debases and enthrals the souls of men, as the dismal and dreadful thoughts of their own mortality, which will not suffer them to look beyond this short span of time, to see an hour's length before them, or to look higher than these material heavens; which though they could be stretched forth to infinity, yet would the space be too narrow for an enlightened mind, that will not be confined within the compass of corporeal

θεῖον καὶ ἅγιον ἄγαλμα, ἐν τῇ δικαίᾳ ψυχῇ, ὅταν μακαρία μὲν αὐτῇ τυγχάνῃ, ὅτε προκαθαρμένη, μακάρια δὲ διαπραττομένη ἔργα.—*Strom.* Lib. vii. cap. 5.

He also states that Numa forbade the making of images to represent God. Νουμᾶς δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, Πυθαγόριος μὲν ἦν ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Μωσέως ὠφέληθεις, διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ καὶ ζωόμορφον εἰκόνα Θεοῦ Ῥωμαίοις κτίζειν.—*Strom.* Lib. i. cap. 15.

Cf. Plot. *Enn.* v. 1, 6. Δεῖ τοίνυν θεατὴν ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ εἰσω ὅλον νεφ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὄντος, μένοντος ἡσύχου ἐπέκεινα ἀπάντων, τὰ ὅλον πρὸς τὰ ἐξω ἤδη ἀγάλ-

ματα ἐστῶτα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ πρῶτον ἐκφανέν θεᾶσθαι πεφηνὸς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

¹ Phidian illum, quem pictorem probum fuisse tradit memoria, vidi ipse in clypeo Minervæ, quæ arcibus Atheniensibus præsidet, oris sui similitudinem colligasse: ita ut, si quis olim artificis voluisset exinde imaginem separare, soluta compage, simulacri totius incolumitas interiret.—*Apul. De Mundo*, 746.

Videlicet Phidiæ secutus exemplum, qui clypeo Minervæ effigiem suam inclusit, qua convulsa, tota operis colligatio solveretur.—*Val. Max. viii.* 14, 6.

dimensions. These black opinions of death and the non-entity of souls—darker than hell itself—shrink up the free-born spirit which is within us, which would otherwise be dilating and spreading itself boundlessly beyond all finite being: and when these sorry, pinching, mists are once blown away, it finds this narrow sphere of being give way before it; and, having once seen beyond time and matter, it finds then no more ends or bounds to stop its swift and restless motion. It may then fly upwards from one heaven to another, till it be beyond all orb of finite being, swallowed up in the boundless abyss of divinity, *ὑπεράνω τῆς οὐσίας*—beyond all that which darker thoughts are wont to represent under the idea of essence. This is that *θεῖον σκότος* of which the Areopagite speaks, into which the higher our minds soar, the more incomprehensible they find it. Those dismal apprehensions which pinion the souls of men to mortality, churlishly check and starve that noble life thereof, which would always be rising upwards, and spread itself in a free heaven: and when once the soul hath shaken off these, when it is once able to look through a grave, and see beyond death, it finds a vast immensity of being opening itself more and more before it, and the ineffable light and beauty thereof shining more and more into it; when it can rest and bear up itself upon an immaterial centre of immortality within, it will then find itself able to bear itself away, by a self-reflection, into the contemplation of an eternal Deity.

For though God hath copied forth His own perfections in this conspicuous and sensible world, according as it is capable of entertaining them; yet the most clear and distinct copy of Himself could be imparted to none else but to intelligible and inconspicable natures: and though the whole fabric of this visible universe be whispering out the notions of a Deity, and always inculcates this lesson

to the contemplators of it—ὡς ἐμὲ πεποίηκε ὁ θεός—as Plotinus expresseth it; yet we cannot understand it without some interpreter within. ‘The heavens,’ indeed, ‘declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handy-work’, and ‘that which may be known of God’—even ‘His eternal power and Godhead,’ as St Paul tells us², is to be seen in these external appearances: yet it must be something within that must instruct us in all these mysteries, and we shall then best understand them, when we compare that copy which we find of them within ourselves, with that which we see without us. The schoolmen have well compared sensible and intelligible beings in reference to the Deity, when they tell us that the one do only represent *vestigia Dei*, the other *faciem Dei*. We shall therefore here inquire what that knowledge of a Deity is, into which a due converse with our own naked understandings will lead us.

CHAPTER II.

How the contemplation of our own souls, and a right reflection upon the operations thereof, may lead us into the knowledge of, 1st, The divine unity and omniscience; 2nd, God's omnipotence; 3rd, The divine love and goodness; 4th, God's eternity; 5th, His omnipresence; 6th, The divine freedom and liberty.

IT being our design to discourse more particularly of that knowledge of the Deity that we may learn immediately from ourselves, we shall observe,

First: There is nothing whereby our own souls are better known to us, than by the properties and operations of reason: but when we reflect upon our own idea of pure and perfect reason, we know that our own souls are not it,

¹ Psal. xix. 1.

² τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. . . ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης.—Rom. i. 19, 20.

but only partake of it; and that it is of such a nature that we cannot denominate by it any other thing of the same rank with ourselves; and yet we know certainly that it is, as finding, from an inward sense of it within ourselves, that both we and other things else beside ourselves partake of it, and that we have it *κατὰ μέθεξιν*, and not, *κατ' οὐσίαν*¹ neither do we, or any finite thing, contain the source of it, within ourselves: and, because we have a distinct notion of the most perfect mind and understanding, we own our deficiency therein. And as that idea of understanding, which we have within us, points not out to us this or that particular, but something which is neither this nor that, but total, understanding; so neither will any elevation of it serve every way to fit and answer that idea. And, therefore, when we find that we cannot attain to science, but by a discursive deduction of one thing from another; that our knowledge is confined, and is not fully adequate and commensurate with the largest sphere of being, it not running quite through it, nor filling the whole area of it; or that our knowledge is chronological and successive, and cannot grasp all things at once, but works by intervals, and runs out into division and multiplicity—we know all this is from want of reason and understanding, and that a pure and simple mind and intellect is free from all these restraints and imperfections, and therefore can be no less than infinite. As this idea which we have of it in our own souls will not suffer us to rest in any conception thereof which represents it less than infinite; so neither will it suffer us to conceive of it any otherwise than as one simple being: and, could we multiply understandings into never so vast a number, yet should we be again collecting and knitting them up together in some universal one. So that, if we rightly

¹ Compare note at the end of the Second Chapter, on 'the Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion.'

reflect upon our own minds, and the method of their energies, we shall find them to be so framed, as not to admit of any other than one infinite source of all that reason and understanding which themselves partake of, in which they live, move, and have their being. And, therefore, in the old metaphysical theology, an original and uncreated *μόνας*, or unity, is made the fountain of all particularities and numbers, which have their existence from the efflux of its Almighty power.

Second:—And that is the next thing in which our own understandings will instruct us concerning God, *viz.* His Eternal Power. For as we find a will and power within ourselves to execute the results of our own reason and judgment, so far as we are not hindered by some more potent cause: so, indeed, we know it must be a mighty, inward, strength and force that must enable our understandings to perform their proper functions, and that life, energy, and activity can never be separated from a power of understanding. The more unbodied any thing is, the more unbounded also is it in its effective power; body and matter being the most sluggish, inert, and unwieldy thing that may be, having no power from itself, nor over itself; and therefore the purest mind must also needs be the most Almighty Life and Spirit; and as it comprehends all things, and sums them up together in its infinite knowledge, so it must also comprehend them all in its own life and power. Besides, when we review our own immortal souls, and their dependency upon some Almighty mind, we know that we neither did, nor could, produce ourselves; and withal know that all that power which lies within the compass of ourselves, will serve for no other purpose than to apply several pre-existent things one to another, from whence all generations and mutations arise, which are nothing else but the events of different applications and complications of bodies that

were existent before: and, therefore, that which produced that substantial life and mind by which we know ourselves, must be something much more mighty than we are, and can be no less indeed than Omnipotent, and must also be the first Architect and Δημιουργός of all other beings, and the perpetual Supporter of them.

Third: We may also know from the same principles, that an Almighty Love, every way commensurate with that most perfect being, eternally rests in it, which is as strong as that is infinite, and as full of life and vigour as that is of perfection. And because it finds no beauty nor loveliness, but in that and the issues thereof, therefore it never does nor can fasten upon any thing else. And, therefore, the divinity always enjoys itself and its own infinite perfections, seeing it is that eternal and stable sun of goodness that neither rises nor sets; is neither eclipsed, nor can receive any increase of light and beauty. Hence the Divine Love is never attended with those turbulent passions, perturbations, or wrestlings within itself, of fear, desire, grief, anger, or any such like, whereby *our* love is wont to explicate and unfold its affection towards its object. But as the Divine Love is perpetually most infinitely ardent and potent, so it is always calm and serene, unchangeable, having no such ebbings and flowings, no such diversity of stations and retrogradations as that love hath in us, which ariseth from the weakness of our understandings, that do not present things to us always in the same orient lustre and beauty: neither we nor any other mundane thing—all which are in a perpetual flux—are always the same. Besides, though our love may sometimes transport us, and violently rend us from ourselves and from all self-enjoyment, yet the more forcible it is, by so much the more it will be apt to torment us, while it cannot centre itself in that which it so strongly endeavours to attract to it; and when it

possesseth most, yet is it always hungry and craving, as Plotinus hath well expressed it—‘it may always be filling itself, but, like a leaking vessel, it will be always emptying itself again!’ Whereas the infinite ardour of the Divine Love, arising from the unbounded perfection of the Divine Being, always rests satisfied within itself, and so may rather be defined by a *στάσις* than a *κίνησις*, and is wrapt up, and rests, in the same central unity in which it first begins. And, therefore, I think some men of later times have much mistaken the nature of the Divine Love, in imagining that love is to be attributed to God, as all other passions are, rather *secundum effectum* than *affectum*: whereas St John, who was well acquainted with this noble spirit of love, when he defined God by it, and calls him LOVE, meant not to signify a bare nothing known by some effects, but that which was infinitely such as it seems to be. And we might well spare our labour, when we so industriously endeavour to find something in God that might produce the effects of some other passions in us, which look rather like the children of hell and darkness than the lovely offspring of heaven.

Fourth: When we reflect upon all this, which signifies some perfect essence, as a mind, wisdom, understanding, omnipotency, goodness, and the like, we can find no such thing as time or place, or any corporeal or finite properties which arise indeed, not *ex plenitudine*, but *ex inopia entitatis*; we may also know God to be eternal and omnipresent, not because He fills either place or time, but rather because He wanteth neither. That which first begets the notion of time in us, is nothing else but that succession and multiplicity which we find in our own thoughts, which move from one thing to another, as the sun in the firmament is said to walk from one planetary house to another, and to have his several stages to pass

¹ πάντοτε πληροῦται καὶ πάντοτε ἐκρεῖ.

by. And, therefore, where there is no such vicissitude or variety, as there can be no *sense of time*, so there can be nothing of the *thing*. Proclus hath wittily observed that Saturn, or (as the Greeks called him) Κρόνος, was the first of the θεοὶ ἐπικόσμιοι¹, or mundane gods, ‘because time is necessarily presupposed to all generation,’ which proceeds by certain motions and intervals². This world is indeed a great horologe to itself, and is continually numbering out its own age; but it cannot lay any sure hold upon its own past revolutions, nor can it gather up its infancy and old age, and couple them up together. Whereas, an infinitely comprehensive mind hath a simultaneous possession of its own never-flitting life; and because it finds no succession in its own immutable understanding, therefore it cannot find any thing to measure out its own duration. And as time lies in the basis of all finite life, whereby it is enabled, by degrees, to display all the virtue of its own essence—which it cannot do at once; so such an eternity lies at the foundation of the divinity, whereby it becomes one ‘without any shadow of turning³,’ as St James speaks—without any variety or multiplicity within itself, of which all created beings that are carried down in the current of time partake. And, therefore, the Platonists

¹ Qu. θεοὶ ἐγκόσμιοι.

² Proclus does not speak of the priority of the god Κρόνος, but of χρόνος, ‘Time.’ Cronus himself was fabled to be the son of Uranus and Ge, and therefore connected with them by γένεσις. The expression τὸ πρῶτον, which Proclus makes use of—not τὸν πρῶτον—would seem conclusive on this point. καὶ γὰρ πότε λέγωμεν θεῶν γενέσεις, τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτῶν πρόδοον ἐνδεκνύμενοι λέγομεν καὶ τὴν τῶν δευτέρων ἐτερότητα πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ γε θεολόγοι πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας ἀπορίας προαναφαινοῦντες, ἵνα αἱ γενέσεις αὐτοῖς κατὰ λόγον πλάττῳνται τῶν θεῶν, χρόνον τὸ πρῶτον ἐπωνόμασαν, ὡς δέοντος ὅπου γένεσις ἐστίν, ἐκεῖ προηγέσθαι τὸν χρόνον, καθ’

ὃν ἡ γένεσις καὶ δι’ ὃν.—Procl. in Plat. Tim. 86 B.

Thus rendered by Taylor: ‘For though we sometimes speak of the generations of the gods, yet we say this indicating their ineffable progression, and the difference of secondary natures with reference to the causes of them. Theologians, however, previously subverting all such doubts, in order that the generations of the gods may be rationally devised by them, call the first principle of things Time, because it is fit that where there is generation, time should precede, according to which, and on account of which, generation subsists.’

³ Jam. i. 17.

were wont to attribute *Αἰών*, or 'eternity,' to God—not so much because He had neither beginning nor end of days, but because of His immutable and uniform nature, which admits of no such variety of conceptions as all temporary things do: and time they attributed to all created beings, because there is a *γένεσις*, or 'constant generation,' both of and in their essence, by reason whereof we may call any of them, as Proclus tells us, by that borrowed expression,—*ἐνν καὶ νέαν*—'old and new,' being every moment, as it were, re-produced, and acting something which it did not individually before. Though otherwise they supposed this world, constantly depending upon the Creator's omnipotency, might, from all eternity, flow forth from the same power that still sustains it, and which was never less potent to uphold it than now it is: notwithstanding, this piece of it which is visible to us, or at least this scheme or fashion of it, they acknowledged to have been but of a late date.

Fifth: Now thus as we conceive of God's Eternity, we may, in a correspondent manner, apprehend His Omnipresence; 'not so much by an infinite expanse or extension of essence, as by an unlimited power,' as Plotinus hath fitly expressed it¹. For as nothing can ever stray out of the bounds, or get out of the reach, of an Almighty mind and power; so when we barely think of mind or power, or any thing else most peculiar to the Divine essence, we cannot find any of the properties of quantity mixing themselves with it: and as we cannot confine it in regard thereof to any one point of the universe, so neither can we well conceive it extended through the whole, or excluded from any part of it. It is always some material being that contends for space: bodily parts will not lodge together, and the more bulky they are, the

¹ ληπτέον δὲ καὶ ἀπειρον αὐτὸν, οὐ τῷ ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπεριλήπτῳ τῆς δυνάμεως.—*Enn.*
ἀδιεξήγητον ἢ τοῦ μεγέθους ἢ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, VI. 9. 6.

more they jostle for room one with another; as Plotinus tells us; 'bodily beings are great only in bulk, but divine essences in virtue and power¹.'

Sixth: We may, in the next place, consider that freedom and liberty which we find in our own souls, which is founded in our reason and understanding; and this is therefore infinite in God, because there is nothing that can bound the first mind, or disobey an Almighty power. We must not conceive God to be the freest agent, because He can do and prescribe what He pleaseth, and so set up an absolute will which shall make both law and reason, as some imagine. For as God cannot know Himself to be any other than what indeed He is; so neither can He will himself to be any thing else than what He is, or that any thing else should swerve from those laws which His own eternal nature and understanding prescribe to it. For this were to make God free to dethrone Himself, and set up a liberty within Him, that should contend with the royal prerogative of His own boundless wisdom.

To be short. When we converse with our own souls, we find the spring of all liberty to be nothing else but reason; and therefore no unreasonable creature can partake of it: and that it is not so much any indifferency in our wills of determining without reason, much less against it, as the liberal election of, and complacency in, that which our understandings propound to us as most expedient: and our liberty most appears, when our will most of all congratulates the results of our own judgments; and then shows itself most vigorous, when either the particularity of that good, with which the understanding converseth, or the weak knowledge that it hath of it, restrains it not. Then is it most pregnant, and flows forth in the fullest stream, when its object is most full, and the acquaintance with it most ample; all liberty in

¹ τὸ (γὰρ) ἐκεῖ μέγα ἐν δυνάμει, ἐνταῦθα ἐν ὄγκῳ.—*Enn.* II. 9. 17.

the soul being a kind of liberality in the bestowing of our affections, and the want or scarce measure of it, parsimoniousness. And, therefore, the more the results of our judgments tend to an indifferency, the more we find our wills dubious, and in suspense what to choose; contrary inclinations arising and falling within interchangeably, as the scales of a balance equally laden with weights; and all this while the soul's liberty is nothing else but a fluctuation between uncertainties, and languisheth away in the impotency of our understandings. Whereas the Divine understanding, beholding all things most clearly, must needs beget the greatest freedom that may be; which freedom as it is bred in it, so it never moves without the compass of it. And though the Divine will be not determined always to this or that particular, yet it is never bereft of eternal light and truth to act by: and, therefore, though we cannot see a reason for all God's actions, yet we may know they were neither done against it, nor without it.

CHAPTER III.

How the consideration of those restless motions of our wills after some supreme and infinite good, leads us into the knowledge of a Deity.

WE shall once more take a view of our own souls, and observe how the motions thereof lead us into the knowledge of a Deity. We always find a restless appetite within ourselves which craves for some supreme and chief good, and will not be satisfied with any thing less than infinity itself; as if our own penury and indigency were commensurate with the Divine fulness: and, therefore, no question has been more canvassed by all

philosophy than this, *de summo hominis bono*; and all the sects thereof were anciently distinguished by those opinions that they entertained *de finibus boni et mali*, as Cicero phraseth it. But of how weak and dilute a nature soever some of them may have conceived that *summum bonum*, yet they could not so satisfy their own inflamed thirst after it. We find, by experience, that our souls cannot live upon that thin and spare diet with which they are entertained at their own home; neither can they be satiated with those jejune and insipid morsels with which this outward world furnisheth their table. I cannot think the most voluptuous Epicurean could ever satisfy the cravings of his soul with corporeal pleasure, though he might endeavour to persuade himself there was no better: nor the most quintessential Stoics find an *αὐτάρκεια* and *ἀταραξία*—‘a self-sufficiency and tranquillity’—within their own souls, arising out of the pregnancy of their own mind and reason; though their sullen thoughts would not suffer them to be beholden to a higher being for their happiness. The more we endeavour to extract an *autarchy* out of our own souls, the more we torment them, and force them to feel and sensate their own pinching poverty. Ever since our minds became so dim-sighted as not to pierce into that original and primitive blessedness which is above, our wills are too big for our understandings, and will believe their beloved prey is to be found where reason discovers it not: they will pursue it through all the vast wilderness of this world, and force our understandings to follow the chase with them: nor may we think to tame this violent appetite, or allay the heat of it, except we can look upward to some Eternal and Almighty goodness which is alone able to master it.

It is not the nimbleness and agility of our own reason which stirs up these eager affections within us, (for then

the most ignorant sort of men would never feel the sting thereof) but indeed some more potent nature which hath planted a restless motion within us that might more forcibly carry us out to itself; and, therefore, it will never suffer itself to be controlled by any of our thin speculations, or satisfied with those airy delights that our fancies may offer to it: it doth not, it cannot, rest itself any where but upon the centre of some Almighty good, some solid and substantial happiness; like the hungry child that will not be stilled by all the mother's music, or change its sour and angry looks for her smiling countenance: nothing will satisfy it but the full breasts.

The whole work of this world is nothing but a perpetual contention for true happiness, and men are scattered up and down the world, moving to and fro therein, to seek it. Our souls, by a natural science, as it were, feeling their own original, are perpetually travailing with new designs and contrivances, whereby they may purchase the scope of their high ambitions. Happiness is that pearl of price which all adventure for, though few find it. It is not gold or silver that the earthlings of this world seek after, but some satisfying good which they think is there treasured up. Neither is it a little empty breath that ambition and popularity soars after, but some kind of happiness that it thinks to catch and suck in with it.

And thus, indeed, when men most of all fly from God, they still seek after him. Wicked men pursue, indeed, after a deity in their worldly lusts; wherein yet they most blaspheme; for God is not a mere empty name or title, but that self-sufficient good which brings along with it that rest and peace which they so much seek after, though they do most prodigiously conjoin it with something which it is not, nor can be, and in a true and real strain of blasphemy, attribute all that which God is, to something else which is most unlike Him, and,

as St Paul speaks of those infatuated Gentiles, 'turn the glory of the incorruptible God into the image of corruptible man, of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things¹.'

God is not better defined to us by our understandings than by our wills and affections: He is not only the eternal reason, that Almighty mind and wisdom which our understandings converse with; but He is also that unstained beauty and supreme good to which our wills are perpetually aspiring: and wheresoever we find true beauty, love, and goodness, we may say, here or there is God. And as we cannot understand any thing of an intelligible nature, but by some primitive idea we have of God, whereby we are able to guess at the elevation of its being, and the pitch of its perfection; so neither do our wills embrace any thing without some latent sense of Him, whereby they can taste and discern how near any thing comes to that self-sufficient good they seek after: and, indeed, without such an internal sensating faculty as this is, we should never know when our souls are in conjunction with the Deity, or be able to relish the ineffable sweetness of true happiness. Though here below we know but little what this is, because we are little acquainted with fruition and enjoyment: we know well what belongs to longing and languishing, but we know not so well what belongs to plenty and fulness: we are well acquainted with the griefs and sicknesses of this inbred love, but we know not what its health and complacencies are.

To conclude this particular: *μεγάλας ἔχει κινήσεις ἡ ψυχή*—the soul hath strong and weighty motions, and nothing else can bear it up but something permanent and immutable. Nothing can beget a constant serenity and composedness within, but something supreme to its

¹ Rom. i. 23.

own essence; as if, having once departed from the primitive fountain of its life, it were deprived of itself, perpetually contesting within itself, and divided against itself: and all this evidently proves to our inward sense and feeling, that there is some higher good than ourselves; something that is much more amiable and desirable, and therefore must be loved and preferred before ourselves, as Plotinus hath excellently observed: 'every thing that desires the enjoyment of the first good, would rather be that than what it is, because, indeed, the nature of that is much more desirable than its own!.' And therefore the Platonists, when they contemplate the Deity under these three notions of τὸ ἐν, τὸ ὄν, and τὸ ἀγαθόν, and question which to place first in order of understanding, resolve the pre-eminence to be due to the τὸ ἀγαθόν, as Simplicius tells us, because that is first known to us as the Architect of the world, and, we may add, as that which begets in us this ἐρωτικὸν πάθος—these strong passionate desires, whereby all sorts of men, even those that are rude and illiterate, are first known to themselves, and, by that knowledge, may know what diminutive, poor, and helpless things they are, who can never be satisfied from themselves, and what an excellent and sovereign goodness there is above them which they ought to serve, and cannot but serve, or some filthy idol instead of it; though this mental be like that gross and external idolatry in this also, that howsoever we heed it not (and so are never the more blameless) yet our worship of these images and pictures of goodness rests not there, it being some all-sufficient good that, as we observed before, calls forth and commands our adorations.

¹ Ἴδε δὴ καὶ τὸδε· τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον ἐφίεμενον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ βούλεται ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἢ ὃ ἐστὶν εἶναι, καὶ τότε μάλιστα οἴεται

εἶναι, ὅταν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεταλάβῃ.—*Enn.* VI. 8. 13.

CHAPTER IV.

DEDUCTIONS AND INFERENCES FROM THE CONSIDERATION OF
THE DIVINE NATURE AND ATTRIBUTES.

1. *That all divine productions are the free effluxes of Omnipotent love and goodness. The true notion of God's glory—what it is. Men very apt to mistake in this point. God needs not the happiness or misery of His creatures to make Himself glorious. God does most glorify Himself by communicating Himself: we most glorify God when we most partake of Him, and resemble Him most.*

WE have seen how we may rise up to the understanding of the Deity by the contemplation of our own souls: and now it may seem worthy of the best attention of our minds to consider some deductions and inferences, which naturally flow from the true knowledge of the Divine nature and attributes.

And the *first* is this; *That all Divine productions or operations that terminate in something without Him, are nothing else but the free effluxes of His own Omnipotent love and goodness*, which always moves along with them, and never willingly departs from them. When God made the world, it was not out of a piece of self-interest, as if He had had any design to advance Himself, or to enlarge His own stock of glory and happiness; for what beauty or perfection can be in this whole creation, which was not before contained in Himself as the free fountain of all? or what could He see out of Himself that could add any thing to His own stature, which He found not already in Himself? ‘He made not the world for any need, or that He might gain some honour to Himself from men, archangels, or angels, as the tribute or rent to be paid to Him from His creation,’ as Clemens Alexandrinus observes out of Plato¹. Though I know not how it comes

¹ Οὐ γὰρ χρείας ἕνεκεν ὁ θεὸς πεποίηκεν καὶ πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δαιμόνων, τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα τιμὰς πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπων φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, καρποῦτο, οἷον πρόσδοῦν

about that some bring in God, as it were planning how He might erect a new monopoly of glory to Himself, and so, to serve this purpose, made the world, that He might have a stock of glory contained in it. And I doubt we are wont sometimes to paint Him forth too much in the likeness of corrupt and impotent men, that by a fond ambition please themselves, and feed their lustful fancies with their own praises chanted out to them by their admirers; and another while as much sport themselves and applaud their own greatness, to hear what hideous cries the severity of their own power can extort from those they have a mind to make miserable.

We all speak much of the *Glory of God*, and entertain a common belief of that being the only end for which we were all made: and I wish we were all more inwardly moved with a true and lively sense of it. There can be nothing else that either God could propound to Himself, or that we ought, if it be rightly understood. But we must not think that God, who is infinite fulness, would seek for any thing without Himself: He needs neither our happiness nor our misery, in order to make Himself more illustrious; but, being full in Himself, it was His good pleasure to communicate of His own fulness: for, as Proclus hath well observed, ‘How can He look without Himself, seeing He is a pure mind, always encompassed with its own glorious brightness? But the good pleasure of His will being filled with bounty, and the power of a most gracious Deity proceeding from it, liberally dispensed themselves, and distributed those gifts of grace that might make all created being the more to resemble that arche-

τινα ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρνύμενος.—Clem. Alexandr. *Strom.* Lib. v. c. 11.

The above passage probably does not exist in Plato's works, as we now have them.

The following is the note of Potter on

the words Οὐ γὰρ χρείας] ‘Hæc a Theodoretō bis in θεολογ. Gent. Affect. citantur, primo Serm. 4, dein sub finem Serm. 7, ubi ea Socrati tribuit, nempe Platonico.’

The article before ἄλλων is wanting in Theodoret.

typal idea of themselves¹. Accordingly Timæus Locrus represents the Creator of the world in the same strain that Moses did, *ὡς ἀγαζόμενος καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς*—delighted, as it were, in Himself to see that all things that He had made were good, and some things exceeding good². God Himself being infinitely full, and having enough and to spare, is always overflowing; and goodness and love issue forth from Him by way of redundancy. When He made the world, because there was nothing better than Himself, He shadowed forth Himself therein, and, as far as might be, was pleased to represent Himself and manifest His own eternal glory and perfection in it. When He is said to seek His own glory, it is, indeed, nothing else but to ray and beam forth, as it were, His own lustre; as R. Jehuda in his book Cosri hath glanced at it: *gloria hæc scintilla est lucis divinæ, cedens in utilitatem populi ejus in terra ejus*³.

God does then most glorify and exalt Himself in the most triumphant way that may be, *ad extra*, or out of Himself, if I may so phrase it, when He most of all communicates Himself, and when He erects such monuments of His own majesty, wherein His own love and goodness may live and reign.

And we then most of all glorify Him, when we partake most of Him; when our serious endeavours after a true assimilation to Him, and conformity to His image,

¹ Ἀγάλλεται (δὲ) οὐ χαίρων ἐπὶ τῷ ἔξω κειμένῳ πράγματι· πῶς γὰρ ἔξω βλέπει νοῦς ὢν; ἀλλὰ πληρουμένης τῆς αγαθοειδοῦς ἑαυτοῦ βουλήσεως καὶ προϊούσης αὐτῆς τοῦ αγαθοουργοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς μετάδοσιν ἀφθονον καὶ χορηγίαν τῶν τελειοτέρων αγαθῶν· ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνεδείξατο ἱκανῶς εἰπὼν καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς ἔτι δὴ μᾶλλον ὁμοιον πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐπενόησεν ἀπεργάσασθαι. Εὐφραίνεται μὲν γὰρ πρῶτως κατὰ τὴν ἑνδον ἑαυτοῦ νόησιν, ἀπλῆ καὶ ἀνεμποδίστῃ καὶ ἀθρόα περιβολῇ πάν

τὸ νοητὸν περιλαμβανούσῃ.—Procl. *in Plat. Tim.* 240 B. The notes on the next page contain part of the immediate context of the above quotation.

² The word 'Locrus' in the text is probably an error, the passage from the *Timæus* of Plato referred to in the last note being intended.

Stallbaum in his remarks refers to Gen. i. 31.

³ הכבוד ניצוץ אור אלהי מועיל אצל עמו ובארצו.—Cosri, Pars ii. § 8.

declare that we think nothing better than He is, and are, therefore, most ambitious of being one with Him, by a universal resignation of ourselves unto Him.

This is His glory in its lowest humiliation, while it beams forth out of Himself; and our happiness in its exaltation, which heaven never separates nor divides, though earth doth. His honour is His love and goodness in paraphrase, spreading itself over all those that can or do receive it; and this He loves and cherishes wheresoever He finds it, as something of Himself therein.

Thus I should leave this particular, but that being gone so far in it, it may be worth the while to take notice of three things wherein God most of all glories and takes the greatest complacency, in reference to creatures, as they are laid down by Proclus. 'The first, and chiefest, is concurrent with his own internal vision of all things in that simple, expedite and simultaneous comprehension of all things intelligible, piercing through all their essences, and viewing them all in himself, he is delighted therein, as seeing how his own glory can display and imitate itself in outward matter¹.' The second is:—'in the aptness and capacity of those things which he hath made to receive a further influence of good, ready to stream forth from himself into them².' The last is:—'in the sweet symmetry of his own forms with this capacity, and, as it were, the harmonious conspiracy and symphony of them, when his own light pleasantly plays upon those well tuned instruments which he hath fitted to run the descants of his own goodness upon³.' And therefore it becomes us, whom He hath endued with vital power of action, and in some sense a self-moving life, to stir up His good gifts within ourselves; and, if we would have Him take pleasure in us, to

¹ Εὐφραίνεται μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.—Procl. in Plat. 240 B. (Vide note ¹, p. 145.)

² διὰ τὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντα τῶν ὑποδεχομένων τὴν ἔξω προϊούσαν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν

χορηγίαν.—*Ibid.*

³ τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀμφοῖν συμμετρίας, καὶ ὡσανεὶ συμπνοίας καὶ συμφωνίας.—*Ibid.* 240 C.

prepare our own souls more and more to receive of His liberality, that the stock which He is pleased to impart to us may not lie dead within us¹. And this is the application which he makes of this particular.

CHAPTER V.

A SECOND DEDUCTION.

2. *That all things are supported and governed by an Almighty wisdom and goodness. An answer to an objection made against the Divine Providence from an unequal distribution of things here below. Such quarrelling with Providence ariseth from a pedantic and carnal notion of good and evil.*

IN the next place, we may, by way of further deduction, gather, *That that Almighty wisdom and goodness which first made all things, doth also perpetually conserve and govern them*; extending themselves through the whole fabric, and seating themselves in every finite essence, 'lest, straggling and falling off from the Deity, they should become altogether disorderly,' relapsing and sliding back into their first chaos². As in all motion there must be some first mover, from whence the beginning and perpetuation of all motion is deduced; so in beings there must be some first essence upon which all other must constantly depend. And, therefore, the Pythagorean philosophy was wont to look upon these *νέα δημιουργήματα*, as they call this production of every thing that is not truly divine, *ὡς ἀεὶ ἐν γενέσει*—as being always *in fieri*. For as no finite thing can subsist by its own strength, or

¹ ἵνα μὴ ἀργῇ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δόσις.—*Ibid*.

² ἵνα μὴ φυχόντα τὸ θεῖον τελέως ἄτακτα γένηται.—*Procl. in Plat. Tim.* 243 E.

take its place upon the stage of space without the leave of an Almighty and Supreme power: so neither can it remain here without licence and assistance from it. The Deity, indeed, is the centre of all finite being, and entity itself, which is self-sufficient, must, of necessity, be the foundation and basis of every one of these weak essences, which cannot bear up themselves by any central power of their own; as we may also be almost assured of, from a sensible feeling of all the constant mutations and impotency which we find both in ourselves and all other things.

And as God thus preserves all things, so He is continually ordering and disposing all things in the best way, and providing so as may be best for them. He did not make the world as a mere exercise of His Almighty power, or to try His own strength, and then throw it away from Himself without any further attention to it; for He is that Omnipresent Life that penetrates and runs through all things, containing and holding all fast together within Himself; and, therefore, the ancient philosophy was wont rather to say, that the world was in God, than that God was in the world. He did not look without Himself to search for some solid foundation that might bear up this weighty building, but indeed reared it up within Him, and spread His own Omnipotency under it and through it: and, being centrally in every part of it, He governs it according to the prescript of His own unsearchable wisdom and goodness, and orders all things for the best. And this is one principal orthodox point the Stoics would have us to believe concerning providence; ὅτι πάντα ὑπ' ἀρίστου νοῦ γίνεται—'that all things are here done in this world by the appointment of the best mind¹.'

¹ Thus Epictetus: Τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, ἴσθι ὅτι τὸ κυριώτατον ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, ὁρθῶς ὑπολήψεις περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ὡς ὄντων, καὶ διοικούντων τὰ ὅλα καλῶς καὶ δικαίως· καὶ σαυτὸν εἰς τοῦτο κατατε-

ταχέναι, τὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἶκω ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γινομένοις, καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκόντα ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρίστης γνώμης ἐπιτελουμένοις.—Epict. *Enchirid.* σαρ. xxxi.

And now, if any should quarrel with the unequal distribution of things here, as if rather some blind fortune had bestowed her blessings carelessly till she had no more left, and thereby made so many starvelings, rather than some all-knowing mind that deals forth its bounty in due proportions; I should send them to Plutarch and Plotinus to have their reasons fully satisfied on this point,—for we here deal with the principles of natural light—all these debates arising from nothing but pedantical and carnal notions of good and evil: as if it were so gallant a thing to be dealing with crowns and sceptres, to be bravely arrayed, and wallow in that which is called the wealth of this world. God indeed never took any such notice of good men as to make them all rulers, as the last of those fore-cited authors tells us; neither was it worth the while, ‘neither is it fit for good men’ that partake of a higher life than the most princely is, to trouble themselves about lording and ruling over other men¹;’ as if such a splendid kind of nothing as this is, were of so much worth. It may be generally much better for us, while we are so apt to magnify and court any mundane beauty and glory as we are, that Providence should disorder and deface these things, that we might all be weaned from the love of them, than that their lovely looks should so bewitch and enchant our souls as to draw them off from better things. And I dare say, that a sober mind that shall contemplate the state and temper of men’s minds, and the confused frame of this outward world, will rather admire the infinite wisdom of a gracious Providence in permitting and ordering that *ataxy* which is in it, than he would were it to be beheld in a more comely frame and order.

¹ οὐ τοίνυν (θεμιτὸν) οὐδὲ θεοὺς αὐτῶν ἀρχειν τὰ καθέκαστα, ἀφέντας τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον, οὐδέ τε τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς

ἄλλον βίον ζῶντας, τὸν ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀμείνω, τούτους αὐτῶν ἀρχοντας εἶναι κ.τ.λ.
—Plot. *Enn.* III. 2. 9.

CHAPTER VI.

A THIRD DEDUCTION.

3. *That all true happiness consists in a participation of God, arising out of the assimilation and conformity of our souls to Him; and, that the most real misery ariseth out of the apostasy of souls from God. No enjoyment of God without our being made like to Him. The happiness and misery of man defined and stated, with the original and foundation of both.*

WE proceed now to another deduction or inference, viz. *That all true happiness consists in a participation of God, arising out of the assimilation and conformity of our souls to Him; and, that the most real misery ariseth out of the apostasy of souls from God.* And so we are led to speak of the rewards and punishments of the life to come, *præmium* and *pæna*—as the Jewish writers are wont to express them¹: and it will not be any hard labour from what hath been said, to find out the original and nature of both of them; and though, perhaps, we cannot dive into the bottom of them, yet we may go about them, and tell how, in a general way, to define and distinguish them.

Happiness is nothing else, as we usually describe it to ourselves, but the enjoyment of some chief good: and therefore the Deity is so boundlessly happy, because it is every way one with its own immense perfection; and every thing so much the more feelingly lives upon happiness, by how much the more it comes to partake of God, and to be made like to Him: and, therefore, the Platonists well defined it to consist *in idea boni*. And, as it is impossible to enjoy happiness without a fruition of God; so it is impossible to enjoy Him without an assimilation and conformity of our natures to Him in a way of true goodness and godlike perfection. It is a common maxim of Socrates that 'it is not lawful for any impure nature to

touch pure divinity¹. For we cannot enjoy God by any external conjunction with Him: divine fruition is not by a mere kind of apposition or contiguity of our natures with the divine, but it is an internal union, whereby a divine spirit, informing our souls, sends the strength of a divine life through them; and as this is more strong and active, so is happiness itself more energetical within us. It must be some divine efflux running quite through our souls, awakening and exalting all the vital powers of them into an active sympathy with some absolute good, that renders us completely blessed. It is not to sit gazing upon a deity by some thin speculations; but it is an inward feeling and sensation of this mighty goodness displaying itself within us, melting our fierce and furious natures, that would fain be something in contradiction to God, into a universal compliance with itself, and wrapping up our amorous minds wholly into itself, whereby God comes to be all in all to us. And therefore, so long as our wills and affections endeavour to fix upon any thing but God and true goodness, we do indeed but anxiously endeavour to wring happiness out of something that will yield no more than a flinty rock to all our pressing and forcing. The more we endeavour to force our affections to stay and rest themselves upon any finite thing, the more violently will they recoil back again upon us. It is only a true sense and relish of God, that can tame and master that rage of our insatiable and restless desires, which is still forcing us out of ourselves to seek some perfect good—that which, from a latent sense of our own souls, we feel ourselves to want.

The foundation of heaven and hell is laid in men's own souls, in an ardent and vehement appetite after happiness, ✓

¹ μή καθαρῷ γὰρ καθαρῷ ἐφάπτεσθαι
μή οὐ θεμιτὸν ᾗ.—Plato, *Phæd.* 67 B.
Vid. Clemens Alexand. *Strom.* v. cap. 4;
Simplicius, in *Epictet.* cap. xxxi.; Hierocles,

in *Aur. Carm.* pp. 10, 222 (Needham);
Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 352 D; and Syne-
sius, *Dione*, p. 50 A.

which can neither attain to it, nor finally miss it and all appearances of it, without a quick and piercing sense. Our souls are not like so many lumps of matter dead and senseless to a true living happiness; they are not like these dull clods of earth which discern not the good or ill savour of those plants that grow upon them. Gain and loss are very sensibly felt by greedy minds. The soul of man was made with such a large capacity as it has, that so it might be better fitted to entertain a full and liberal happiness; that the Divine love and goodness might more freely spread itself in it, and unite it to itself. And, accordingly, when it misseth God, it must feel so much the more the fury and pangs of misery, and find a severe Nemesis arising out of its guilty conscience, which, like a fiery scorpion, will fasten its stings within it. And thus, as heaven, love, joy, peace, serenity, and all that which happiness is, buds and blossoms out of holy and godlike spirits; so also hell and misery will perpetually spring out of impure minds, distracted with envy, malice, ambition, self-will, or any inordinate loves to any particular thing.

This is that *Ἀδραστείας νόμος* that Plato speaks of—that fatal law that is first made in heaven’s consistory, ‘that purity and holiness shall be happy, and all vice and sin miserable!’ Holiness of mind will be more and more attracting God to itself, as all vice will lapse and slide more and more from Him. The more pure our souls are, and abstracted from all mundane things, the more sincerely will they strive after the nearest union that may be with God; the more will they pant and breathe after Him alone, leaving the chase of any other delight. There is such a noble and free-born spirit in true goodness seated in immortal natures, as will not be satisfied merely with innocency, nor rest itself in this mixed bodily state, though it could converse with bodily things without

¹ Plat. *Phædr.* 248 c.

sinking to a vicious love of them; but would always be returning to a more intimate union with that Being from whom it came, and who will be drawing it more and more to Himself: and, therefore, it seems very reasonable to believe that, if Adam had continued in a state of innocence, he would have been raised by God to a greater fruition of Him, and his nature would have been elevated to a more transcendent condition. And, if there was any covenant made with Adam in Paradise, I think we cannot understand it in any other sense than this: the Scripture speaks not of any other terms between God and man¹. And this *law of life*, which we have spoken of, is eternal and immutable; nor does the dispensation of grace by Christ Jesus at all abrogate or disannul, but rather enforce it: for so we find that the law of Christ—that which He gave out to all His disciples—was this law of perfection that carries true happiness along in the sense of it, which, as the great Prince of souls, He dispenseth by His Eternal Spirit in a vital way unto the minds of men.

CHAPTER VII.

A FOURTH DEDUCTION.

4. *The fourth deduction acquaints us with the true notion of the Divine Justice; That the proper scope and design of it, is to preserve righteousness, to promote and encourage true goodness. That it does not primarily intend punishment, but only takes it up as a means to prevent transgression. True justice never supplants any, that itself may appear more glorious in their ruin. How Divine Justice is most advanced.*

¹ According to the concurrent testimony of Christian antiquity, God *did* make a covenant with Adam in Paradise; our first parents would not have died, if they had preserved their state of inno-

cence; but after such a trial of their obedience, as should seem sufficient to the Divine Wisdom, would have been translated from earth to heaven.—Vid. Bishop Bull's *State of Man before the Fall*.

IN the fourth place, we may further collect how to state rightly the notion of *the Divine Justice*, the scope whereof is nothing else but to assert and establish eternal law and right, and to preserve the integrity thereof: it is no design of vengeance, in which God takes no delight, though He inflicts it on wicked men. The Divine Justice first prescribes that which is most conformable to the Divine Nature, and mainly proposes the conservation of righteousness. We should not think him a good ruler, that should give out laws to ensnare his subjects, with an even indifferency of mind whether his laws should be kept, or punishment suffered; but such a one as should make the best security for right and equity by wholesome laws, and annexing punishments as a means to prevent transgression, and not to manifest severity. The proper scope of justice seems to be nothing else but the preserving and maintaining that which is just and right: the scope of that justice which is in any righteous law, is properly to provide for a righteous execution of that which is just and fit to be, without intending punishment; for to intend that properly and directly, might rather seem cruelty than justice: and, therefore, justice takes not up punishment, except only for securing the performance of righteous laws, viz. either for the amendment of the person transgressing, or a due example to others to keep them off from transgression¹. For I would here suppose a good and righteous man, who, in some desolate place of the world, should have the command of a hundred more, and himself be supreme and under no command. He prescribes laws to this company; makes it death for any one to take away another's life. But now one proves a murderer, kills one of his fellows; afterwards, repents heartily, and is likely

¹ As applied to the Deity, this must be limited to His dealings with us in this world.

Hereafter, God will appear as a righteous Judge, taking *vengeance* on transgressors.

to prove useful among the rest of his fellows: they all are so heartily affected one to another, that there is no danger, upon sparing this penitent's life, that any one of them should be encouraged to commit the like evil. The case being thus stated, it will not seem difficult to conclude that the justice of this righteous and good commander would spare this poor penitent: for his justice would have preserved that life which is lost, and seeing there is nothing further that it can obtain in taking away this, it will save this which may be saved; for it affects not any blood; and when it destroys, it is out of necessity, to take away a destructive person, and to give example, which, in the case stated, falls not out.

Again: justice is the justice of goodness, and so cannot delight to punish; it aims at nothing more than the maintaining and promoting the laws of goodness, and hath always some good end before it, and, therefore, would never punish, except some further good were in view.

True justice never supplants any that itself may appear more glorious in their ruin; for this would be to make justice love something better than righteousness, and to advance and magnify itself in something which is not itself, but rather an aberration from itself: and, therefore, God Himself so earnestly contends with the Jews about the equity of His own ways, with frequent asseverations that His justice is thirsty after no man's blood, but rather that sinners would repent, turn from their evil ways, and live. And then justice is most advanced, when the contents of it are fulfilled; and though it does not, and will not, acquit the guilty without repentance, yet the design of it is to encourage innocency, and promote true goodness.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIFTH AND LAST DEDUCTION.

5. *That seeing there is such an intercourse and society, as it were, between God and men, therefore there is also some law between them, which is the bond of all communion. The primitive rules of God's economy in this world, not the sole results of an absolute will, but the sacred decrees of reason and goodness. God could not design to make us sinful or miserable. Of the law of nature embosomed in man's soul. How it obliges man to love and obey God, and to express a godlike spirit and life in this world. All souls the offspring of God; but holy souls manifest themselves to be, and are more peculiarly, the children of God.*

THE former deduction leads me to another akin to it, which shall be my last; and it is that which Cicero intimates in his *De Legibus*, viz. *That seeing there is such an intercourse and society, as it were, between god and men, therefore there is also some law between them, which is the bond of all communion*¹. God Himself, from whom all law takes its rise and emanation, is not *exlex*, and without all law, nor, in a sober sense, above it. Neither are the primitive rules of His economy in this world the sole results of an absolute will, but the sacred decrees of reason and goodness. I cannot think God to be so unbounded in His legislative power, that He can make every thing law, both for His own dispensations and our observance, that we may sometime imagine. We cannot say, indeed, that God was absolutely determined from some law within Himself to make us; but I think we may safely say, when He had once determined to make us, He could neither make us sinful, seeing He had no idea nor shadow

¹ Est igitur, quoniam nihil est ratione melius, eaque et in homine et in deo, prima homini cum deo rationis societas. Inter quos autem ratio, inter eosdem etiam recta ratio communis est. Quæ

quæ sit lex, lege quoque consociati homines cum diis putandi sumus. Inter quos porro est communio legis, inter eos communio juris est.—*De Leg.* 1. 7.

of evil within Himself; nor wrap up those dreadful fates within our natures, or set them over us, that might, '*arcana inspiratione*,' (as some are pleased to phrase it) secretly work our ruin, and silently carry us on, making use of our own natural infirmity, to eternal misery. Neither could He design to make His creatures miserable, that so He might show Himself just. These are rather the byways of cruel and ambitious men, that seek their own advantage in the mischief of other men, and contrive their own rise by their ruin: this is not Divine Justice, but the cruelty of degenerated men.

But, as the Divinity could propound nothing to itself in the making of the world, but the communication of its own love and goodness; so it can never swerve from the same scope and end in the dispensation of itself to it. Neither did God so boundlessly enlarge the appetite of souls after some all-sufficient good, that so they might be the more unspeakably tortured in the missing of it; but that they might more certainly return to the Original of their beings. And such busy-working essences as the souls of men are, could neither be made as dull and senseless of true happiness as stocks and stones are; neither could they contain the whole sum and perfection of it within themselves: therefore they must also be informed with such principles as may conduct them back again to Him from whom they first came. God does not make creatures, for the mere sport of His Almighty arm, to raise and ruin, and toss up and down, at mere pleasure. No: that *εὐδοκία*, or good pleasure of that will that made them is the same still: it changes not, though we may change, and make ourselves incapable of partaking the blissful fruits and effects of it.

And so we come to consider that law embosomed in the souls of men which ties them again to their Creator, and this is called *the law of nature*; which, indeed, is

nothing else but a paraphrase or comment upon the nature of God, as it copies forth itself in the soul of man.

Because God is the first mind and the first good, propagating an imitation of Himself in such immortal natures as the souls of men are; therefore ought the soul to renounce all mortal and mundane things, and preserve its affections chaste and pure for God Himself; to love Him with a most universal and unbounded love; to trust in Him and reverence Him; to converse with Him in a free and cheerful manner, as one 'in whom we live, and move, and have our being¹;' being perpetually encompassed by Him, and never moving out of Him; to resign all our ways and wills up to Him with an equal and indifferent mind, as knowing that He guides and governs all things in the best way; to sink ourselves as low in humility, as we are in self-nothingness.

And because all those scattered rays of beauty and loveliness which we behold spread up and down over all the world, are only the emanations of that inexhausted light which is above; therefore should we love them all in that, and climb up always, by those sunbeams, unto the eternal Father of Lights: we should look upon Him, and take from Him the pattern of our lives, and always eyeing Him, should 'polish and shape our souls into the clearest resemblance of Him²;' and in all our behaviour in this world—that great temple of His—deport ourselves decently and reverently, with that humility, meekness, and modesty, that become His house. We should endeavour more and more to be perfect, as He is; in all our dealings with men, doing good, showing mercy and compassion, advancing justice and righteousness, being always full of charity and good works; and look upon ourselves as

¹ Acts xvii. 28.

² Μόνος (γὰρ) οἶδε τιμᾶν, ὃ τὴν ἀξίαν μὴ συγχέων τῶν τιμωμένων, καὶ ὁ προηγούμενος ἱερεῖον ἑαυτὸν προσάγων, καὶ

ἀγαλμα θεῖον τεκταίνων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν, καὶ ναὸν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φωτὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευάζων νοῦν.—Hierocl. in Aur. Carm. p. 24 (Needham).

having nothing to do here but to display and blazon the glory of our heavenly Father, and frame our hearts and lives according to that pattern which we behold in the mount of a holy contemplation of Him. Thus we should endeavour to preserve that heavenly fire of the divine love and goodness (which, issuing forth from God, centres itself within us, and is the protoplasmic virtue of our being) always alive and burning in the temple of our souls, and to sacrifice ourselves back again to Him. And, when we fulfil this royal law arising out of the heart of Eternity, then shall we here appear to be 'the children of God', when He thus lives in us, as our Saviour speaks. And so, we shall close up this particular with that high privilege which immortal souls are invested with: they are all the offspring of God, for so St Paul allows the heathen poet to call them²: they are all royally descended, and have no father but God Himself, being originally formed into His image and likeness; and when they express the purity and holiness of the divine life in being perfect as God is perfect, then they manifest themselves to be His children³. And Christ encourageth men to seek and pray for the Spirit⁴,—which is the best gift that God can give to men—because He is their heavenly Father, much more bountiful and tender to all helpless souls that seek to Him, than any earthly parent, whose nature is degenerated from that primitive goodness, can be to his children. But those apostate spirits that know not how to return to the Original of their beings, but implant themselves into some other stock, and seek to incorporate and unite themselves to another line by sin and wickedness, cut themselves off from this divine privilege, and lose their own birthright; they do μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἄλλο γένος, (if I may borrow that phrase) and lapse into another nature. All

¹ Matt. v. 45.² Acts xvii. 28.³ Matt. v. 48.⁴ Matt. vii. 11.

this was well expressed by Proclus:—‘All souls are children of gods, but yet do not all of them know their own god; but such as know him and live like to him, are called children of gods’.

CHAPTER IX.

AN APPENDIX CONCERNING THE REASON OF POSITIVE LAWS.

BUT here, as an appendix to the two former deductions, it may be of good use to inquire into the reason of such laws as we call positive, to which God hath, in all times, as is commonly supposed, enjoined obedience; which are not the eternal dictates and decretals of the Divine nature communicating itself to immortal spirits, but rather deduce their original from the free will and pleasure of God.

To solve this difficulty, that of St Paul may seem a fit medium, who tells us, ‘The law was added because of transgression²;’ though I doubt not but he means thereby the moral law, as well as any other. The true intent and scope of these positive laws, (and it may be of such an external promulgation of the moral) seems to be nothing else but this—to secure the eternal law of righteousness from transgression. As the Jews say of their *decreta sapientum*, that they were ‘a hedge to the law³;’ so we may say of these divine decretals, they were but cautionary and preventive of disobedience to that higher law: and therefore St Paul tells us why the moral law was made such a political business by an external promulgation, &c., not so much because of righteous men,

¹ πᾶσαι μὲν οὖν ψυχὰς θεῶν παῖδες, ἀλλ’ οὐ πᾶσαι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐπέγνωσαν θεόν· αἱ δὲ ἐπιγινώσκειν καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐλόμεναι ζῶντες, καλοῦνται παῖδες θεῶν.—Procl. in

Plat. Tim. 288 E.

² Τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη.—Gal. iii. 19.

³ דָּרָר לְתוֹרָה

in whom the law of nature lives, who perform τὰ τοῦ νόμου without any outward law; but it was given “for the lawless and disobedient¹.” And, therefore, I doubt not but we may safely conclude, that God gave not those positive laws merely *pro imperio*, if I may use that expression: it was not merely to manifest His absolute dominion and sovereignty, as some think, but for the good of those that were enjoined to obey; and Moses endeavours almost throughout the whole book of Deuteronomy to strengthen the Israelites in this belief: and, therefore, God was so ready upon all occasions to dispense with these laws, and to require the Jews to omit the observance of them, when they might seem to justle with any other law of moral duty or human necessity—as may be observed in many instances in Scripture.

But, for a more distinct unfolding of this point, we may take notice of this difference in the notion of good and evil, as we are to converse with them. Some things are so *absolutely*, and some things are so only *relatively*. That which is absolutely good, is every way superior to us, and we ought always to be commanded by it, because we are made under it: but that which is relatively good to us, may sometime be commanded by us. Eternal truth and righteousness are in themselves perfectly and absolutely good, and the more we conform ourselves to them, the better we are. But those things that are good only relatively and in order to us, we may say of them, that they are so much the better, by how much the more they are conformed to us; I mean, by how much the more they are accommodated and fitted to our estate and condition, and may be fit means to help and promote us in our pursuit of some higher good: and such, indeed, is the matter of all positive laws, and the symbolical or ritual part of religion. And, as we are made for the former,

¹ δικαίῳ νόμῳ οὐ κεῖται, ἀνόμοιοι δὲ καὶ ἀνυποτάκτοι, κ.τ.λ.—1 Tim. i. 9.

viz. what is absolutely good, to serve that; so are these latter made for us, as our Saviour hath taught us, when He tells us that “the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath¹:” and, as sincere and real Christians grow up towards true perfection, the less need have they of positive precepts or external helps. Yet, I doubt, it is nothing else but a wanton *fastus* and proud temper of spirit in our times, that makes so many talk of being above ordinances, who, if their own arrogance and presumption would give them leave to lay aside the flattering glass of their own self-love, would find themselves to have most need of them.

What I have observed concerning the things absolutely good, I conceive to be included in the expression, ‘everlasting righteousness,’—which the prophet saith should be ‘brought in’ and advanced by the Messiah²: this *δικαιοσύνη αἰώνιος* is the righteousness which is of an eternal and immutable nature, as being a conformity with eternal and unchangeable truth. For there is a righteousness which thus is not eternal, but positive, and at the pleasure of God that dictates it: and such was the righteousness which Christ said ‘it became Him to fulfil’ when He was baptized³; there was *no necessity* that any such thing should become due. But the foundation of this everlasting righteousness is something unalterable. To speak more particularly. That the highest good should be loved in the highest degree; that dependent creatures, that borrow all they have from God, should never glory in themselves, or admire themselves, but ever admire and adore that unbounded goodness which is the source of their being, and all the good they partake of; that we should always do that which is just and right, according

¹ τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο, οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον.—Mark ii. 27.

² עֲלֵמִים דָּקָק Dan. ix. 24.

³ οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.—Matt. iii. 15.

to the measure we would others should do with us: these, and some other things which a rectified reason will easily supply, are immutably true and righteous; so that it never was, nor can be, true, that they are unnecessary. And whoso hath his heart moulded into a delight in such a righteousness and the practice thereof, hath this eternal righteousness brought into his soul; which righteousness is also true and real, not like that imaginary external righteousness of the law, in which the Pharisees boasted.

CHAPTER X.

The conclusion of this treatise, concerning the existence and nature of God, showing how our knowledge of God comes to be so imperfect in this state, while we are here in this terrestrial body. Two ways observed by Plotinus, whereby this body does prejudice the soul in her operations. That the better philosophers and more contemplative Jews did not deny the existence of all kinds of body in the other state. What is meant by Zoroaster's εἰδωλον ψυχῆς. What kind of knowledge of God cannot be attained to in this life. What is meant by flesh and blood, 1 Cor. xv. 20.

FOR the concluding of this discourse, as a *mantissa* to what hath been said, we shall a little consider how inconsistent a thing a perfect knowledge of God is with this mundane and corporeal state in which we are here. 'While we are in the body, we are absent from the Lord¹,' as St Paul speaks, and that, I think, without a mystery: such bodies as ours are, being fitted for an animal state, and pieces of this whole *machina* of sensible matter, are perpetually drawing down our souls, when they would raise up themselves by contemplation of the Deity; and the caring more or less for the things of this body so exercises the soul in this state, that it cannot attend upon

¹ 2 Cor. v. 6.

God ἀπερισπάστως—without distraction. In the ancient metaphysics, such a body as this which we carry about us, is called ἄντρον, σπήλαιον, &c.—‘the dark den and sepulchre in which souls are imprisoned and entombed,’—with many other expressions of the like import; and Proclus tells us that the commoration of the soul in such a body as this, is, according to the common vote of antiquity, nothing else but κατασκήνωσις ἐν πεδίῳ λήθης,—‘a dwelling, or pitching its tabernacle, in the valley of oblivion and death¹.’ But Plotinus seems not to be easily satisfied with allegorical descriptions, and, therefore, searching more strictly into this business, tells his own and their meaning in plainer terms,—‘that this body is an occasion of evil to the soul two ways; first, as it hinders its mental operations, presenting its *idola specûs* continually to it: and secondly, as it calls forth its advertency to its own passions, which while it exerciseth itself about too earnestly, it falls into a sinful inordinacy².’

Yet did not the Platonists, nor the more contemplative Jews, deny the existence of all kind of body in the other state, as if there should be nothing residing there but naked souls, totally divested of all corporeal essence; for they held that the soul should, in the other world, be united with a body—not such a one as it did act in here, which was not without disturbance—but such as should

¹ Τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ σώματι συνήψεν ἀμέσως, πάντα τὰ περὶ καθόδου ψυχῆς ὑπεκτεμῶν προβλήματα, τὸν προφήτην, τοὺς κληρικοὺς, τοὺς βίους, τὰς αἵρέσεις, τὸν δαίμονα, τὴν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῆς λήθης κατασκήνωσιν, τοὺς ὕπνους, τὸ πόμα τῆς λήθης, τὰς βροντὰς καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ὁ ἐν Πολιτείᾳ μῦθος διεξῆλθεν. Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖτοις παραδώσει, τὰ δεινὰ, τοὺς ποταμοὺς, τὸν Τάρταρον, τοὺς ἀγρίους ἐκείνους καὶ διαπύρους δαίμονας, τοὺς ἀσπαλάθους, τὸ στόμιον, τὴν τρίοδον, τοὺς δικαστὰς, περὶ ὧν ὁ τε ἐν Πολιτείᾳ καὶ ὁ ἐν Γοργίᾳ καὶ ὁ ἐν Φαίδῳι

μῦθος ἀνεδίδαξαν. Τίς οὖν, φαίης ἂν, αἰτία τῆς τούτων παραλείψεως; ὅτι, φήσω, τὸ πρέπον διασώζει τῇ τοῦ διαλόγου προθέσει καὶ τῆς περὶ ψυχῆς θεωρίας ὅσον φυσικὸν ἐν τοῖτοις παραλαμβάνει, τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμιλίαν παραδιδούς. Ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, κ.τ.λ.—Procl. in Plat. Tim. 338 c.

² δι’ ἃ δυσχεραίνεται ἡ ψυχῆς πρὸς σώματα κοινωνία, ὅτι τε ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὰς νοήσεις γίγνεται, καὶ ὅτι ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ λυπῶν πίμπλησιν αὐτήν, κ.τ.λ.—Enn. iv. 8. 2.

be most agreeable to the soul, which they called ‘the spiritual vehicle of the soul’; and by Zoroaster it was called εἶδωλον ψυχῆς—‘a kind of *umbra*, or aëreal mantle, in which the soul wraps herself²,’ which, he said, remained with her in the state of glory: “Ἔστι καὶ εἰδῶλῳ μερὶς εἰς τόπον ἀμφιφάοντα³ and in the Jewish language it is *indumentum quoddam interius*, as Gaulmyn hath observed in his *De Vita et Morte Mosis*⁴.

But to return: the Platonists have pointed out a three-fold knowledge of God; first, κατ’ ἐπιστήμην, second, κατὰ νόησιν, lastly, κατὰ παρουσίαν and this last they affirmed to be unattainable by us, it being that ineffable light

¹ πνευματικὸν ὄχημα τῆς ψυχῆς. Vide note 1, p. 117. In addition to the illustration there given from Proclus, the following passages from a cotemporary writer, Hierocles, may be added.

Οὐκοῦν τοῖς τε μαθηματικοῖς καθαρμοῖς τοὺς τελεστικούς συνεισιέναι, καὶ τῇ διαλεκτικῇ λύσει τὴν ιερατικὴν ἀναγωγὴν συνέπεσθαι ἀνάγκη. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἰδίως καθαίροντα καὶ τελειοῦντα τὸ πνευματικὸν ὄχημα τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς, τῆς μὲν ὑλικῆς συζώτας αὐτὸ χωρίζει, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν καθαρῶν πνευμάτων συνουσίαν ἐπιτηδεύς ἔχειν παρασκευάζει. Μὴ καθαρὸν γὰρ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι οὐκ ἔστι θέμις.—Hierocl. in *Aur. Carm.* p. 222 (Needham).

Τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀποθεώσεως ἀπόκειται γέρας· ἐπεὶ εἰς γένος θεῶν οὐ θέμις ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἄλλω, ἢ τῷ κτησαμένῳ ἀλθῆναι μὲν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐν ψυχῇ, καθαρότητα δὲ ἐν τῷ πνευματικῷ αὐτῆς ὀχήματι.—*Ibid.* p. 226.

² The following from Proclus was probably in the mind of our author, the reference to Zoroaster belonging only to “Ἔστι καὶ εἰδῶλῳ, κ.τ.λ.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ λέγω σωμάτων, ἔχει διττὴν ζωὴν, τὴν μὲν ἀχώριστον, τὴν δὲ χωριστὴν, καὶ τὴν μὲν νοερὰν καὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς ἰδρυμένην ἡγεμονικῶς, τὴν δὲ περὶ τὸ σῶμα μεριζομένην καὶ συνέχουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ κινῶσιν, καὶ κατὰ μὲν

ταύτην ζῶν ἐστι, κατ’ ἐκείνην δὲ θεὸς, διακρίνων ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων, καὶ ὡς ἄλλο μὲν ἡ θεία ψυχὴ καὶ νοερὰ καὶ ἀνεκφοίτητος τῶν νοητῶν, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ζῶν τὸ ἐξηρητημένον αὐτῆς, ζῶν ἔχον ἀπ’ ἐκείνης καὶ εἶδωλον ἐκείνης, δεσμοῖς τέ, φησιν, (sc. ὁ Πλάτων) ἐμψύχους δεθέντα ζῶα ἐγεννήθη καὶ τὸ προσταχθὲν ἔμαθε.—Procl. in *Plat. Tim.* 260 E.

³ Quoted from a metrical composition, falsely attributed to Zoroaster. Vide μαγικά λόγια τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου μάγων (Tiletanus, 4to, Paris, 1538). The work consists of only 60 lines, and the above is the 27th.

⁴ הפנימי המלבוש The *De Vita et Morte Mosis*, two Rabbinical works, were edited, with a Latin translation and notes, by Gilbertus Gaulmyn (Paris, 1629). Pages 400—409 (of the notes) contain a brief exposition of the Jewish doctrine respecting the soul. Besides the above, attributed to Zoroaster, the following is quoted (p. 406) from a Jewish writer, Meir Aldabi: אבל יצא עמה המלבוש הפנימי שלה שהיה לה כשהיתה בנוה והוא רוח החיים שהיה בינה ובין הדרם והבשר: “There departs together with her (sc. the soul) הפנימי המלבוש—“vestimentum interius”—which she had while in the body. Now this is רוח החיים—“spiritus vitæ”—intermediate between the soul and the body.”

whereby the Divinity comprehends its own essence, penetrating all that immensity of being which itself is. The first may be attained to in this life; but the second, in its full perfection, we cannot reach in this life, because this knowledge ariseth out of a blissful union with God Himself, which therefore they are wont to call *ἐπαφήν τοῦ νοητοῦ*—‘a contact of intellectual being;’ and sometimes *αὐτοφάνειαν*, or *ἐπιβολὴν αὐτοπτικὴν*—that is, (that I may phrase it in the Scripture words) ‘a beholding of God face to face¹,’ which is that *arcanum facierum* the Jewish writers speak of², which we cannot attain to while we continue in this concrete and bodily state. And so, when Moses desired to behold the face of God, that is, as the Jews understand it, that a distinct idea of the Divine essence might be imprinted upon his mind, God told him, ‘No man can see me, and live³,’ that is, no man in this corruptible state is capable of attaining to this *αὐτοφάνεια*, or *visio facierum*, as Maimonides expounds it: ‘the understanding of the living man, who is compounded of body and soul, is utterly unable clearly to apprehend the Divine essence, to see it as it is⁴.’ And so St Paul distinguisheth the knowledge of this life, as taken in this complex sense, and of the life to come: that ‘now we see δι’ ὁσόπτρου—in

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

² סוד הפנים

³ Exod. xxxiii. 20.

⁴ מהו זה שבקש משה רבינו להשיג כשאמר הראני נא את כבודך בקש לירע אמתת המציאות של הקב"ה עד שיהיה ידוע בלבו כמו ידיעת אחד מן האנשים שראה פניו ונחקה צורתו בלבו שנמצא אותו האיש נפרד ברעתו משאר האנשים כך בקש משה רבינו להיות מציאות הקב"ה נפרדת בלבו משאר מציאות הנמצאים עד שירע אמתת המצאו כאשר היא והשיבו הקב"ה שאין כח ברעת האדם החי שהוא מחובר מנוף ונפש להשיג אמתת דבר זה על בוריו:—Maim. de Fundam. Legis, cap. 1, § 10.

‘What is that which Moses sought to attain unto, when he said, “Shew me, I pray thee, thy glory?” He sought to know the real nature of the essence of God, so that it might be known to his understanding, just as the knowledge of any man whose face has been seen, and whose form has been impressed on the mind renders that man distinct from the rest of men. So Moses desired that the essential character of the Deity might be fixed in his mind, so as to be distinguished from other essences, and that he might have a clear idea of its nature. But God answered him, The understanding of the living man, &c.’

a glass¹, which is continually sullied and darkened, while we look into it, by the breathing of our animal fancies, passions, and imaginations upon it; and ἐν αἰνίγματι—darkly: ‘but we shall see then πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον—face to face²;’ which is the translation of the Hebrew phrase פנים אל פנים³. And, in the like manner, does a Greek philosopher compare these two sorts of knowledge which the soul hath of God in this life, and in that to come:—‘The soul will reckon all this knowledge of God which we have here, by way of science, but like a fable or parable, when once it is in conjunction with the Father, feasting upon truth itself, and beholding God in the pure rays of His own divinity⁴.’ I shall conclude all with that which St Paul expressly tells us: ‘flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God⁵;’ where, by ‘flesh and blood,’ he seems to mean nothing else but man in this complex and compounded state of soul and body—I mean

¹ An expression familiar to the Jews, as well as the phrase πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον. Vid. Schoettgen. *Hor. Heb. Cf. Discourse on Prophecy*, c. ii. *ad fin.*

² 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

³ That is מציאות במציאות מבלתי אמצעי ‘in propria persona, coram, absque medio,’ as Maimonides explains the phrase (Exod. xxxi. 11). ‘And the Lord spake to Moses, face to face.’ *More Nevoch. Pars I. c. 37.*

⁴ Proclus has also supplied this passage, as well as several of the preceding ideas and expressions.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ εὐρεσις ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐστὶ προϊούσα κατ’ ἐπιστήμην, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δευτέρων κατὰ ἀνάμνησιν ὁδεύουσα, τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων εὐρεσιν χαλεπὴν ἂν φαίης, διότι τῆς ἀκροτάτης ἔχεται θεωρίας ἡ τῶν μεταξὺ δυνάμεων εὐρεσις. τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δευτέρων ὀλίγου δέω φάναι ταύτης χαλεπωτέραν. ...ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κόσμον νοερὸν γιγνομένην καὶ ὁμοιωθεῖσαν τὴν δυνάμιν τῷ ὀλῷ καὶ νοητῷ κόσμῳ προσάγειν ἑαυτὴν τῷ ποιητῇ τοῦ παντός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς προσαγωγῆς οἰκειωθῆναι

πῶς αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς συνεχούς ἐπιβολῆς. ἡ γὰρ ἀδιάκοπος ἐνέργεια περὶ ἕκαστον ἐκκαλεῖται καὶ ἀναξωπυρεῖ τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν λόγους διὰ δὲ τῆς οἰκειώσεως εἰς τὴν θύραν καταστάσαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνωθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ εὐρεσις, τὸ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, τὸ ἐνωθῆναι, τὸ μόνῃ μόνῃ συγγενέσθαι, τὸ τῆς αὐτοφανεῖας τυχεῖν, ἀπὸ πάσης ἄλλης ἐνεργείας εἰς ἐκείνον ἀρπάσασαν ἑαυτήν, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστημονικοὺς λόγους μύθους ἡγήσεται συνοῦσα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συνεστιωμένη τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ καθαρῶς ὀλόκληρα καὶ ἀτρεμῇ φαντάσματα μυομένη. τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐρεῖν τοῖονδε τί ἔστιν, οὐχ ἡ δοξαστικὴ εὐρεσις ἀμφίβολος γὰρ αὕτη καὶ οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἀλόγου ζωῆς οὐδ’ ἡ ἐπιστημονικὴ συλλογιστικὴ γὰρ αὕτη καὶ σύνθετος καὶ οὐκ ἐφάπτεται τῆς τοῦ νοεροῦ δημιουργοῦ νοερᾶς οὐσίας· ἀλλ’ ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τὴν αὐτοπτικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπαφὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τὴν πρὸς τὸν δημιουργικὸν νοῦν.—Procl. in Plat. Tim. 92 B—D.

⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 50.

corruptible, earthy, body¹: and it was a common periphrasis of this ἄνθρωπος ὁ πολὺς amongst the Jews²: in the like sense is σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα—‘flesh and blood,’ in those and other places in the New Testament used, where this phrase occurs, viz. Matth. xvi. 17; Gal. i. 16; Ephes. vi. 12; Heb. ii. 14. But, in opposition to this gross earthy body, the apostle speaks of σῶμα πνευματικόν—‘a spiritual body³,’ such as shall ‘put on incorruption and immortality⁴,’ and, consequently, differing from that body which here makes up this compounded animal being: and, accordingly, our Saviour speaks of ‘the children of the resurrection,’ that ‘they neither marry nor are given in marriage, nor can they die any more, but are ἱσάγγελοι⁵,’ or, as it is in St Matthew and Mark, ὡς ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ‘as the angels of God;’ and so the Jewish writers are wont to use the same phrase to express the state of glory by, viz. that then good men shall be *sicut angeli ministerii*⁶.

¹ Vide Hammond *in loco*.

² בשר ודם

³ 1 Cor. xv. 44.

⁴ Ibid. ver. 53.

⁵ Luke xx. 36.

⁶ כמלאכי השרת

OF

PROPHECY,

OR

A DISCOURSE

TREATING OF

The nature of prophecy.—The different degrees of the prophetical spirit.—The difference of prophetical dreams from all other dreams recorded in Scripture.—The difference of the true prophetical spirit from enthusiastical imposture.—What the meaning of those actions is, that are frequently in Scripture attributed to the prophets, whether they were real or only imaginary.—The schools of the prophets.—The sons, or disciples of the prophets.—The dispositions antecedent and preparatory to prophecy.—The periods of time when the prophetical spirit ceased in the Jewish and Christian churches.—Rules for the better understanding of prophetical writ.

For prophecy came not in old time by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. 2 Pet. i. 21.

Προφήτης ἴδιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποφθέγγεται, ἀλλότρια δὲ πάντα ὑπηχοῦντος ἐτέρου. Φαύλῳ δ' οὐ θέμις ἐρμηνεῖ γενέσθαι θεοῦ, ὥστε κυρίως μοχθηρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐνθουσιᾷ, μόνῳ δὲ σοφῷ ταῦτ' ἐφαρμόττει, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ὄργανον θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἡχοῦν, κρουόμενον καὶ πληττόμενον ἀοράτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Philo Jud. Tom. iv. p. 116.

OF
PROPHECY.

CHAPTER I.

That prophecy is the way whereby revealed truth is dispensed and conveyed to us. Man's mind capable of conversing and being acquainted, as well with revealed or positive truth, as with natural truth. Truths of natural inscription may be excited in us, and cleared to us, by means of prophetic influence. That the Scripture frequently accommodates itself to vulgar apprehension, and speaks of things in the greatest way of condescension.

HAVING spoken to those principles of natural theology which have the most proper and necessary influence upon life and practice, and are most pregnant with moral goodness; we come now to consider those pieces of revealed truth which tend, most of all, to foment and cherish true and real piety.

But, before we fall expressly into any strict inquiry concerning them, it may not be amiss to examine *how, and in what manner, this kind of truth, which depends solely upon the free will of God, is manifested unto mankind*; and so treat a little concerning Prophecy—which, indeed, is the only way whereby this kind of truth can be dispensed to us. (For though our own reason and understanding carry all *natural* truth necessary for practice in any sort, engraven upon themselves, and folded up in their own essences more immediately, as being the first participations of the Divine Mind considered in its own eternal nature: yet *positive* truth can only be made known to us by a free influx of the Divine Mind upon our minds and understandings. And as it ariseth out of nothing else but the free pleasure of the

*That
truth
is
positive
truth
come*

Divinity, so, without any natural determination, it freely shines upon the souls of men where and when it listeth, hiding its light from them, or displaying it forth upon them, as it pleaseth.]

Yet the souls of men are as capable of conversing with it, though it do not naturally arise out of the fecundity of their own understandings, as they are with any sensible and external objects. And as our sensations carry the notions of material things to our understandings, which before were unacquainted with them; so there is some analogical way, whereby the knowledge of Divine Truth may also be revealed to us. For so we may call, as well that historical truth of corporeal and material things, which we are informed of by our senses, truth of revelation, as that Divine Truth of which we now speak: and, therefore, we may have as certain and infallible a way of being acquainted with the one, as with the other. And God, having so contrived the nature of our souls, that we may converse one with another, and inform one another of things we knew not before, would not make us so deaf to His Divine voice that breaks the rocks, and rends the mountains asunder; [He would not make us so undisciplinable in divine things, as that we should not be capable of receiving any impressions from Himself of those things with which we were before unacquainted. And this way of communicating truth to the souls of men is originally nothing else but *prophetical* or *enthusiastical*; and so we may take notice of the *general nature of Prophecy*.]

Though I would not all this while be mistaken, as if I thought no natural truth might be, by the means of prophetic influence, awakened within us, and cleared up to us, or that we could not, *lumine prophetico*, behold the 'truths of natural inscription;' for, indeed, [one main end and scope of the prophetic spirit seems to be the quick-

ening up of our minds to a more lively converse with those eternal truths of reason, which commonly lie buried in so much fleshly obscurity within us, that we discern them not. And, therefore, the Scripture treats, not only of those pieces of truth which are the results of God's free counsels, but also of those which are most akin and allied to our own understandings, and that in the greatest way of condescension that may be, speaking to the weakest sort of men in the most vulgar sort of dialect: which it may not be amiss to take a little notice of.↓

Divine truth hath its *humiliation* and *exinanition*, as well as its *exaltation*. Divine truth becomes many times in Scripture incarnate, debasing itself to assume our rude conceptions, that so it might converse more freely with us, and infuse its own Divinity into us¹. God having been pleased herein to manifest Himself not more jealous of His own glory, than He is (as I may say) zealous of our good. *Nos non habemus aures, sicut Deus habet linguam*. If He should speak in the language of eternity, who could understand Him, or interpret His meaning? or if He should have declared His truth to us, only in a way of the purest abstraction that human souls are capable of, how should then the more rude and illiterate sort of men have been able to apprehend it? Truth is content, when it comes into the world, to wear our mantles, to learn our language; to conform itself, as it were, to our dress and fashions: it affects not that state, or *fastus*, which the disdainful rhetorician sets out his style withal—*non Tarentinis aut Siculis hæc scribimus*; but it speaks with the most idiotical sort of men in the most idiotical way, and

¹ In Holy Scripture terms with which we are familiar are employed to aid our understanding of things beyond our comprehension. The eye and the hand or arm are there associated with the idea of the omnipresence and omnipotence of God;

a rich banquet, trees whose fruits never fail, and living fountains of waters figure the bliss of heaven; while the never-dying worm and the continually replenished fire of the Jewish Hinnom shadow forth the torments of hell.

becomes all things to all men, as every son of truth should do, for their good. This was well observed in that old cabalistical axiom among the Jews—*lumen supernum nunquam descendit sine indumento*¹. And therefore, it may be, the best way to understand the true sense and meaning of the Scripture, is not rigidly to examine it upon philosophical interrogatories, or to bring it under the scrutiny of school definitions and distinctions. It speaks not to us so much in the tongue of the learned philosophers of the world, as in the plainest and most ✓ vulgar dialect that may be. This the Jews constantly observed and took notice of; and, therefore, it was one common rule among them for a true understanding of the Scripture, *lex loquitur lingua filiorum hominum*², which Maimonides expounds thus: *quicquid homines ab initio cogitationis suæ intelligentia et imaginatione sua possunt assequi, id, in Scriptura, attribuitur Creatori*³. And, therefore, we find almost all corporeal properties attributed to God in Scripture, *quia vulgus hominum ab initio cogitationis entitatem non apprehendunt, nisi in rebus corporeis*—as the same author observes⁴. But such of them as sound imperfection in vulgar ears, as eating and drinking, and the like, these (saith he) the Scripture nowhere attributes to Him⁵. The reason of this plain and idiomatical style of Scripture it may be worth our farther taking

¹ In this general maxim, reference is had to those borrowed expressions, in speaking of the Deity, whereby His nature is, as it were, *veiled* from us. As when it is said of God, that He walked in the garden in the cool of the day; that the heaven is His throne, and the earth His footstool; that His mouth hath spoken it; that the heavens are the work of His fingers; that there was darkness under His feet; that He clothed Himself with light, with righteousness, with vengeance, &c.—Vid. 'Cabalistarum selectiora obscurioraque Dogmata a Joanne Pico ex-

cerpta.' Venetiis MDLXIX. (pp. 161, 2.)

² דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם:
Vid. *Talm. Babylon. Jebamoth*, fol. 71 a. et passim; Maimon. *de Fundam. Legis*, cap. I. § 14.

³ דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם ענין זה כי כל מה שאיפשר לבני אדם כולם הבנתו וציורו בתחלת המחשבה הוא אשר שם ראוי לבורא יתעלה: *More Nevochim*, Pars I. c. 26. (Cf. *De Fundam. Legis*, cap. I. § 14.)

⁴ כי לא ישינו ההמון בתחילת המחשבה: *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

notice of, as it is laid down by the forenamed author: 'For this reason the law speaks according to the language of the sons of men, because it is the most commodious and easy way of initiating and teaching children, women, and the common people, who have not ability to apprehend things according to the very nature and essence of them¹.' Again: 'And if we were not led to the knowledge of things by examples and similitudes, but were put to learn and understand all things in their formal notions and essential definitions, and were to believe nothing but upon preceding demonstrations; then we may well think that (seeing this cannot be done but after long preparations) the greater part of men would be at the conclusion of their days, before they could know whether there be a God or no²;' &c. Hence is that axiom so frequent among the Jewish doctors: 'Great is the power of the prophets, who, while they looked down upon these sensible and consplicable things, were able to furnish out the notion of intelligible and inconspicable beings thereby, to the rude senses of illiterate people³.'

The Scripture was not writ for sagacious and abstracted minds only, or philosophical heads; for then how few are there that should have been taught the true knowledge of God thereby? '*Vidi filios cœnaculi, et erant pauci,*' was an ancient Jewish proverb⁴. We are not

וואת היא הסבה בדברה התורה
בלשון בני אדם...להיותם מוכנת להתחיל
בה וללמוד אותה הנערים והנשים וכל
העם ואין ביכלתם להבין הדברים כפי
אמתתם: Pars I. c. 33.

ואלו לא נתן לנו דעת על צד הקבלה
בשום פנים ולא הישירונו אל דבר
במשל אלא שנחוייב בציור השלם בגדרו
העצמיים ובהאמין במה שירצה להאמין
בו במופת וזה אי אפשר אלא אחר
ההצעות הארוכות היה מביא זה למות
רוב האנשים והם לא ידעו היש אלוה
בעולם או אין אלוה: *Ibid.* Pars I. c. 34.

So far (says Maimonides) from the du-

ration of human life being sufficient to enable a man to become acquainted with the properties and qualities of God without the assistance afforded by similitudes and allegories, it would, in the generality of instances, prove inadequate to assure him of the very existence of the Deity.

גדול כחן שלנביאים שהם מרמים
הצורה ליוצרה: *More Nevoch.* Pars I.
c. 46. The words are taken, as Maimonides says, from the *Beresith Rabba* (§ 27). Vid. note on the same quotation in the next chapter.

ראיתי בני עלייה והן מועטין *Talm.*

always rigidly to adhere to the very letter of the text. There is a נגלם and a נסתר in the Scripture, as the Jewish interpreters observe. We must not think that it always gives us formal definitions of things, for it speaks commonly according to vulgar apprehension: as when it tells of 'the ends of the heaven¹,' which now almost every idiot knows hath no ends at all. So when it tells us that 'God breathed into man the breath of life, and man became a living soul²;' the expression is very idiomatical as may be, and seems to comply with that vulgar conceit, that the soul of man is nothing else but a kind of vital breath or air: and yet the immortality thereof is evidently alluded to in setting forth a double original of the two parts of man, his body and his soul; the one of which is brought in as arising up out of the dust of the earth, the other as proceeding from the breath of God Himself.

So we find very vulgar expressions concerning God Himself, besides those which attribute sensation and motion to Him, as when He is set forth as 'riding upon the wings of the wind;' 'riding upon the clouds;' 'sitting in heaven,' and the like; which seem to determine His indifferent Omnipresence to some peculiar place: whereas, indeed, such passages as these can be fetched from nothing else but those gross apprehensions which the generality of men have of God, as being most there, from whence the objects of dread and admiration most of all smite and insinuate themselves into their senses, as they do from the air, clouds, winds, or heaven. So, the state of hell and misery is set forth by such denominations as were most apt to strike a terror into the minds of men; and, accordingly, it is called *cætus gigantum*—the place where all those old

Babylon. Succah, fol. 45 b. *Sanhed.* fol. 97 b. The phrase is quoted by Maimonides (*More Nevoch.* Pars I. cap. 34 *sub init.*) In the Talmud the words are attributed to R. Simeon Ben Jochai. In

stead of 'cœnaculi,' Munk translates עלייה by 'elevationis,' 'les gens d'élévation.' Vid. *Le Guide des Égarés*.

¹ Psal. xix. 6. Matt. xxiv. 31.

² Gen. ii. 7.

giants, whom divine vengeance pursued in the general deluge, were assembled together; as it is well observed by a late author of our own upon the words: 'The man that wandereth out of the way of understanding,' *in cœtu gigantum commorabitur*¹. And, accordingly, we find the state and condition of these expressed thus: *gigantes gemunt sub aquis, et qui habitant cum iis. Nudus est infernus coram illo, et nullum est operimentum perditioni*, as the vulgar Latin renders it. 'The giants groan under the waters, and they that dwell with them. Hell is naked before Him, (that is, God,) and destruction hath no covering².' In like manner, our Saviour sets forth hell as a great valley of fire, like that of Hinnom, which was prepared with a great deal of skill, to torture and torment the devils in. Again, we find heaven set forth sometimes as a place of continual banqueting, where, according to the Jewish customs, they should lie down in one another's bosoms at a perpetual feast: sometimes, as a Paradise furnished with all kinds of delight and pleasure. Again, when the Scripture would intimate God's seriousness and reality in any thing, it brings Him in as ordering it a great while ago, before the foundation of the world was laid, as if He more regarded that than the building of the world.

But since hills p35 for walls any, &c.

I might instance in many more things of this nature, wherein the philosophical or physical nature and literal verity of things cannot so reasonably be supposed to be set forth to us, as the moral and theological. But I shall leave this argument, and now come more precisely to

¹ Prov. xxi. 16. The man that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead. **בקהל רפאים** 'in cœtu Gigantum.'—Jos. Mede in *Diatrib.*

² Job xxvi. 5, 6. Probably the translation of **רפאים** by 'gigantes' is incorrect, as well as the interpretation of both

the above passages as indicative of the torments of hell, rather than of the state of the dead. The **שואל** of which Job speaks, need not be considered as synonymous with the 'hell' compared by our Saviour with the valley of Hinnom.—Vid. Lee, note on Job xxvi. 5, 6.

consider *the nature of Prophecy*, by which God flows in upon the minds of men, extrinsically to their own proper operations, and conveys truth immediately from Himself into them.

CHAPTER II.

That the prophetic spirit did not always manifest itself with the same clearness and evidence. The gradual difference of divine illumination between Moses, the Prophets, and the Hagiographi. A general survey of the nature of prophecy, properly so called. Of the joint impressions and operations of the understanding and fancy in prophecy. Of the four degrees of prophecy. The difference between a vision and a dream.

BUT before we do this, we shall briefly premise something in general concerning that *gradual variety* whereby these divine enthusiasms were discovered to the prophets of old. The prophetic spirit did not always manifest itself *eodem vigore luminis*—with the same clearness and evidence, in the same exaltation of its light: but sometimes that light was more strong and vivid, sometimes more wan and obscure; which seems to be insinuated in that passage, ‘God, who in time past spake unto the fathers by the prophets,’ πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως¹. So, we find an evident difference of prophetic illumination asserted in Scripture between Moses and the rest of the prophets; ‘And there arose not a prophet since, in Israel, like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face²’ which words have a manifest reference to that which God Himself, in a more public and open way, declared concerning Moses, upon occasion of some arrogant speeches of Aaron and Miriam, who would equalize their own

¹ Heb. i. 1. In portions, not altogether, and that sometimes by visions or by dreams, sometimes by the oracle, sometimes by the coming of His Spirit upon

the prophets, and sometimes by voice from heaven.—Hammond *in loco*.

² Deut. xxxiv. 10.

degree of prophecy to that of Moses. 'And the Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud, and stood in the door of the tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriam; and they both came forth: and He said, Hear My words; if there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make Myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all Mine house; with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold. Wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against My servant Moses¹?' In these words, that degree of Divine illumination, whereby God made Himself known to Moses, seems to be set forth as something transcendent to the prophetic illumination: and so the phrase of the New Testament is wont to distinguish between Moses and the Prophets, as if, indeed, Moses had been greater than any prophet. But, besides this gradual difference between Moses and the Prophets, there is another difference very famous amongst the Jewish writers between the Prophets and the *Hagiographi*; which *hagiographi* were supposed, by them, to be much inferior to the prophets. But what this difference between them was, we shall endeavour to show more fully hereafter.

Having briefly premised this, and glanced at a three-fold inspiration relating to Moses, the Prophets, and the *Hagiographi*; we shall first of all inquire into the nature of that which is peculiarly, amongst the Jews, called prophetic. And this is thus defined to us by Maimonides: 'The true essence of prophecy is nothing else but an influence from the Deity first upon the rational, and afterwards upon the imaginative faculty, by the mediation of the active intellect².' This definition belongs, indeed, to

Moses greater than the prophets

what Jews understand by the active intellect

¹ Numb. xii. 5—8.

² דע כי אמתת הנבואה ומהותה הוא שפע שופע מאת השם יתעלה באמצעות

השכל הפועל על הכח הרבני תחלה ואחר כן ישפע על כח המדמה:

More Nevoch. Pars II. c. 36 ad init.

prophecy as it is technically so called, and distinguished by Maimonides, both from that degree of Divine illumination which was above it, which the masters constantly attribute to Moses, and from that other degree inferior to it, which they call *רוח הקודש*—*Spiritus Sanctus*—that Holy Spirit that moved in the souls of the *hagiographi*.

But Rabbi Joseph Albo hath given us a wider description, so as to take in also the *gradus Mosaicus*: 'Prophecy is an influence from God upon the rational faculty, either by the mediation of the fancy or otherwise: and this influence, whether by the ministry of an angel or otherwise, makes a man to know such things as, by his natural abilities, he could not attain to the knowledge of¹.' Though here, our author seems too much to have straitened the latitude of prophetic influence, whereby (as we intimated before) not only those pieces of divine truth may be communicated to the souls of men, which are not contained within their own ideas, but also those may be excited, which have a necessary connexion with, and dependence upon, reason.

But the main thing that we shall observe in this description is, that faculty or power of the soul, upon which these extraordinary impressions of divine light or influence are made; which, in all proper prophecy, is both the rational and imaginative power. For, [in this case, they supposed the imaginative power to be set forth as a stage, upon which certain *visa* and *simulacra* were represented to their understandings, just indeed as they are to

הוא שפע שופע מהשם יתברך על
הכח הדברי אשר באדם אם באמצעות
הכח המדמה ואם בזולתו מודיע לו על
ידי מלאך או בזולתו דברים או ענינים
אין בטבע האדם שידעם בעצמו:

—Rabbi Joseph Albo, *De Fundamentis Fidei*, Lib. III. cap. 8, *sub fin.*

The work referred to here, and in various subsequent pages, was composed early in the fifteenth century, at a time

when conversions of the Jews to Christianity were of frequent occurrence. The object of its learned and philosophical author was to put a stop to such conversions, by a brief exposition of the articles of the Jewish faith, and an attack upon the leading tenets of the Christian religion.—Vid. Bartolocci *Bibliothecam Magnam Rabbinicam*, Tom. III. p. 796.

us in our common dreams; only that the understandings of the prophets were always kept awake and strongly acted upon by God in the midst of these apparitions, to see the intelligible mysteries in them, and so, in these types and shadows, which were symbols of some spiritual things, to behold the antitypes themselves; which is the meaning of that old maxim of the Jews which we formerly cited out of Maimonides; *Magna est virtus, seu fortitudo, prophetarum qui assimilant formam cum formante eam*¹. But in case the imaginative faculty be not thus set forth as the scene of all prophetic illumination, but only the impressions of things, nakedly, without any schemes or pictures, be made immediately upon the understanding itself, then is it reckoned to be the *gradus Mosaicus*, wherein God speaks, as it were, 'face to face'—of which more hereafter.

Accordingly R. Albo, in the book before cited², hath distinguished prophecy into these four degrees³. The *first* and *lowest of all* is, when the imaginative power is most predominant, so that the impressions made upon it are too busy, and the scene becomes too turbulent for the rational faculty to discern the true mystical and analogical sense of them clearly; and in this case the enthusiasms spend themselves extremely in *parables, similitudes*, and *allegories*, in a dark and obscure manner, as is very

¹ The images formed in the minds of the prophets were a divine revelation to them, and were no less the creation of God than was the imaginative faculty itself. The prophets, while they abhorred the idea of attributing any thing corporeal to the Deity, nevertheless scrupled not to represent Him by means of such images, and so to compare the Creator with the thing created. In this consisted their 'virtus seu fortitudo.' 'Les prophètes ont eu une grande hardiesse d'assimiler ensemble la créature et son Createur.'—Vide Munk, *Le Guide des Égarés*, Tom. I.

p. 166. Cf. note 3, p. 175.

² *De Fundam. Fidei*, Lib. III. c. 10.

³ Another and fuller distribution of the degrees of Prophecy may be found in Maimonides (*More Nevoch*. Pars II. c. 45). They are there made to be eleven in number, and are arranged according to the mode in which the inspiration was given, e.g. by 'the Spirit of the Lord,' 'the Word of the Lord,' 'an angel in a vision,' &c. He had previously distributed them with respect to the imaginative and the rational power of the prophet. — *More Nevoch*. Pars II. c. 36.

manifest in the prophecies of Zechariah, and many of those of Ezekiel, as also those of Daniel: } where, though we have first the outward frame of things dramatically set forth so potently in the prophet's fancy, as that his mind was not at the same time capable of the mystical meaning, yet that was afterwards made known to him, but yet with much obscurity still attending it.

This declining state of prophecy the Jews supposed then principally to have been, and this divine illumination to have been then setting in the horizon of the Jewish Church, when they were carried captive into Babylon. All this we may take a little more fully from our author himself: 'Every prophet that is of a strong, sagacious, and piercing understanding, will apprehend the thing nakedly without any similitude; whence it comes to pass that all his sayings prove distinct and clear, and free from all obscurity, having a literal truth in them: but [the words of a prophet of an inferior rank or degree, are obscure, inwrapped in riddles and parables, and, therefore, have not a literal but allegorical truth contained in them¹.'] Thus he. And so afterwards, according to the general opinion of the Jewish masters, he tells us that after the captivity, in the twilight of prophecy, Ezekiel began to speak altogether in riddles and parables²; and so he himself complains to God: 'Ah Lord God, they say of me, Doth he not speak parables³?'

The *second* degree which our forementioned author

¹ מי שהוא חזק ההשגה ישיג הדבר כפי מה שהוא בזולת דמיון ויבא דבריו מבוארים ובלתי סתומים ולזה יובנו אמתיים כפשטן והנביא שהוא למטה ממנו במדרגה יבא דבריו סתומים ובחידות ובמשלים ובלתי מבוארים ולזה לא יהיו אמתיים כפשטן אבל כפי הענין הנרמז בהן בלבד: Lib. III. cap. 17. *sub init.*

² תמצא יחזקאל להיות נבואותיו אחר

הגלות היה מדבר במשלים: וחידות בלתי אמתיים כפשטן עד שנתרעם מזה לשם יתברך ואמר המה אומרים לי הלא: 'You will find Ezekiel, inasmuch as his prophecies were delivered after the captivity, speaking in parables and riddles, not true according to their literal signification; wherefore he complains to God, saying, &c.'—*Ibid.*

³ Ezek. xx. 49.

makes of prophecy is, when the strength of the imaginative and rational powers equally balance each other.

The *third* is, when the rational power is most predominant; in which case (as we heard before) the mind of the prophet is able to strip those things, that are represented to it in the glass of fancy, of all their materiality and sensible nature, and apprehend them more distinctly in their own naked essence. (2)

The *last* and *highest* is the *gradus Mosaicus*, in which (all imagination ceaseth, and the representation of truth descends not so low as the imaginative part, but is made in the highest stage of reason and understanding. (4)

But we shall hereafter speak more fully concerning the several degrees of prophetic inspiration, and discourse more particularly of the *Ruach hakkodesh*¹; the highest degree of prophecy or *gradus Mosaicus*²; and *Bath Kol*, or the lowest degree of prophecy³.

Seeing, then, that generally, all prophecy or prophetic enthusiasm lies in the joint impressions and operations of both these forementioned faculties, the Jews were wont to understand that passage in Numbers⁴ as generally deciphering the state or degree of prophecy, by which God would discover Himself to all those prophets that ever should arise up amongst them, or ever had been, except Moses and the Messiah. And there are only these two ways declared, whereby God would reveal Himself to every other prophet—either in a vision or a dream⁵; both which are perpetually attended with such *visa* and *simulacra*

¹ Chap. vii.

² Chap. xi.

³ Chap. x.

⁴ 'If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make Myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so.' Numb. xii. Jarchi's comment is as follows: שכינת שמי אין נגלית עליו: באספקלריא המאירה אלא בחלום וחזיון: 'The Divine presence (Shecinah) of My

name will not be revealed to him *in speculo lucido*, but in a dream or vision.' The expression *in speculo lucido* refers particularly to the revelations made by God to Moses.

⁵ ואלו שני החלקים בהם מדרגות הנבואה כלם.....במראה או בחלום: 'In istis duabus partibus, somnio et visione, continentur omnes prophetiae gradus.'—*More Nevoch*. Pars II. c. 36.

sensibilia as must needs be impressed upon common sense or fancy, whereby the prophets seemed to have all their senses waking and exercising their several functions, though indeed all was but scenical or dramatical. ¹ According to this two-fold way of divine inspiration, the prophet Joel foretels the nature of that prophetic Spirit that should be poured out in the latter times¹; and in Jeremiah we have the false prophets brought in as endeavouring apishly to imitate the true prophets of God, in fortifying their fancies by the power of divination, that they might talk of dreams and visions when they came among the people².

Now for the difference between these two—a *dream* and a *vision*—it seems rather to lie in circumstantialia than in any thing essential; and therefore Maimonides tells us,—that in a dream a voice was frequently heard, which was not usual in a vision³. But the representation of divine things by some sensible images or some narrative voice must needs be in them both. But yet the Jews are wont to make a vision superior to a dream, as representing things more to the life—which, indeed, seizeth

¹ 'Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions,' Joel ii. 28. לפי שהנבואה היא בב' מינים, חלום נבואי ומראה נבואיית כמו שנאמר בתורה במראה אליו אתודע בחלום אדבר בו לכן אמר במספר מדרגות הנבואה אשר תמצא בהם שהזקנים שבהם יזכו לחלומות הנבואיות והבחורים לחזיונות שיראו שהם : ממין המראה הנבואיית : Inasmuch as prophecy consists of two kinds, the prophetic dream and the prophetic vision, as was declared in the Law, "I will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream," therefore it is here said with reference to the number of degrees of prophecy which you find therein, that the old men among them shall attain to prophetic dreams, and the young men to sights which they shall see

to be of the character of prophetic visions.' Abarbanel *in loco*.

² Jer. xiv. 14.

³ לזה בארה התורה ואמרה במראה אליו אתודע בחלום אדבר בו שם הדבור בחלום לבד ושם למראה הדבקות השכל והשפעתו והוא אמרו במראה אליו אתודע..... ולא באר שבמראה : Therefore the Law clearly explained, saying, "In a vision I will make known myself to him, in a dream I will speak with him;" connecting speech with the dream only, and assigning to the vision the union of the intellect and its influence. This is the meaning of the expression, "In a vision I will make known myself to him".....while it is not declared that in a vision he (*i. e.* the prophet) hears any thing from God.'—*More Nevoch*, Pars II. c. 45.

upon the prophet while he is awake, but it no sooner surpriseth him than all his external senses are bound; and so it often declines into a true dream, as Maimonides, in the place forenamed¹, proves by the example of Abraham, where the vision in which God had appeared to him (as it is related Gen. xv. 1) passed into a sleep: 'And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, a horror of great darkness fell upon him².' These words seem to be nothing else but a description of that passage which he had, by sleep, out of his vision into a dream.

Now to these ecstatical impressions, whereby the imagination and mind of the prophet was thus ravished from itself, and was made subject wholly to some agent intellect informing it and shining upon it, I suppose St Paul had respect. 'Now we see δι' εσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι—by a glass, in riddles or parables³;' for so he seems to compare the highest illuminations which we have here, with that constant irradiation of the Divinity upon the souls of men in the life to come: and this glassing of divine things by hieroglyphics and emblems in the fancy which he speaks of, was the proper way of prophetic inspiration.

For the further clearing of this, I shall take notice of one passage more out of a Jewish writer, that is, R. Bechai, concerning this present argument. *Voluit Deus assimilare prophetiam reliquorum prophetarum homini speculum inspicienti, prout innuunt Rabbini nostri illo axiomatico proverbiali, nemo inspiciat speculum sabbato. Illud speculum est vitreum, in quo reflectitur homini sua ipsius forma et imago per vim reflexivam speculi, cum revera nihil*

איפשר שיאמר האומר שכל מראה
שתמצא בשמע דבור יהיה תחלת
הענין ההוא מראה ואחר כן הגיע
להשתקע וישב חלום כמין שבארנו
באמרו ותרדמה נפלה על אברם:

¹ It may perhaps be said, that every vision in which mention is made of speech being

heard is in the first instance a vision, but afterwards, through the depth it attains, it merges into a dream, as we have explained the passage, "And a deep sleep fell upon Abram."—*Ibid.*

² Gen. xv. 12.

³ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

*ejusmodi in speculo realiter existat. Talis erat prophetia reliquorum prophetarum, eo quod contuebantur sacras et puras imagines et lumina superna, ex medio splendoris et puritatis istorum luminum realium, visæ sunt illis similitudines, visæ sunt illis tales formæ quales sunt formæ humanæ*¹.

By this he seems to refer to those images of the living creatures represented, in a prophetic vision, to Isaiah and Ezekiel; but he generally intimates thus much to us—that the light and splendour of prophetic illumination was not so triumphant over the prophet's fancy, but that he viewed his own image, and saw like a man, and understood things after the manner of men in all these prophetic visions.

CHAPTER III.

How the prophetic dreams did differ from all other kinds of dreams recorded in Scripture. This further illustrated out of several passages of Philo Judæus pertinent to this purpose.

WE have now taken a general survey of the nature of prophecy, which is always attended, as we have shown, with a vision or a dream, though indeed there is no dream properly without a vision. And here, before we pass from hence, it will be necessary to take notice of a main distinction the Hebrew doctors are wont to make of dreams, lest we mistake all those dreams which we meet with in Scripture, and take them all for prophetic, whereas many of them were not such. For though,

רצה להמשיל נבואת שאר
הנביאים למי שמסתכל במראה והוא
לשון רבותינו ז"ל אין רואין במראה
בשבת והיא מראה של זכויות
שהמסתכל בו נראת לו מתוכו דמות
צורת מכה לטישת המראה אבל אין
בתוכו כלום כן נבואת שאר הנביאים

מתוך שרואין אותן הצורות הקדושות
הטהורות והמאורות העליונים מתוך
זהר ובהירות האורות העצומים ההם
נראים להם דמיונות ורואין שם
צורתם כצורת בן אדם: R. Bechai,
Comm. in Num. xii. 6. fol. 163 b. 2 ed.
Venet. 1546.

indeed, they were all *θεόπεμπτα*—sent by God—yet many were sent as monitions and instructions, and had not the true force and vigour of prophetic dreams in them; and so they are wont commonly to distinguish between *חלום נבואי* and *חלום צדק*. There are *somnia vera* and *somnia prophetica*; and these Maimonides hath thus generally characterized: ‘When it is said in Holy Writ, that God came to such a man in a dream of the night, that cannot be called a prophecy, nor such a man a prophet; for the meaning is no more than this, that some admonition or instruction was given by God to such a man, and that it was in a dream¹.’ Of this sort he and the rest of the Hebrew writers hold those dreams to be which were sent to Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Abimelech, and Laban; upon which last two our author observes the great caution of Onkelos the proselyte, who was instructed in the Jewish learning by R. Eleazar and R. Joshua, the most famous doctors of that age, that in his preface to those dreams of Laban and Abimelech he says, *et venit verbum a Domino*: but doth not say, as when the dreams were prophetic, *et revelavit se Dominus*². Besides, a main reason for which they deny those dreams to be prophetic is, that they that were made partakers of them were unsanctified men; whereas it is a tradition amongst them, that the spirit of prophecy was not communicated to any but good men³.

But, indeed, the main difference between these two sorts of dreams seems to consist in this—that such as were not prophetic were much weaker in their energy upon the imagination than the others were, insomuch

¹ אמנם מה שיאמר בו ויבא אלהים אל פלוגי בחלום הלילה אינה נבואה כלל ולא האיש ההוא נביא כי עניינו שבאה ההערה מאת השם לאיש ההוא ואחר כן באר לנו שההערה היתה: *More Nevoch*, Pars II.

c. 41.

² Maimon. *ibid*.

³ כאמרם ז"ל חסידות מביא לידי 'רוח הקדש' As the Rabbins of blessed memory have said, Piety conducts a man to the Holy Spirit.—Abarbanel, *Prefat. in Duodecim Prophetas*, fol. 222 a. 2. Cf. chap. 8.

that they wanted the strength and force of a divine evidence, so as to give a plenary assurance to the mind of him who was the subject of them, of their divine original; as we see in those dreams of Solomon¹, where it is said of him, 'when he awoke he said, Behold it was a dream;' as if he had not been effectually confirmed, from the energy of the dream itself, that it was a true prophetic influx.

But there is yet another difference they are wont to make between them, which is—that these *somnia vera*, or *νοϋθητικά*, ordinarily contained in them דברים בטלים—something that was ἀργόν, or void of reality: as in that dream of Joseph concerning the sun, the moon, and the eleven stars bowing down to him; whereas his mother, who should there have been signified by the moon, was dead and buried before, and so incapable of performing that respect to him which the other at last did. Upon occasion of which dream, the Gemarist doctors have framed this axiom: 'As there is no corn without straw, so neither is there any mere dream without something that is ἀργόν—void of reality, and insignificant².' Accordingly Rab. Albo hath framed this distinction between them; 'There is no mere dream without something in it that is ἀργόν; but prophecy is a thing wholly and most exactly true³.'

¹ 1 Kings iii. 5—15, and ix. 2.

² כשם שאי אפשר לבר בלא תבן
כך אי אפשר לחלום בלא דברים בטלים:
—Gem. Talm. Babylon, Berachoth, cap.
ix. fol. 57 a.

חלום אע"פ שמקצתו מתקיים כולו
אינו מתקיים מנלן מיוסף דכתיב והנה
השמש והירח וכו': וההיא שעתא אימיה
: לא הות :
A dream, though it may be
partially true, yet is it not wholly so.
Whence do we learn this? From the
example of Joseph, respecting whom it is
written, "And, behold, the sun and the

moon, &c." whereas at that time his
mother was no more.—*Ibid*.

³ אין חלום בלא דברים בטלים Lib. iii.
: והנבואה כלה ענין צורך ואמת: :
cap. 9 sub fin. In this chapter Albo
argues against the objection raised by
some on account of the different ways in
which the Divine will was communicated
to the prophets, and with various degrees
of obscurity, whereas God Himself is one
and unchangeable, and the object, viz. the
direction of man to happiness, always the
same. To this he replies, that the differ-



The general difference between prophetic dreams and those that are merely nouthetical or monitory, and all else which we find recorded in Scripture, Philo Judæus in his *Tract de Somniis* and elsewhere, hath at large laid down. The proper character of those that were prophetic he clearly insinuates to be that ecstatical rapture whereby, in all prophetic dreams, some more potent cause, acting upon the mind and imagination of the prophets, snatched them from themselves, and so left more potent and evident impressions upon them.

I shall the more largely set down his notion, because it tends to the clearing of the business in hand, and is, I think, much obscured, if not totally corrupted, by his translator Gelenius. His design is indeed to show, that Moses taught these several ways whereby dreams are conveyed from heaven, that so his sublime and recondite doctrine might be the better hid up therein; and, therefore, sailing between Cabbalism and Platonism, he gropes after an allegorical and mystical meaning in them all. His first sort of divine dreams he thus defines: 'The first kind was when God Himself did begin the motion in the fancy, and secretly whispered such things as are unknown indeed to us, but perfectly known to Himself¹.' And of this sort he makes Joseph's dreams, the sense whereof was unknown to Joseph himself at first, and then runs out into an allegorical exposition of them in the book entitled 'Joseph.'

ence arises from the variety in the characters of the prophets themselves and their capabilities. Fire, says he, possesses fixed properties, but it produces effects varying according to the nature of the substances submitted to its influence, liquefying wax, but hardening salt.

The limitation here made in the interpretation of a dream is similar to that

which is confessedly to be made in the explanation of a *parable*—that the *general scope* is to be regarded, while some *minor points* are not to be urged as possessing particular significance.

¹ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἣν ἀρχοντος τῆς κινήσεως Θεοῦ, καὶ ὑπηχοῦντος ἀοράτως τὰ ἡμῶν μὲν ἀδελὰ, γνώριμα δὲ ἑαυτῷ.—Phil. Jud. Vol. v. p. 116.

The second kind is this: 'When our rational faculty, being moved together with the soul of the world, and filled with a divinely-inspired fury, doth predict those things that are to come!.' In these words, by his $\psi\chi\eta\tau\omega\nu\ \delta\lambda\omega\nu$, he means the same thing with that which in a former book about the same argument he had called $\tau\omega\nu\ \delta\lambda\omega\nu\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$ —'the mind of the universe'—which, mingling its influence with our minds, begets these $\pi\rho\omicron\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ or previsions. And this is nothing else but that which others of his tribe call שכל הפעל , or *intellectus agens*, which, it seems, he understood to be the same with *anima mundi* or 'universal soul,' as it is described by the Pythagoreans and Platonists. Of this sort of dreams he makes those of Jacob's ladder, and of Laban's sheep. And these kinds of dreams, viz. that wherein the *intellectus agens* doth simply act upon our minds as patients to it, and that wherein our minds do co-operate with the universal soul, and so understand the meaning of the influx, he thus compares together: $\Delta\iota\omicron\ \delta\ \iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu\ \sigma\eta\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma,\ \tau\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu,\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\eta\sigma\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omega\nu\ \omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma.\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu,\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\rho\alpha\ \tau\eta\lambda\alpha\nu\gamma\acute{\omega}\varsigma,\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\iota\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\nu.\ \omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha\ \eta\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \phi\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\alpha\ \omicron\psi\iota\varsigma^2.$ In these words it is to be observed, that he calls the matter of the first sort of dreams $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha$, which Gelenius hath mistaken whilst he translates it '*Dei oraculis certis convenientia.*' With his leave, therefore, I should thus interpret that whole passage; *Quare Moses sacer antistes indigitans illas phantasias quæ oboriuntur secundum primam speciem, eas perspicue et admodum manifeste indicavit;* (i. e. by adding an

¹ $\tau\omicron\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu,\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \tau\omega\nu\ \delta\lambda\omega\nu\ \sigma\eta\gamma\kappa\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma\ \psi\chi\eta\eta,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\iota\mu\pi\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma,\ \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ —

Phil. Jud. Vol. v. p. 116.

² Ibid.

explication of those *ænigmata* of Joseph's sun, moon, stars, and sheaves, which he himself in his dream understood not—which explication is not made in the examples of the second sort) *quippe Deus subjecit illas phantasias per somnia quæ similes sunt veris prophetiis*, (i. e. *perfectæ prophetiæ*¹, *sive somniis propheticis*², *uti loqui amant magistri*). *Secundi vero generis somnia nec plane dilucide nec valde obscure indigitavit; qualia erant somnia de scala cælesti, &c.* Now these dreams of Joseph, though they contained matter of a like nature to prophetic inspiration, yet were indeed not such, and therefore are accounted by all the Jewish writers only as *somnia vera*; and so our author endeavours to prove, very fitly to our purpose, though, indeed, upon a mistake which he took out of the version of the Seventy³. 'Joseph said, [methought⁴] we were binding sheaves.' 'That word methought is the language of one that is uncertain, dubious, and obscurely surmising; not of one that is firmly assured, and plainly sees things: indeed it very well befits those who are newly awoke out of a sound sleep, and have scarce ceased to dream, to say "methought;" not those who are fully awake, and behold all things clearly. But Jacob, who was more exercised in divine things, hath no such word as "methought" when he speaks of his dream, but, says he, "Behold, a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached up to heaven⁵." After the same manner, almost, doth

¹ הנבואות הנמורות

² החלומות הנבואיים

³ Though he was a Jew, yet was he trained up amongst the Greeks, and not well acquainted with the Hebrew language.—*Original edition.*

⁴ The word *ῥῆμα*, 'methought,' is not in the Hebrew.

⁵ *Ὡμην, φησιν, ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν δράγματα.* (Gen. xxxvii. 7). *Τὸ μὲν, ῥῆμα, εὐθέως*

ἀδελφούτος καὶ ἐνδοιάζοντος καὶ ἀμυδρῶς ὑπολαμβάνοντος, οὐ παλιν καὶ τηλαυγῶς ὁρῶντος, ἀνάφθεγμα ἐστίν. Τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου διανισταμένοις, καὶ ἐτι ὄνειρώττουσιν, ἄρμωτον λέγειν, ῥῆμα οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐργηγορῶσι παντελῶς, καὶ τρανῶς ἐμβλέπουσιν. Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὁ ἀσκητὴς Ἰακώβ, ῥῆμα, ἐρεῖ· ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ, κλίμαξ ἐστρηγμένη, ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. (Gen. xxviii. 12).—Phil. Jud. Vol. v. p. 122.

Maimonides distinguish between *somnia vera* and *prophetica*, making Jacob's dreams (as all the Jewish writers do) to be prophetic¹.

3 The third kind of dreams mentioned by Philo is thus laid down by him. 'The third kind is, when in sleep the soul, being moved of itself, and agitating itself, is in a kind of rapturous rage, and in a divine fury doth foretel future things by a prophetic faculty².' And then, which is more to our purpose, he thus sets forth the nature of those fancies which discover themselves in this kind of dreams. 'The phantasms which belong to the third kind, are more plainly declared by Moses than the former; for, containing a very profound and dark meaning, they required to the explaining of them a knowledge of the art of interpreting dreams³:' as those dreams of Pharaoh, his butler, and baker, and of Nebuchadnezzar, who were only amazed and dazzled with those strange apparitions that were made to them, but not at all enlightened by them. These are of that kind which Plato sometimes speaks of, that cannot be understood without a prophet; and, therefore, he would have some prophet or wise man always set over this *μαντική*. Thus we have seen these three sorts of dreams according to Philo, the first and last whereof the Jewish doctors conjoin together, and constantly prefer the oneirocritics of them, to the dreamers themselves: and, therefore, whereas they depress the notion of them, considered in themselves, below any degree of prophecy, yet the interpretation of them they attribute to the *רוח הקודש* or Holy Spirit; except there be an interpretation of the dream in the dream itself, so that the mind of the

¹ Maim. *More Nevoch.* Pars II. c. 36.

² Συνίσταται δὲ τὸ τρίτον εἶδος, ὁπότεν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ κινουμένη, καὶ ἀναδονούσα ἑαυτήν, κορυβαντιᾶ καὶ ἐνθουσιῶσα, δυνάμει προγνωστικῇ τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίζει.—Phil. Jud. Vol. v. p. 116.

³ Αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον εἶδος φαντασίαι, μᾶλλον τῶν προτέρων δηλούμεναι, διὰ τὸ βαθὺ καὶ κατακορὸς ἔχειν τὸ αἰνίγμα, ἐδεήθησαν καὶ τῆς ὀνειροκριτικῆς ἐπιστήμης.—Phil. Jud. Vol. v. p. 116.

dreamer be fully satisfied both in the meaning and divinity thereof; for then it is truly prophetic. And thus much for this particular.

CHAPTER IV.

A large account of the difference between the true prophetic spirit and enthusiastical impostures. That the pseudo-prophetic spirit is seated only in the imaginative powers and faculties inferior to reason. That Plato and other wise men had a very low opinion of this spirit, and of the gift of divination, and of consulting the oracles. That the true prophetic spirit seats itself as well in the rational as in the sensitive powers, and that it never alienates the mind, but informs and enlightens it. This further cleared by several testimonies from Gentile and Christian writers of old. An account of those fears and consternations which often seized upon the prophets. How the prophets perceived when the prophetic influx seized upon them. The different evidence and energy of the true and false prophetic spirit.

FROM what we have formerly discoursed concerning the stage of fancy and imagination, upon which those *visa* presented themselves to the mind of the prophet, wherein he beheld the real objects of divine truth in which he was inspired by this means; it may be easily apprehended how easy a matter it might be for the Devil's prophets many times, by an apish imitation, to counterfeit the true prophets of God; and how, sometimes, melancholy and turgent fancies, fortified with a strong power of divination, might unfold themselves in a semblance of true enthusiasms. For, indeed, herein the prophetic influx seems to agree with a mistaken enthusiasm, that both of them make strong impressions upon the imaginative powers, and require the imaginative faculty to be vigorous and potent: and, therefore, Maimonides tells us that the gift of divination, which consisted in a mighty force of imagination, was always given to the prophets, and that

*But see
prophecy*

this and a spirit of fortitude were the main basis of prophecy.) 'It is necessary that these two faculties of *fortitude* and *divination* should be most strong and vehement in the prophets: whereunto if, at any time, there was an accession of the influence of the intellect, they were then beyond measure corroborated; in so much that (as it is well known) it hath come to this, that one man, by a naked staff, did prevail over a potent king, and most manfully deliver a whole nation from bondage, *viz.* after it was said to him "I will be with thee¹." And though there be different degrees of these in men, yet none can be altogether without that fortitude and magnanimity. So it was said to Jeremiah, "Be not dismayed at their faces²," &c. "Behold I have made thee this day a defenced city;" and so to Ezekiel, "Be not afraid of them nor their words³:" and, generally, in all the prophets we shall find a great fortitude and magnanimity of spirit. But, by the excellency of the gift of divining, they could, on a sudden, and in a moment, foretell future things; in which faculty, notwithstanding, there was great diversity.' Thus he⁴.

It will not be, therefore, any great digression here, awhile to *examine the nature of this false light which pretends to prophecy, but is not*; as being seated only in the imaginative power, from whence the first occasion of this delusion ariseth, seeing that power is also the seat of all prophetic vision.) For this purpose, it will not be amiss to premise that threefold degree of cognitive influence

¹ Exod. iii. 12.

² Jer. xvii. 18.

³ Ezek. ii. 6.

⁴ אי אפשר מבלתי היות שתי הכחות האלו בנביאים חזקות מאד רוצה לומר כח הנבונה וכח המשער ובהשפיע השכל עליהם יחזקו שני הכחות האלה מאד עד שתגיע זה למה שידעת והוא שהתנבר איש אחד במקלו על המלך הגדול להציל אומה מתחת עבודתו ולא פחד ולא ירא כאשר נאמר לו כי אהיה עמך וזה

ענין יתחלף גם כן בהם אלא שאי אפשר מבלעדיו כמו שאמר לירמיה אל תירא מפניהם וגו' הנה נתתיך היום לעיר מבצר וגו' וליחזקאל נאמר אל תירא מהם ומדבריהם וכן תמצאם כולם ע"ה היתה בהם נבונה גדולה וביתרון כח המשער גם כן בהם יגידו העתידות במהרה ויתחלף זה גם כן בהם כמו שידעת: Maimonides, *More Nevochim*, Pars II. cap. 38, sub init.

pointed out by Maimonides¹. [The *first* is wholly intellectual, descending only into the rational faculty, by which that is extremely fortified and strengthened in the distinct apprehension of metaphysical truths, from whence, as he tells us, ariseth the sect of philosophers, and contemplative persons. The *second*, descending jointly into the rational and imaginative faculty together, and from thence springs the sect of prophets. The *third*, into the imaginative only, from whence proceeds the sect of politicians, lawyers, and lawgivers, whose conceptions run only in a secular channel; as also the sect of diviners, enchanters, dreamers, and soothsayers.]

Three
classes
of
prophecy

We shall copy out of him a character of some of this third sort, the rather, because it so graphically delineates to us many enthusiastical impostors of our age. His words are these: 'But here I must inform thee, that [there are some of this third sort who have sometimes such strange fancies, dreams, and ecstasies, that they take themselves for prophets, and much marvel that they have such fancies and imaginations; conceiving, at last, that all sciences and faculties are, without any pains or study, infused into them. And hence it is that they fall into great confusions in many theoretical matters of no small moment, and do so mix true notions with such as are merely seeming and imaginary, as if heaven and earth were jumbled together. All which proceeds from the too great force of the imaginative faculty, and the imbecility of the rational, whence it is that nothing in it can pass forth into act.] Thus he².

¹ More Nev. Pars II. c. 37.

² וממה שצריך שיתאמת אצלך הוא שקצת אנשי זאת הכת השלישית יתחדשו להם דמיונות נפלאות וחלומות וטרופים בעת היקיצה בדמות מראה הנבואה עד שיחשבו בעצמם שהם נביאים ויפלאו מאד במה ששינוהו הדמיונות ההם ויחשבו שכבר הגיעו להם חכמות לא

בלמוד ויבאו בבלבולים גדולים בעניינים העצומים העניונים ויתערבו להם העניינים האמתיים בעניינים הדמיוניים ערוב נפלא כל זה לחזק הכח המדמה וחלשת הדברי מפני שלא עלה בידו דבר רוצה לומר שלא יצא לפעל:

More Nev. Pars II. c. 37.

This delusion then, in his sense of those *Ἐνεργούμενοι* who pretend to revelations, ariseth from hence—that [all this foreign force that is upon them, serves only to invigorate and impregnate their fancies and imaginations, but does not inform their reasons, nor elevate them to a true understanding of things in their coherence and contexture; and, therefore, they can so easily embrace things absurd to all true and sober reason: whereas the prophetic spirit, acting principally upon the reason and understanding of the prophets, guided them consistently and intelligibly into the understanding of things. But this pseudo-prophetic spirit, being not able to rise up above this low and dark region of sense or matter, or to soar aloft into a clear heaven of vision, endeavoured always, as much as might be, to strengthen itself in the imaginative part: and, therefore, the wizards and false prophets of old and later times have been wont always to heighten their fancies and imaginations by all means possible. This R. Albo insinuates when he says: ‘There are some men whose imaginative faculty is strong, either by nature, or by some artifice which they use, whereby to fortify this imaginative faculty; and for such purpose are the artifices which witches, and such as have familiar spirits, do use, by the help whereof the similitudes of things are more easily excited in the imagination!’ Ac-

ויש מן האנשים מי שכחם המדמה
חזק אם מצד טבעם ואם מצד איזה
פעל שיעשו לחזק הכח הדמיוני כמו
המעשים שיעשו הקוסמים ואשה בעלת
אוב ומתוך כך ירמה דמיונות:

R. Albo, Lib. III. cap. 10.

In a former chapter of the same work, R. Albo mentions a fundamental distinction between the true prophet, and the diviner or soothsayer. Not only is the one satisfied with employing various artifices for strengthening the imaginative faculty while the other seeks the

assistance of the Spirit of God to this end; but with the latter, the foretelling of future events is the sole end in view; the former always uniting instruction with prophecy:

תמצא כל הנביאים מזהירים תמיד
על שמירת התורה ועשיית מצוותיה כי
זאת היתה עיקר הכונה האלהית להשפיע
שפע אלהי על הנביאים כדי שעל ידם
יניע האדם אל שלמותו האנושי בהיותו
עושה הדברים הנרצים אצל האל לא
להודיע על ידם העתירות בלבד כמו
שהוא הענין בקוסמים כי הגדת העתירות

cordingly Wierus', who was a man (as some think) too well acquainted with these mysteries, though he himself seems to defy them, speaks to the same purpose concerning witches, how that, so that they may have more pregnant fancies, they anoint themselves, and diet themselves with some such food as they understand from the devil is very fit for that purpose. And, for further proof hereof, he there quotes *Baptista Porta*, Lib. II. and *Cardan de Subtil.* Cap. 18. But we shall not over-curiously pry any further into these arts.

This kind of divination, resting merely in the imaginative faculty, seemed so exactly to imitate the prophetic energy in this part of it, that, indeed, it hath been by weaker minds mistaken for it, though the wiser sort of the heathens have happily found out the lameness and delusiveness of it. We have it excellently set forth by Plato in his *Timæus*, where, speaking of God's liberality in constituting man, he thus speaks of this divination: 'As for our baser part, that it might, in some sort, partake of truth, God hath seated in it the power of divining: and it is a sufficient sign that God has indulged this faculty of divining to the foolishness of men; for there is no sober man that is touched with this power of divination, unless in sleep, when his reason is bound, or when by sickness or enthusiasm he suffers some alienation of

הנמצא בהם היא על ידי מעשים שעושין לחזק הכח הרמיוני על צד הטבע לא מצד הרוח האלהי כאשר הוא בנביאים: 'You will find all the prophets continually urging to the keeping of the law, and the performance of the precepts thereof, inasmuch as it is the principle of the Divine Mind, to pour out the Divine influence on the prophets to the end, that by their means a man may attain unto human perfection, performing those actions that are pleasing to God—not merely by their instrumentality to foretell future events, as is the case with soothsayers. For with these,

the prediction of future events is produced through artifices they adopt to strengthen the imaginative faculty by natural means, not through the Divine Spirit, as with the prophet.'—*Ibid.* cap. 8.

¹ This writer has left, among other works, six books, '*De præstigiis demonum, &c.*' printed at Basle (1583), and again at Amsterdam (1660). The reference in the text is to Lib. III. cap. 17. The third book here alluded to is entitled '*de Lamiis*,' the seventeenth chapter being '*de naturalibus pharmacis somniferis, &c.*'

mind. But it is then for the wise and sober to understand what is spoken or represented in this fatidical passion¹. And so it seems Plato, who was no careless observer of these matters, could no where find this divining spirit in his time, except it were joined some way or other *cum mentis alienatione*; and, therefore, he looks upon it as that which is inferior to wisdom, and to be regulated by it: for so he further declares his mind to the same purpose: 'Wherefore it is a law, that prophets should be set as it were as judges over these enthusiastic divinations, which prophets some ignorantly and falsely call diviners².' For, indeed, these prophets to whom, in his sense, he gives the pre-eminence, are none else but wise and prudent men, who, by reason of the sagacity of their understandings, were able to judge of those things which were uttered by this dull spirit of divination, which resided only in faculties inferior to reason. So in his *Charmides*: 'But, if you will, we will grant the gift of divination to be a knowledge of what is to come: but withal, that it is fit that wisdom and sobriety should be judge and interpreter³.' But, further, that his age was acquainted with no other divinations than that which ariseth from a troubled fancy, and is conceived in a dark, melancholy imagination, he confirms to us in his *Phædrus*⁴, where he rightly gives us the true etymon of this *μαντική*—that it was called so

¹ καὶ τὸ φαῦλον ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἀληθείας πῃ προσάπτοιτο, κατέστησαν ἐν τούτῳ τὸ μαντεῖον. ἱκανὸν δὲ σημεῖον, ὡς μαντικὴν ἀφροσύνη θεὸς ἀνθρωπίνῃ δέδωκεν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐννοῦς ἐφάπτεται μαντικῆς ἐνθέου καὶ ἀληθοῦς, ἀλλ' ἢ καθ' ὕπνον τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως πεδηθεὶς δύναμιν ἢ διὰ νόσον ἢ διὰ τινα ἐνθουσιασμόν παραλλάξας. ἀλλὰ ξυνορῆσαι μὲν ἐμφρονος τὰ τε ῥηθέντα ἀναμνησθέντα ὅσαρ' ἢ ὕπνα ὑπὸ τῆς μαντικῆς τε καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικῆς φύσεως, κ. τ. λ.—Plat. *Tim.* 71 E.

² Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν προφητῶν γένος

ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐνθέοις μαντεῖαις κριτὰς ἐπικαθιστάναι νόμος, οὓς μάντις αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάζουσι τινες, τὸ πᾶν ἡγνοηκότες, ὅτι, κ. τ. λ.—Plat. *Tim.* 72 B.

³ εἰ δὲ βουλοῖό γε, καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν εἶναι ξυχωρήσωμεν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐσεσθαι, καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην, αὐτῆς ἐπιστατούσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀλαζόνας ἀποτρέπειν, τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς μάντις καθιστάναι ἡμῖν προφήτας τῶν μελλόντων.—Plat. *Charm.* 173 C.

⁴ Plat. *Phædr.* 244 C.

ἀπὸ τῆς μανίας,—‘from rage and fury’—and therefore says it was anciently called *μανική*. However, he grants that it happened to many, *θεία μοίρα*,—by Divine allotment; yet it was most vulgarly incident to sick and melancholy men, who oftentimes, by the power thereof, were able to presage by what medicines their own distempers might be best cured, as if it were nothing else but a discerning of that sympathizing and symbolizing complexion of their own bodies with some other bodies without them. And elsewhere he tells us that these *μάντις* never, or very rarely, understood the meaning and nature of their own *visa*¹.

And therefore, indeed, the Platonists generally seemed to reject, or very much to slight, all this kind of revelation, and to acknowledge nothing transcendent to the naked reason and understanding of man. So Maximus Tyrius:—‘It is a bold assertion, yet I shall not doubt to say, that God’s oracles and men’s understandings are of a near alliance².’ And so, according to Porphyry, a good man is *Διὸς μεγάλου ὁριστής*—one that needs not soothsaying, being familiarly and intimately acquainted with God himself³.

Likewise the Stoics will scarce allow their wise man at any time to consult an oracle, as we may learn from Arrian⁴ and Epictetus⁵, and the Comment of Simplicius thereupon: where that great philosopher, making a scru-

¹ Vid. Plat. *Tim.* 72 B.

² Θεοῦ δὲ μαντεία καὶ ἀνθρώπων νοῦς (τολμηρον μὲν εἰπεῖν, φράσω δὲ ὁμῶς) χρήμα συγγενές.—Maximus Tyr. in *Dissert. tert.*

³ περὶ ὧν δὲ ζητεῖ, μάντις μὲν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ σπλάγχχνα ζῶων μὲνῃσει τὸ σαφές· αὐτὸς δὲ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς λέγομεν, προσίων τῷ θεῷ, ὃς ἐν τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς αὐτοῦ σπλάγχχοις ἴδρυται, περὶ τοῦ αἰωνίου βίου λήψεται τὰς ὑποθήκας ὅλος ἐκεῖ συρρέουσας, καὶ ἀντὶ μαντεύς, Διὸς μεγάλου ὁριστής εὐχόμενος γενέσθαι.—Porphyr. *De Abstinētia*, Lib. II. c. 52.

The good man, says Porphyry, *prays that he may become* such a character as that described in the text: *Διὸς μεγάλου ὁριστής*. These are not the words of Porphyry, but are borrowed from Homer.—Cf. *Hom. Odys.* T. 119.

⁴ Οὕτως ἔδει καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐρχεσθαι, ὡς ὁδηγόν. Ὡς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς χρώμεθα, οὐ παρακαλοῦντες αὐτοὺς, ἵνα ταῦτα μάλλον ἡμῖν δεικνύσωσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅλα ἐνδείκνυνται, τούτων τὰς φαντασίας δεχόμενοι.—Arrian. in *Epictet.* Lib. II. cap. 7.

⁵ Epictet. cap. xxxii.

pulous search what those things were, about which it might be fit to consult the oracle, at last brings them into so narrow a compass, that a wise man should never find occasion to honour the oracle with his presence. A famous instance whereof we have in Lucan, where Cato, being advised to consult Jupiter Ammon's oracle after Pompey's death, answers:

Estne dei sedes nisi terra et pontus et aër
Et cælum et virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultra?
Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris.
Sortilegis egeant dubii semperque futuris
Casibus ancipites; me non oracula certum,
Sed mors certa facit!——

But enough of this particular; and I hope, by this time, I have sufficiently unfolded the true seat of prophecy, and showed the right stage thereof: as also how lame and delusive the spirit of divination was, which endeavoured to imitate it.

Now from what hath been said ariseth one main characteristical distinction between the prophetic and pseudo-prophetic spirit, viz. That [the prophetic spirit doth never alienate the mind, (seeing it seats itself as well in the rational as in the sensitive powers,) but always maintains a consistency and clearness of reason, strength, and solidity of judgment, where it comes; it doth not ravish the mind, but inform and enlighten it: but the pseudo-prophetic spirit, if indeed, without any kind of dissimulation, it enters into any one, because it can rise no higher than the middle region of man, which is his fancy, there dwells as in storms and tempests, and being *ἀλογόν τι* in itself, is also conjoined with alienations and abruptions of mind².] For whensoever the phantasms

¹ Lucan. *Pharsal.* ix. 578 sqq.

² ἀλλ' ὁ γε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐν παρεκστάσει, ὃ ἔπεται ἀδεια καὶ ἀφοβία, ἀρχό-

μενος μὲν ἐξ ἐκουσίου ἀμαθίας, καταστρέφων δὲ εἰς ἀκούσιον μανίαν ψυχῆς.—Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. cap. 17.

come to be disordered, and to be presented tumultuously to the soul, as it is either in a *μανία*, 'fury,' or in melancholy, (both which kinds of alienation are commonly observed by physicians) or else by the energy of this spirit of divination, the mind can pass no true judgment upon them; but its light and influence becomes eclipsed. But of this alienation we have already discoursed out of Plato and others. And thus the Pythian prophetess is described by the scholiast upon the *Plutus* of Aristophanes¹, and by Lucan², as being filled with inward fury, while she was inspired by the fatidical spirit, and uttering her oracles in a strange disguise, with many antic gestures, her hair torn, and foaming at her mouth. As also Cassandra is brought in, prophesying in the like manner, by Lycophron. So the sibyl was noted by Heraclitus, 'as one speaking morose and unseemly speeches with her furious mouth³.' And Ammianus Marcellinus, in the beginning of his 21st Book, hath told us an old observation concerning the sibyls, *sibyllæ crebro se dicunt ardere, torrente vi magna flammæ*⁴.

This was cautiously observed by the primitive fathers,

¹ Plut. v. 39.

² Tum torta priores

Stringit vitta comas, crinesque in terga solutos,

Candida Phocaica complectitur infula lauro.

Lucan. *Pharsal.* v. 142.

³ Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένην στόματι, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένην, χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν. Heraclitus as quoted by Plutarch, 'Cur Pythia nunc non reddat oracula carmine, 397 A.' In the former editions of our author γελαστά is given in the text instead of ἀγέλαστα, and translated 'ridiculous' in place of 'morose.' Wyttenbach, Reiske, and Hutten all give ἀγέλαστα as the true reading, though the two former, strangely enough, translate it by 'risus.'

⁴ The 'ardor' of the Sibyls is attributed by Ammianus Marcellinus to the influence of the Sun, 'the mind of the world.' Aperiant tunc quoque ventura, cum æstuant hominum corda, sed loquuntur divina. Sol enim (ut aiunt physici) mens mundi, nostras mentes ex sese velut scintillas diffunditans, cum eas incendit vehementius, futuri conscias reddit. Unde Sibyllæ crebro se dicunt ardere, torrente vi magna flammæ.—Ammian. Marcell. Lib. XXI. cap. 1.

It is true indeed that he had said before that the flight of birds was prophetic, because the gods had directed their flight to this end. But those who regarded the sun as the 'mens mundi,' would certainly regard him as the prime mover, and not as a secondary agent.—Cf. St Chrysost. 1 *Epist. Cor. Hom.* 29.

who hereby detected the impostures of the Montanists, that pretended much to prophecy, but, indeed, were acquainted with nothing more of it than ecstasies or abruptions of mind: for that is it which they mean by 'ecstasies.' I shall first mention that of Clemens Alexandrinus, that is; 'The false prophets mingled truth sometimes with falsehood: and, indeed, when they were in an ecstasy, they prophesied, as being servants to that grand apostate the Devil¹.' Eusebius mentions a discourse of Miltiades to this purpose, 'that a prophet ought not to speak in an ecstasy².' Tertullian, who was a great friend to Montanus and his prophetic sisters, Maximilla and Prisca, speaking of them, endeavours to alleviate this business: and though he grants they were ecstatical in their prophecies, that is, only transported by the power of a spirit more potent than their own, as he would seem to imply; yet he denies that they used to fall into any rage or fury, which, he says, is the character of every false prophet; and so Montanus excused himself. But yet, for all this, they could not avoid the lash of Jerome, who thought he saw through this ecstasy, and that indeed it was a true alienation, seeing they understood not what they spoke. 'The prophets did not, as Montanus, together with some mad women, dreams, speak in ecstasies, nor did they speak they knew not what; nor were they, when they went about to instruct others, ignorant of what they said themselves³.' This also he elsewhere

¹ Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψεύδεσι καὶ ἀληθῆ τινα ἔλεγον οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ τῷ ὄντι οὗτοι ἐν ἑκστάσει προεφῆτηνον, ὡς ἀν' Ἀποστότου δῆκονοι. — Clem. Alexandr. Strom. Lib. i. cap. 17.

² Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ Μιλτιάδου συγγραφῆως μέμνηται, ὡς λόγον τινα καὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς προειρημένης αἰρέσεως γεγραφότος. παραθέμενος γοῦν αὐτῶν λέξεις τινὰς, ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "ταῦτα εὐρῶν

ἐν τινι συγγράμματι αὐτῶν ἐνισταμένων τῷ Μιλτιάδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συγγράμματι ἐν ᾧ ἀποδείκνυσι περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφῆτην ἐν ἑκστάσει λαλεῖν, ἐπετερόμεν." — Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 17.

In former editions of our author the not unimportant error of παρεκστάσει for ἑκστάσει is found.

³ Neque vero, ut Montanus cum insanis fœminis somniat, prophete in ec-

brands the Montanists withal; *Non loquitur* (sc. *propheta*) *ἐν ἐκστάσει*, ut *Montanus et Prisca Maximillaque delirant; sed quod prophetat, liber est visionis intelligentis universa quæ loquitur*¹. And in his Preface to Habakkuk,—*Prophetæ visio est, et adversum Montani dogma perversum intelligit quod videt, nec ut amens loquitur, nec in morem insanientium fæminarum dat sine mente sonum*². I shall add but one author more, and that is Chrysostom, who hath very fully and excellently laid down this difference between the true and the false prophets: ‘It is the property of a diviner to be ecstatical, to undergo some violence, to be tossed and hurried about like a madman. But it is otherwise with a prophet, whose understanding is awake, and his mind in a sober and orderly temper, and he knows every thing that he saith’³.

But here we must not mistake the business, as if there were nothing but the most absolute clearness and serenity of thoughts lodging in the soul of the prophet amidst all his visions: and, therefore, we shall further take notice of that observation of the Jews, which is vulgarly known by all acquainted with their writings, which is concerning those panic fears, consternations, affrightments, and tremblings, which frequently seized upon them, together with the prophetical influx. And, indeed, by how much stronger and more vehement those impressions were, which were made by those unwonted *visa* which came in to act upon their imaginative faculty, by so much the greater was this perturbation and trouble: and by how much the more the prophet’s imagination was exercised

stasi sunt locuti, ut nescirent quid loquerentur, et cum alios erudirent, ipsi ignorarent quid dicerent.—S. Hieron. *Comment. in Isai. (Prolog.)*

¹ S. Hieron. *Comment. in Naum. Prolog.*

² S. Hieron. *Comment. in Abacuc. Prolog.*

³ Τοῦτο γὰρ μάντρεω ἴδιον, τὸ ἐξεστηκέναι, τὸ ἀνάγκην ὑπομένειν, τὸ ὠθεῖσθαι, τὸ ἔλκεσθαι, τὸ σύρεσθαι, ὥσπερ μαυνόμενον· Ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διανοίας νηφούσης, καὶ σωφρονούσης καταστάσεως, καὶ εἰδὼς ἃ φθέγγεται, φησὶν ἅπαντα.—S. Chrysost. 1 *Epist. Cor. Hom. 29.*

by the laboriousness of these phantasms, by so much the more were his natural strength and spirits exhausted, as indeed it must needs be. Therefore Daniel, being wearied with the toilsome work of his fancy about those visions that were presented to him, complains that 'there was no strength left in him;' that 'his comeliness was turned into corruption, and he retained no strength;' that 'when he heard the voice, he was in a deep sleep, and his face toward the ground;' that 'his sorrows were turned upon him, and no breath was left in him¹.' So, when the vision presented to Abraham passed into a prophetic dream, it is said, 'a deep sleep fell upon Abram, and a horror of great darkness fell upon him².' Upon which passage Maimonides thus discourseth: *Quandoque autem prophetia incipit in visione prophetica, et postea multiplicatur terror et passio illa vehemens, quæ sequitur perfectionem operationum facultatis imaginatricis, et tum demum venit prophetia, sicuti contigit Abrahamo. In principio enim prophetiæ illius dicitur. Et fuit verbum Domini ad Abrahamum in visione³; et in fine ejusdem. Et sopor irruit in Abrahamum⁴, &c.* And, in like manner, he speaks of those fatigations that Daniel complains of: *Est autem terror quidam panicus qui occupat prophetam inter vigilandum, sicut ex Daniele patet, quando ait, 'Et vidi visionem magnam hanc, neque remansit in me ulla fortitudo, et vis mea mutata est in corruptionem, nec retinui fortitudinem ullam. Et fui lethargo oppressus super faciem meam; et facies mea ad terram⁵.'* And

¹ Dan. x. 8, &c.

² Gen. xv. 12.

³ Gen. xv. 1.

⁴ ופעמים תתחיל הנבואה במראה הנבואה ואחר כן ירבה הרתת ההוא וההתפעלות החזק הנמשך אחר שלמות פעולות המדמה ואז תבא הנבואה כמו שבא באברהם אשר בא בתחלת הנבואה ההיא היה דבר יי אל אברהם במחזה

וסופו ותרדמה נפלה על אברהם ונו':

More Nev. Pars II. c. 41, sub init.

⁵ ענין איום מחריד יחובר לנביא בעת היקיצה כמו שהתבאר בדניאל באמרו ואראה את המראה הגדולה הזאת ולא נשאר בי כח והודי נהפך עלי למשחית ולא עצרתי כח ואמר ואני הייתי נרדם על פני ופני ארצה: *Ibid.*

thus this whole business is excellently deciphered to us by R. Albo: 'Behold, by reason of the strength of the imaginative faculty, and the precedency of the influence upon that to the influence upon the rational, the influx doth not remain upon the prophet without terror and consternation; insomuch that his members shake, and his joints are loosened, and he seems like one that is ready to give up the ghost by reason of his great astonishment: after all which perturbation, the prophetic influx settles itself upon the rational faculty¹.'

From this notion, perhaps, we may borrow some light for the clearing of the following passage: 'Mine heart within me is broken because of the prophets; all my bones shake: I am like a drunken man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of the Lord, and because of the words of his holiness².' The importance of which words is, that the energy of prophetic vision wrought thus potently upon his animal part. Though I know R. Solomon seems to look at another meaning³: but Abarbanal is here full for our present purpose: 'When Jeremiah saw those false prophets eating and drinking, and faring deliciously, he cried out and said, My heart is broken within me because of the prophets; for while I behold their works, my heart is rent asunder

הנה מצד התנברות הכח המדמה
והתנברותו לכח הדברי לא יחול עליו
השפע ההוא כי אם ברת' ובצער
וידעו אבריו וימסו אסוריו וימצאהו
חרדה גדולה כמעט שתצא נשמתו ואחר
כל זה הצער יחול השפע הנבואי על
R. Albo, Lib. III. c. 10.

The words of Maimonides are very similar:

כולן כשמתנבאים אבריהן מזדעזעין וכח
הנוף כושל ועשתנותיהם מתטרפות
ותשאר הדעת פנויה להבין מה שתראה:

¹ The limbs of all the prophets, during the time of their prophetic inspiration, are agitated, their strength of body fails, their

thoughts are snatched aside, and their intellect is left free to understand what is shewn them.'—*De Fundam. Legis*, c. vii. § 3. The instances of Abraham (Gen. xv. 12), and of Daniel (Dan. x. 8) are then adduced.

² Jeremiah xxiii. 9.

³ R. Solomon Jarchi appears to interpret the words with reference to the natural grief and indignation produced in Jeremiah through the conduct of the false prophets. לרברי הנביאים האומרים: 'שלום יהיה להם נשבר לבי: My heart is broken on account of the words of the prophets who say, Peace shall be to them.'

with the extremity of my sorrow, and, because of the prophetic influx residing upon me, my bones are all rotten, and I am like a drunken man that neither sees nor hears. And all this hath befallen me, because of the Lord, that is, because of the divine influx that seized upon me, and because of the words of His holiness, which have wrought such a conturbation within me, that all my senses are stupefied thereby¹. And thus, I suppose, is also that passage in Ezekiel² to be expounded, where the prophet describes the energy and dominion which the prophetic spirit had over him, when, in a prophetic vision, he was carried, by way of imagination, a tedious journey to those of the captivity that dwelt by the river Chebar: 'The spirit of the Lord lifted me up, and took me away, and I went in bitterness, and in the heat (or hot chafing and anger) of my spirit; but the hand of the Lord was strong upon me³.' So Habakkuk says⁴: 'O Lord, I have heard thy speech, and was afraid;' that is, the prophetic voice heard by him, and represented in his imagination, was so strong that it struck a panic fear (as Maimonides expresses it⁵) into him. And, it may be, the same thing is meant by Isaiah⁶, where the prophet describes that inward conturbation and consternation that his vision of

בראות ירמיהו אותם הנביאים
אוכלים ושותים ומתעדרנים היה קורא
תגר ואומר לנביאים האלה נשבר לבי
בקרבי כי בראותי עינים לבי מרוב
דאגה נשבר בקרבי יען בחול הנבואה
עלי רחפו כל עצמותי והייתי כאיש
שכור בביטול החושים ורוב התרדמה
וכנבר עברו יין שאינו רואה ולא
שומע וכל זה יקרה לי מפני ה' רל
בסבת השפע האלהי בהתרדקו בי
ומפני דברי קדשן המרעיים אל
שיתבטלו חושי בסבתם: Abarbanel
in loco.

² ch. iii. 14.

במראה הנבואה נדמה לי שנשאאתני
'רוח ללכת אל הגולה:
me in a prophetic vision that the Spirit

took me up to go to the captivity.' Kimchi
on v. 12 :

במראה הנבואה היה הנשיאה והלקיחה:
'The taking up and the carrying away
were in a prophetic vision.'—*Ibid*. v. 14.

Abarbanel uses nearly the same words.
The Targum of Jonathan renders the latter
part of the verse, 'but the hand of the
Lord was strong upon me,' by

ונבואה מן קדם יי עלי תקיפה:

'But prophecy from the Lord was
strong upon me.'

⁴ ch. iii. 2.

⁵ איום מחריד. *More Nevoch*. Pars
II. c. 41, sub init.

⁶ ch. xxi. 3.

Babylon's ruin was accompanied withal. 'Therefore are my loins filled with pain; pangs have taken hold upon me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it, I was dismayed at the seeing of it.' Though I know there may be another meaning of that place not improper, viz. that the prophet personates Babylon in the horror of that anguish that should come upon them, whereby he sets it forth the more to the life, as Jonathan the Targumist and others would have it¹; though yet I cannot think this the most congruous meaning.

But I have now done with this particular, and I hope, by this time, have gained a fair advantage of solving one difficulty, which, though it be not so much observed by our own as it is by the Jewish writers, yet is worth our scanning, viz. How the prophets perceived when the prophetic inspiration first seized upon them. For, as we have before shown, there may be such dreams and visions as are merely delusive, and such as the false prophets were often partakers of; and, besides, the true prophets might have often such dreams as were merely *vera somnia*—true dreams—but not prophetic.

For the full solution of this knot, we have before shown how this pseudo-prophetic spirit only flutters below upon the more terrene parts of man's soul—his passions and fancy. The prince of darkness comes not within the sphere of light and reason to order affairs there, but that is left to the sole economy and sovereignty of the Father of Lights. There is a clear and bright heaven in man's soul, in which Lucifer himself cannot subsist, but is thrown down from thence as often as he essays to climb up into it.]

¹ Jarchi, Kimchi, and Abarbanel all interpret the passage either as denoting the prophet's own distress at the prospect

of the calamities he foresaw, or as setting forth in the person of the prophet the anguish of Babylon.

But to come more expressly to the business. The Hebrew masters here tell us that, in the beginning of prophetic inspiration, the prophets used to have some apparition or image of a man or angel presenting itself to their imagination. Sometimes it began with a voice, and that either strong and vehement, or else soft and familiar. And so God is said first of all to appear to Samuel, who is said 'not yet to have known the Lord',¹ that is, as Maimonides expounds it, *Ignoravit adhuc tunc temporis Deum hoc modo cum prophetis loqui solere, et quod hoc mysterium nondum fuit ei revelatum*². In the same manner R. Albo³. For, otherwise, we must not think that Samuel was then ignorant of the true God, but that he knew not the manner of that voice, by which the prophetic spirit was wont to awaken the attention of the prophets.

And that this was the ancient opinion of the Jews, R. Solomon tells us out of the *Massecheth Tamid*, where the doctors thus gloss upon this place: 'As yet he knew not the Lord; that is, he knew not the manner of the prophetic voice⁴.' This is that soft and gentle voice whereby the sense of the prophet is sometimes attempted, but sometimes this voice is more vehement. It will not be amiss to hear the words of Maimonides: 'It sometimes happens that the word which the prophet hears in a prophetic vision, seems to strike him with a more vehement noise; and, accordingly, some dream that they hear

¹ 1 Sam. iii. 7.

² הוא לא היה יודע ולא נגלה לו שכן הוא דבר יי או יהיה אמרו טרם ידע את יי רוצה בו שלא קדמה לו נבואה: *More Nev. Pars II. cap. 44. sub fin.*

³ לא היה משער בעצמו היותו ראוי לנבואה שישמע קול בעת חיקוצה: 'He was not aware that it is one characteristic of prophecy that a voice should be heard during waking,

as in a prophetic vision.'—R. Albo, Lib. III. cap. II.

⁴ עדיין לא היה מכיר ענין קול נבואה: Jarchi in loco.

וּשְׁמוּאֵל עַד לֹא אָלַף לְמַדַּע אֱלֹהִים מִן קֶדֶם יי וְעַד דִּלֹּא אֶתְנָלִי לִיה פְּתוּם: נְבוּאָה דִּי: 'And Samuel had not yet learned to know the teaching of the Lord, nor was the word of prophecy of the Lord yet revealed to him.'—*Targ. Jonath.*

thunder and earthquake, or some great clashing; and sometimes again with an ordinary and familiar noise, as if it were close by him'. We have a famous instance of the last, in that voice whereby God appeared unto Adam after he had sinned, and of the former in Job and Elijah. 'And they heard the voice of the Lord God, walking in the garden in the cool of the day, and Adam hid himself from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden: and the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?' Where those words which we render 'the cool of the day³,' the Jews expound of 'a gentle vocal air,' such a one as breathed in the day-time more pacately. For this appearance of God to him they suppose to be in a prophetic vision; and so Nachmanides comments upon those words, 'in the gale of the day.' 'The sense of this expression, 'in the gale of the day,' is that ordinarily in the manifestation of the Shechinah, or Divine Presence, there comes a great and mighty wind to usher it in, according to what we read of Elijah, 'And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord⁴:' and in the Psalms, 'He flew upon the wings of the wind⁵:' accordingly it is written concerning Job, that 'the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind⁶.' Wherefore, by way of distinction, it is said in this place, that 'they heard the voice of the Lord;' that is, that the Divine Majesty was revealed to them in the garden, as approaching to them, in the gale of the day. For the

¹ זה הדבר אשר ישמעו הנביאים
במראה הנבואה אפשר שירמה לו גם כן
שהוא בתכלית העוצם כמו שיחלום
האיש שהוא שמע רעם גדול או ראה
רעש או זועה כי הרבה פעמים יחלום
החלום זה גם כן ופעמים שישמע
הדבר ההוא אשר ישמעו במראה

הנבואה ברבר הרגיל עד שלא ירחיק
ממנו דבר: *More Nev. Pars II. cap. 44.*

² Gen. iii. 8, 9.

³ רוח היום

⁴ 1 Kings xix. 11.

⁵ Ps. xviii. 10.

⁶ Job xxxviii. 1.

wind of the day blew according to the manner of the day-time in the garden; not as a great and strong wind in this vision (as it was in other prophetic approaches), lest they should fear and be dismayed¹. This mighty voice we also find recorded as rousing up the attention of Ezekiel: 'He cried also in mine ears with a loud voice, saying²,' &c. So that all these schemes are merely prophetic, and import nothing else but the strong awakening and quickening of the prophet's mind into a lively sense of the Divine Majesty appearing to him.

And of these the Apocalypse is full, there being indeed no prophetic writ, where the whole dramatical series of things, as they were acted over in the mind of the prophet, are more graphically and to the life set forth. So we have this *vox præcentrix* to the whole scene sometimes sounding like a trumpet: 'I was in the spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice as of a trumpet³.' And upon the beginning of a new vision we find this prologue: 'I looked, and, behold, a door was opened in heaven: and the first voice which I heard was, as it were, the sound of a trumpet, talking with me, which said, Come up hither⁴,' &c. And when a new act of opening the seals begins, he is excited by another voice sounding like thunder. 'And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see⁵.' And 'voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake⁶' are the *proœmium* to the vision of

טעם לרוח היום כי בהגלות¹
השכינה תבוא רוח גדולה וחזק כענין
שנאמר והנה ה' עובר ורוח גדולה
וחזק מפרק הרים ומשבר סלעים לפני
ה' וכן וידא על כנפי רוח וכתוב
באיוב ויען ה' את איוב מן הסערה
ולפיכך אמר בכאן כי שמעו קול ה'
שנתגלה השכינה בנן כמתקרב אליהם
לרוח היום כי רוח היום נשבה בו

בנן כרוח הימים לא רוח גדולה וחזק
במחזה כשאר הנבואות שלא יפחדו
שנאמר ויהלו: Nachmanides, *Elucidatio in*
Legem (fol. 7 a, 2 ed. Venet. 1545).

² Ezek. ix. 1.

³ Rev. i. 10.

⁴ Ibid. iv. 1.

⁵ Ibid. vi. 1.

⁶ Ibid. viii. 5.

the seven angels with seven trumpets. Lastly, to name no more, sometimes it is brought in sounding like the roaring of a lion. So, when he was to receive the little book of prophecy, 'an angel cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth; and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices¹.' Hence it is, that we find the prophets ordinarily prefacing their visions in this manner: 'The hand of the Lord was upon me;' that is, indeed, some potent force rousing them up to a lively sense of the Divine Majesty, or some heavenly ambassador speaking with them². And that the sense hereof might be the more energetical, sometimes in a prophetic vision they are commanded to eat those prophetic rolls given them, which are described with the greatest contrariety of taste that may be—'sweet as honey in their mouths, and in their bellies as bitter as gall³.'

Thus we have seen, in part, how those impressions, by which the prophets were made partakers of divine inspiration, carried a strong evidence of their original along with them, whereby they might be able to distinguish them, both from any hallucination, as also from their own true dreams, which might be *θεόπεμπτα*—sent by God—but not prophetic: which yet, I think, is more universally unfolded in Jeremiah⁴ where the difference between true divine inspiration, and such false dreams and visions as sometimes a lying spirit breathed into the false prophets, is on set purpose described to us from their different evidence and energy. [The pseudo-prophetic spirit being but chaff⁵, as vain as vanity itself, subject to every wind: the matter itself indeed, which was suggested in such, tending to nourish immorality and profaneness; and, besides, for the manner of inspiration, it was more dilute and languid.] Whereas true prophecy

¹ Rev. x. 3.² Vid. chap. v.³ Rev. x. 9. Ezek. ii. 9.⁴ Chap. xxiii.⁵ ver. 28.

entered upon the mind 'as a fire,' and 'like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces' (ver. 29): and, therefore, the true prophets might know themselves to have received command from heaven, when the false might, if they would have laid aside their own fond self-conceit, have known as easily that God sent them not. For so, I think, those words are spoken by way of conviction, and to provoke a self-condemnation: 'Behold, I am against those that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies and by their lightness; yet I sent them not, neither commanded them¹.' And this might be evident to them from the feeble nature of those inspirations of which they boasted, as it is insinuated: 'The prophet that hath a dream,' &c.² And thus Abarbanel expounds this place, whose sense I shall a little the more pursue, because he from hence undertakes to solve the difficulty of that question which we are now upon, and thus speaks of it as a question of very great moment. 'Certainly it is one of the profoundest questions that are made concerning prophecy, and I have inquired after the opinion of the wise men of our nation about it³.' What answer they gave to this question which he anxiously inquired after, it seems he tells us not, but his own answer which he adheres to, he founds upon those words, 'What is the chaff to the wheat?' And upon this occasion he says that old rule of the Jews was framed, of which we formerly spoke: 'As there is no wheat without chaff, so neither is there any dream without something that is ἀργόν—void of reality and insignificant⁴.' Maimonides here, in a general

¹ ver. 32.

² vv. 28, 29.

³ זו היא באמת שאלה עמוקה בעניני הנבואה וכבר נשאלתי אני עליה ממשיכילי בני עמנו: Abarbanel in

loco.

אמרו חכמים ז"ל וכי מה ענין בר' ותבן אצל החלום א"ר יוחנן כשם שאי אפשר לבר' בלא תבן כך אי אפשר לחלום בלא דברים בטלים: Ibid. Cf. p. 188.

Abarbanel then proceeds to enlarge on

way, resolves the business; 'All prophecy makes itself known to the prophet, that it is prophecy indeed.' This general solution Abarbanel having a little examined, thus collects the sense of it. 'A prophet, when he is asleep, may distinguish between a prophetic dream and that which is not such, by the vigour and liveliness of the perception whereby he apprehends the thing propounded, or else by the imbecility and weakness thereof. And, therefore, Maimonides hath said well, 'all prophecy makes itself known to the prophet that it is prophecy indeed; that is, it makes itself known to the prophet by the strength and vigour of the perception, so that his mind is freed from all scruple whatsoever about it¹.' And this he concludes to be the true meaning of the verse: 'Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces²?' which he thus glosses upon. 'Such a thing is the prophetic spirit, by reason of the strength of its impression, and the forcibleness of its operation, upon the heart of the prophet; it is even

this maxim in the following words: ענין זה שעם היות החלום הנבואי והפשוט האנושי מטבע אחד במה ששיניהם פעולות דמיוניות הנה הם נבדלים בעצמם שהנבואי הוא כבר הנקי מלא מקשי מאכל בעלי שכל והחלום האנושי הוא כתבן הנולד עם הבר שהוא גדול ורק והוא מאכל הבהמות:

'The meaning of this is, although the prophetic dream, and that which is simply human, are of one character, inasmuch as they are both effects produced on the imaginative faculty, yet are they distinct in their substance. While the prophetic dream is as the pure wheat, full and hard, food for rational beings, the simply human dream is as the chaff, which is produced together with the wheat, large indeed, but empty, food for brute beasts.'

The question is then raised 'How shall a man distinguish between the pro-

phetic and the merely human dream?' Abarbanel solves the question by the aid of Maimonides: כתב הרב המורה בפרק מ"ה ח"ב שהנבואה תודיע לנביא שהיא מ"ה ח"ב 'The author of the *More Nevochim* wrote (Pars II. cap. 45) that all prophecy,' &c.

כמו שיבדיל האדם ביקיצתו מהדבר המוחש למדומה כן יבדל הנביא בהיותו ישן בין החלום הנבואי לאשר אינו נבואי הכל כפי חזק ההרגש בדבר המושג וחולשתו ועל זה באמת אמר הרב המורה שהנבואה תודיע שהיא נבואה רוצה לומר שבחזק ויתרון הרגשתה תודיע לנביא שהיא נבואה בענין שלא יספק כלל בענינה:

'Just as a man, when he is awake, distinguishes between the object of his senses, and the object of his imagination, so a prophet, when he is asleep,' &c.—Abarbanel, *Ibid*.

² Jer. xxiii. 29.

like a thing that burns and tears him: and this happens to him either amidst the dream itself, or afterwards, when he is fully awakened and roused out of that prophetic dream. But those dreams which are not prophetic, although they be true, are weak and languid things, easily blasted, as it were, with the east wind: and, as he further goes on by way of allusion, like those dreams that the prophet Isaiah speaks of, “when a hungry man dreams he eats, but when he awakes, behold he is still hungry; and as when a thirsty man dreams he drinks, but when he is awake he is still thirsty¹.” And thus also the Chaldee paraphrast; *Nonne omnia verba mea sunt fortia sicut ignis, dicit Dominus, et sicut malleus conterens petram*²? But we have yet another evident demonstration of this notion which may not be omitted; ‘Then I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name: but his word was in mine heart as a burning fire, shut up within my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay³.’ And, ‘The Lord is with me as a mighty terrible one⁴.’ With reference to this paragraph, R. Solomon Jarchi thus glosseth: ‘The word of prophecy, when it enters into the mouth of the prophet in its strength, comes upon him like a fire that burneth, according to what is said:’ ‘And it was in my heart as a burning fire;’ ‘And the hand of the Lord was strong upon me⁵.’

כן הרוח הנבואי בחזק הרגשו¹
והפלגת התפעלותו בלב הנביא הוא
כדבר השורף ומפציץ אותו וזה אם
בשינה בעת הנבואה ואם אחר כך
ביקיצתו מהחלום הנבואי שהוא אמנם
החלומות שאינם נבואיים הם מחשבות
חלושות דקות שרופות קרים וכמו
שאמר והיה כאשר יחלום הרעב אוכל
(Is. xxix. 8). Abarbanel, *Ibid.*

הלא כל פתומי מקיפין באשטא²
אמר יי' וקפטישא קמפנע כיפא:

הנבואה כאש בוערת ועל כרחי אני
:צריך לילך: ‘The prophecy was as a
burning fire, and I was compelled, in spite
of myself, to go on.’—Jarchi.

³ Jer. xx. 9.

⁴ ver. 11.

דבר נבואה כשבאר בפ' הנביא
בנבואה היא באר בן כאש בוערת
כענין שנאמר ותהי בלבי כאש בוערת
(Jer. xx. 9) ואומר ויד יי' עלי חזקה:
(Ezek. iii. 14). Vid. Jarchi, *Comment. in*
Jer. xxiii. 29.

I have now done with the main characteristical nature of prophecy, and given those τεκμήρια of it which most properly belong to true prophecy; though yet the other two degrees of divine influx—of which hereafter—may also have their share in them¹.

CHAPTER V.

An inquiry concerning the immediate efficient that represented the prophetical visions to the fancy of the prophet. That these representations were made in the prophet's fancy by some angel. This cleared by several passages out of the Jewish monuments, and by testimonies of Scripture.

BEFORE I conclude this present discourse concerning prophecy, properly so called, I think it may be useful to treat a little of two things more, that most commonly are to be considered in this degree of divine inspiration, which we call prophecy.

The *first* whereof, is to inquire what that *intellectus agens* was; or, if you will, that immediate efficient that represented the prophetical visions to the fancy of the prophet.

Secondly, What the meaning of those actions is, that

¹ The following remarks from an African traveller furnish a singular illustration of the symptoms of inspiration feigned by the false prophets of antiquity, as described in the preceding pages. Speaking of a native chief, he says: 'He (Sebituane) had led a life of war, yet no one apparently desired peace more than he did. A prophet induced him to turn his face again to the westward. This man, by name Tlapáne, was called a 'senoga'—one who holds intercourse with the gods. He probably had a touch of insanity, for he was in the habit of retiring no one knew whither, but perhaps into

some cave, to remain in a hypnotic or mesmeric state until the moon was full. Then, returning to the tribe quite emaciated, he excited himself, as others do who pretend to the prophetic afflatus, until he was in a state of ecstasy. These pretended prophets commence their operations by violent action of the voluntary muscles. Stamping, leaping, and shouting in a peculiarly violent manner, or beating the ground with a club, they induce a kind of fit, and while in it pretend that their utterances are unknown to themselves.'—Livingstone's *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, p. 86.

opinion that we have now laid down. 'Moreover, of whomsoever you read that an angel spoke with him, or that something was revealed to him by God, you are to understand that it was performed no other way than by a dream, or a prophetic vision. Our wise men have a discourse about the word that came to the prophets, according to what the prophets themselves have declared (that is, concerning the several ways, as Buxtorf expounds it, by which the prophets say the word of God came to them). Now this was, say they, four ways. The *first* is, When the prophet declares he received the word from an angel in a dream or in a vision. *Secondly*, When he only mentions the words of the angel, without declaring that they came to him in a dream or in a vision; relying upon this known fundamental, viz. That there is no prophecy revealed but by one of these two ways, whereof God makes mention, saying, 'I will make myself known in a vision, and speak to him in a dream.' *Thirdly*, When he makes no mention of the angel, but ascribes all to God, as if He alone had conveyed it; yet with this addition, that it came in a vision or in a dream. *Fourthly*, When the prophet says absolutely, that God spake with him, or said unto him, Do this, or, speak this, making no mention at all either of angel, or vision, or dream; and that because of this known principle and fundamental truth—that there is no prophecy but either in a dream or vision, or by the ministry of an angel¹.' Thus Maimonides, who,

ודע כי מי שבא בו כתוב שדבר
עמו מלאך או באהו דבר מהשם שזה
לא יהיה בשום פנים אלא בחלום או
במראה הנבואה וכבר באה ההגדה על
הדבר המגיע לנביאים לפי מה שבא
בו הספור בספרי הנביאים על ארבע
צורות הצורה הראשונה יגלה הנביא
שהדבור ההוא היה ממלאך בחלום
או במראה והצורה השנית שיוזכר דברי
המלאך לו לבר ולא יבאר שזה היה
בחלום או במראה מפני שהוא סומך

על מה שכבר נודע שאין נבואה אלא
על אחד משני הפנים במראה אליו
אתודע בחלום אדבר בו והצורה
השלישית היא אשר לא יזכר מלאך כלל
אבל ייחס המאמר לשם יתעלה שהוא
אמרו לו אלא שהוא יגלה שבאהו הדבר
ההוא במראה או בחלום והצורה
הרביעית שיאמר הנביא מאמר סתם
שהשם דבר אליו או אמר לו עשה זה
או אמר זה מבילתי באור לא בזכרון

as we see, pretends this to be a known thing, and generally agreed upon by all Jewish antiquity.

But before we go on to any confirmation of it, it will be requisite a little to see what Nachmanides, his great adversary in this business, allegeth against him, which I find in his comment upon Genesis xviii. which chapter Maimonides makes to relate nothing else but a prophetic apparition of three angels to Abraham, which promised a son¹: they are said to eat and drink with him, and two of them to depart from him to Sodom, to be there entertained by Lot, whom they rescued from the violence of his neighbour citizens, and led him the next day out of the city, before they brought down fire and brimstone from heaven upon it. All these passages seem to make it evident that this apparition of angels was real and historical, and not merely prophetic and imaginary. Wherefore Nachmanides, having got this unhappy advantage of his adversary, pursues this mistake of his with another of his own, as gross in an opposite way. His words are these: 'He that beholds an angel, or hath any conference with one, is not a prophet: for the business is not so as Maimonides hath determined it, namely, that every prophet receives his prophecy by the ministry of an angel, our master Moses only excepted²: for our Rabbins have told us concerning Daniel and his companions, that they were, upon this account, more excellent than he, because they were prophets, and he was none. And, therefore, his book is not reckoned amongst the

מלאך ולא בזכרון חלום מפני השענו על
מרה שכבר נודע והשורש שלא תבא
נבואה ולא חזון אלא בחלום או במראה
ועל ידי מלאך: *More Nevoch.* Pars II.
cap. 41.

¹ Vide *More Nev.* Pars II. cap. 42.

כל הנביאים על ידי מלאך לפיכך
רואים מה שהם רואים במשל וחידה משה

רבינו לא על ידי מלאך שנאמר פה אל
All the prophets prophesied through the instrumentality of an angel; therefore what they saw, they saw in a parable and enigma. Not so our master Moses; for it was said of him, Mouth to mouth I will speak with him.—
De Fund. Legis. cap. vii. § 7.

prophets, because he had to do with the angel Gabriel, although he both beheld him, and had conference with him when he was awake¹. Thus we see Nachmanides as clearly expungeth all those out of his catalogue of the prophets to whom any apparition of angels was made, as Maimonides had put them in; and pretends for this the authority of the Talmudists, who, for this cause, exclude Daniel from the number of the prophets, and, as he would have us believe, reckoned his Book among the Hagiographa, because of his converse with the angel Gabriel. But all this is *gratis dictum*, and scarce *bonâ fide*; for it is manifest that all antiquity reckoned Zechariah as a prophet, notwithstanding all his visions are perpetually represented by angels.

But we shall a little examine that sentence of the Talmudists upon which Nachmanides founds his opinion, which I find set down in *Massecheth Megillah*, where the masters gloss on the following: ‘And I, Daniel, alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves².’ Here they inquire who those

באמת כי כל שהוזכר בכתוב ראית
מלאך או דבור מלאך הוא במראה או
בחלום כי ההרגשים לא ישיגו המלאכים
אבל לא מראות הנבואה כי המשיג
לראית מלאך או דיבורו איננו נביא
שאין הדבר כמו שהרב גזור כי כל
נביא זולת משה רבינו נבואתו ע”י
מלאך וכבר אמרו בדניאל אינהו עדיפי
מיניה דאינהו נביאי ואיהו לאו נביא
וכן לא נכתב ספרו עם ספר הנביאים
מפני שהיה עניינו עם גבריאל אע”פ
שהיה נראה אליו ומדבר עמו בהקיץ:

‘In truth, wherever mention is made in Scripture of any one seeing an angel or holding converse with an angel, it is to be understood of a vision or a dream, inasmuch as the senses cannot comprehend angelic beings. Yet are not such *prophetic* visions; for he that beholds an angel, &c.’—Nachmanides, *Elucidatio in Legem*.

(fol. 17 a, 2. Venet. 1545).

הנה בכל
מקום יתעוררו החכמים להודיענו כי
ראית המלאכים איננה נבואה ואין
הרואים מלאכים והמדברים עמם מכלל
הנביאים כאשר הזכרתי בדניאל אבל
היא מראה תקרא גלוי עינים כמו ויגל
השם את עיני בלעם וירא את מלאך ה’:
‘Behold, everywhere our Rabbins are careful to inform us that the sight of an angel does not constitute prophecy, nor are those who behold angels and converse with them, to be reckoned in the category of prophets (as I have mentioned with regard to Daniel); but it is a species of vision denominated “an opening of the eyes,” as we read “And God opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord.”’—*Ibid.* fol. 17 b, 1.

² Dan. x. 7.

companions of Daniel were, and then pass their verdict upon him and them. 'What are those men that were with Daniel? R. Jeremiah said, they were Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. They excelled Daniel, and he also excelled them. Herein they excelled him, because they were prophets, and he was none; and in this he excelled them, that he beheld a vision, and they none¹.' Thus those masters: they indeed deny Daniel to be a prophet, and accordingly his book was by them reckoned among the Hagiographa, yet they here give no reason at all for it. But whereas Nachmanides says that the visions of angels which Daniel conversed with were real, and not imaginary or prophetic, it is a manifest elusion, and contrary to the express words of the text, which relates these apparitions to have been in his sleep: 'And when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep upon my face, and my face towards the ground².' And again: 'Now as he was speaking with me, I was in a deep sleep³.' This sleep was upon the exit of his vision⁴, for so, as we have shewed before, there was a frequent *μετάβασις* from a vision, which began upon the prophets while they were awake, into a prophetic dream. So again: 'In the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel had a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed⁵;' and in this dream and night-vision, as in the other before mentioned, a man or angel comes in to expound the matter: 'I, Daniel, was grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head troubled me. I came near to one of them that stood by,

מאן נינהו אנשים אמר רבי ירמיה
ואיתומא רבי חייא בר אבא זה חגי
זכריה ומלאכי אינהו עדיפי מיניה ואיהו
עדיף מיניהו אינהו עדיפי מיניה דאיהו
נביאי ואיהו לאו נביא איהו עדיף מיניהו
דאיהו חזא ואיהו לא חזא:

'Who are those men that were with Daniel? R. Jeremiah said (though by

some the saying is attributed to R. Chiya Bar Abba) they were Haggai, &c.'
—*Talm. Babylon. Gem. Megillah*, cap. I. fol. 3 a.

² Dan. x. 9.

³ ch. viii. 18.

⁴ ver. 15.

⁵ ch. vii. 1.

and asked him the truth of all this: so he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things¹.’

But that the Talmudists do maintain true prophecy to have been communicated by angels, we shall further confirm from one place where the doctors are brought in, comparing two places of Scripture, which seem contradictory. One of them is Numb. xii. 6, ‘In a dream will I speak unto him;’ the other is Zech. x. 2, ‘They have told false dreams:’ which they solve thus. R. Rami said, it is written, ‘I will speak to him in a dream; and again, They have told false dreams. Now there is no difficulty at all in this: for the first sort of dreams came by the hand of an angel; and the other by an evil genius².’ And this opinion is generally followed by the rest of the Jewish writers, commentators, and others, who thus compound the difference between those two famous adversaries Nachmanides and Maimonides, by granting a twofold appearance of angels, the one real, and the other imaginary. And so they say this real vision of angels is a degree inferior to the prophetic vision of them. As we are told by R. Jehudah in the book Cosri; where having disputed, what hallowed minds they ought to have, who maintain commerce with the Deity, he thus goes on, ‘If a man be very pious, and be in those places³ where the divine influence uses to manifest itself, the angels will accompany him with their real presence, and he shall see them face to face; yet in an inferior way to that vision of angels which accompanies the prophetic degree. Under the second temple, according as men were more endowed with wisdom, they beheld apparitions, and heard the Bath Kol, which is a degree of sanctity, but yet

¹ vv. 15, 16.

² רבא רמי כתיב בחלום אדבר בו
וכתיב החלומות השוא ידברו לא קשיא
באן על ידי מלאך באן על ידי שד:

—*Gem. Berachoth.* cap. 9, fol. 57 b.

³ i. e. in terra sancta, as explained by Buxtorf.

inferior to the prophetical¹. To conclude. R. Bechai makes it an article of faith to believe the existence of angels for this reason, that angels were the furnishers of the prophetical scene, and therefore to deny them was to deny all prophecy; so he in *Parasha Terumah*: 'because the divine influx comes by the ministry of angels, who order and dispose the word in the mouth of the prophet, according to the mind of God: and if it were not so, there would be no prophecy; and if no prophecy, no law².' So Jos. Albo, we may remember, defined prophecy by the immediate orderers of it, the angels.

But it is best to consult the Scripture itself in this business, which declares all that way by which it descended from God to the sons of men. The first place which Maimonides³ brings for confirmation of this opinion is that of Gen. xviii. 1, with the exposition of R. Chiya, which he leaves as a great secret. But that which is more for his and our purpose, is Gen. xxxii. 24, where Jacob wrestled all night with the angel; for so that man was, as Hosea tells us⁴; and again: 'The angels of God met

אם יחזק בחסידות ויהיה במקומות¹
הראויים לשכינה יחברוהו (המלאכים)
בפעל ויראה אותם עין בעין למטה
מדרגת הנבואה: כאשר היו טובי
החכמים בבית שני רואים הצורות
ושומעים בת קול והיא מדרגת החסידות
ולמעלה ממנה מדרגת הנביאים:

—Cosri, Pars II. § 11, p. 170. ed. Buxtorf.

In another part of the same work (Pars II. § 14, p. 83) we read: כל מי שהתנבא לא נתנבא כי אם בה או בעבורה: 'All who have ever prophesied have prophesied either in it (the land of Israel) or on subjects connected with it,' e. g. Abraham respecting his removal thereto (Gen. xii. 1); Ezekiel and Daniel concerning the return thither from the Babylonish captivity.

מופת ועדות למציאות מלאכים²
שכשם שנצטוונו באמנות מציאות הש"ת
והוא העקר הראשון מעקרי התורה ובענין

שכתוב אנכי ה' אלהיך כן נצטוונו
שנאמין מציאות המלאכים והוא העקר
השני לפי שהמלאכים הם המשפיעים
כח השכל ומושימים הדבור בפי הנביאים
במצות השם יתברך שאלמלא כן אין
נבואה ואם אין נבואה אין תורה:

'We have a clear proof and testimony to the existence of angels. For, just as we are enjoined belief in the existence of the Holy Blessed One, this being the first principle of the Law; according also as it is written, I am the Lord thy God; so we are commanded to believe in the existence of angels, which constitutes the second principle, because the divine influx comes by the ministry of angels,' &c.—R. Bechai, *Parasha Terumah*, fol. 102, 1 b. (Venet. 1546.)

² *More Nev.* Pars II. cap. 42.

⁴ Hosea xii. 4.

him¹, (i. e. Jacob). Neither doth this interpretation of that *lucta* between the angel and Jacob, as having been only in a prophetic vision, at all prejudice the historical truth of that event, which was Jacob's halting upon his thigh: for it is no very unusual thing, at other times, to have some real passions in our bodies, represented to us in our dreams then when they first begin. Another instance we find in the book of Joshua: 'Joshua lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, a man stood over against him².' Again; Deborah attributes the command she had to curse Meroz, to an angel: 'Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord³:' which words Kimchi would have to be understood in a literal sense: 'for Deborah was a prophetess, and so spake according to prophetic inspiration⁴;' and so Rabbi Levi Ben Gersom also expounds

¹ Gen. xxxii. 1.

² Joshua v. 13. The 'man' that stood over against Joshua is expressly called in the next two verses 'the captain of the host of the Lord.' The Targum renders this expression by מַלְאָךְ שְׁלִיחַ מִן קֶדֶם 'an angel sent from before the Lord.'

ראוי שתדע שזה הענין הירי במראה הנבואה ויורה על זה מה שאמר כתף ויאמר יי אל יהושע כי הוא רחוק הראות המלאך בהקיץ ובהשתמש החושים על מנהגיהם והנה הרצון באמרו ויהי בהיות יהושע ביריחו מחשבתי משוטטת שם איך יעשה להחרים העם היושב בה ומפני זה נדמה לו דבר מעניני המלחמה וראה המלאך כאילו הרבו שלופה בידו ולואת הסבה נ"כ שאל לו במראה הנבואה הלנו אתה אם לצרינו כמנהג הנלחמים וענהו כי אין הענין כמו שחשב אבל הוא שר צבא יי והשר הזה הממונ' להשגיח בישר' הוא אשר באמצעותו יביא השם ית' הנבואה לנביא מאת השי':

'It is right you should know that this occurrence took place in a prophetic vision, evidence whereof exists in what is said by way of continuation. "And the Lord said unto Joshua." For we must not suppose that the angel was seen during

waking hours, and under the ordinary exercise of the senses. The object of the phrase "And it came to pass when Joshua was in Jericho" is to point to the fact that there his mind was perplexed as to how he should destroy the people who dwelt therein. In accordance with this, there was represented to him the likeness of something connected with war, and he saw the angel of the Lord, as it were with a drawn sword in his hand. For this reason Joshua likewise inquired of him, *in prophetic vision*, "Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?"—after the manner of persons engaged in warfare. The answer given was that the case was not as Joshua imagined it to be, but that it was the captain of the host of the Lord that stood before him. This captain then was he that was appointed to watch over Israel, and by whose instrumentality God would convey prophecy from Himself to the prophet.'—R. L. B. Gersom.

³ Judges v. 25.

⁴ כי נביאה היתה דבורה ועל פי הנבואה אמרה זה וי"ת אמר ברק נביא: 'For Deborah was a prophetess, and so spake according to prophetic inspiration; or it may be that they are the words of Barak the prophet of the Lord.'

it: Onkelos and Jarchi, with less reason, I think, make this angel to be none else but Barak¹. Though I am not ignorant that sometimes the prophets themselves are called angels of God, and thence Malachi, the last of them, had his name; yet we have no such testimony concerning Barak, that ever he was a prophet, but only a judge or commander of the military forces. In the first book of Kings, we have a large description of this imaginary appearance of angels in the several modes of it; 'Behold the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake, and after the earthquake a fire, &c.'² All these appearances Jonathan the Targumist expounds by 'Armies of angels,' which were attended with those terrible phænomena³. And the still voice in which the Lord was, he renders answerably to the rest by 'the voice of angels praising God in a gentle kind of harmony⁴.' For though it be there said that the Lord was in the soft voice, yet that paraphrast seems to understand it only of his ambassador: which, in some other places of Scripture, is very manifest; as in the second book of Kings, where we find the angel delivered to Elijah the message to Ahaziah, king of Israel, who sent to Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, to inquire about his disease; 'But the angel of the Lord said to Elijah the Tishbite, Arise, go up to meet the messengers of the king of Samaria, and say unto them, Is it not because

¹ Onkelos says that the words were spoken by Barak בָּרַק נְבִיא 'the prophet of the Lord.' Jarchi, that Barak spoke them: בשליחותו של הקב"ה: 'by the mission of the Holy Blessed One.'

By a strange error, the former editions of our author read 'Baruch' instead of 'Barak' both here and a few lines farther on.

² 1 Kings xix. 11, 12.

³ מִשְׁרֵית מַלְאָכֵי רוּחָא 'exercitus angelorum venti' — מִשְׁרֵית מַלְאָכֵי זִימָא 'exercitus angelorum commotionis' — מִשְׁרֵית מַלְאָכֵי אֵשׁ 'exercitus angelorum ignis.'

⁴ קל דמִשְׁבָּחָיו בְּחֵשִׁי

there is not a God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baal-zebub¹.’ And afterwards, we have all this message attributed to God Himself by the prophet, as if he had received the dictate immediately from God Himself². And in Daniel, the Apocalypse, and Zechariah, we find all things perpetually represented and interpreted by angels³. And Abarbanel tells us that several prophets had several angels that delivered the heavenly embassy to them, for that every prophet was not so well fitted to converse with any kind of angel: ‘Every prophet was not in a fit capacity for receiving prophetic influence from any angel indifferently; but according to the disposition of the receiver, the degree and quality of the angel was accommodated⁴.’ But I shall not further pursue this argument. In the general, that the prophetic scene was perpetually ordered by some angel, I think is evident from what hath been already said, which I might further confirm from Ezekiel, all whose prophecies about the temple are expressly attributed to a man as the actor of them, that is, indeed, an angel; for so they used constantly to appear to the prophets in a human shape. And likewise, in Jacob’s vision of a ladder that reached up to heaven⁵, we find the angels ascending and descending, to intimate that this *scala prophetica*, whereby divine in-

¹ 2 Kings i. 3.

² *Ib.* vv. 15, 16.

³ Similarly, it was the angel of the Lord that destroyed the Assyrian host (2 Kings xix. 35). A destroying angel smote the people in the time of David with pestilence (2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16). In Habakkuk iii. 5, where we read that ‘Before him went the pestilence,’ the Targum is מִן קִדְמוֹתַי מִשְׁתַּלַּח מַלְאָךְ מוֹתָא ‘Before Him was sent the angel of death.’ Ps. lxxxix. 48, ‘he shall not see death.’ Targ. לֹא יִרְאֶה מִן מַלְאָכָא ‘He shall not see the angel of death.’

⁴ אין כל נביא מוכן לקבל השפע מאי זה שכל מאותם מלאכי עליון המשפיעים בנביאים אבל כפי הכנות המקבל כן מעלת המשפיע בו:

On this account, adds Abarbanel, Zechariah received his inspiration from the angel who spake with him, which angel again received further instruction from one of superior order to convey to the prophet. The reason of this was, that the capacity of Zechariah was not adequate to the reception of inspiration from the superior angel, while the angel who actually spake with him was exactly qualified for the task assigned him.—Abarbanel in *Zech.* cap. 2.

⁵ Gen. xxviii. 12.

fluence descended upon the mind of the prophet, is always filled with angels. From this place, compared with Jacob's vision of Laban's sheep, presented to him by an angel¹, Philo thus determines in his book *de Somniis*: 'You see how the Scripture represents such dreams as sent of God, not only those that proceed from the first Cause [God], but such also as come by His ministers, the angels².' But St Jerome hath given us a more full and ample testimony in this matter, in his comment on Gal. iii. 19: "The law was ordained by angels in the hand of a Mediator." His words are these; *Quod autem ait, 'lex ordinata per angelos,' hoc vult intelligi, quod in omni veteri testamento, ubi angelus primum visus refertur, et postea quasi Deus loquens inducitur, angelus quidem vere ex ministris pluribus quicumque sit visus, sed in illo Mediator (Christus) loquatur qui dicat, 'Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob.'* Nec mirum si Deus loquatur in angelis, cum etiam per angelos, qui in hominibus sunt, loquatur Deus in prophetis; dicente Zacharia, 'et ait angelus qui loquebatur in me,' ac deinceps inferente, 'hæc dicit Dominus Omnipotens.'

We might further add to all this, those visions we meet with in the New Testament, which, as a thing vulgarly known, were attributed to angels. So St Paul says: 'There stood by me the angel of God this night;' that is, in a prophetic dream³. And when the angel of God did really appear to Peter, and bring him out of prison⁴, he could scarce be persuaded, of a long time, but that all this was a vision—this, indeed, being the common manner of all prophetic vision. And when the Pharisees would describe St Paul as a prophet that had received some vision or revelation from heaven, they phrase

¹ Gen. xxxi. 11.

² Ὁρᾷς ὅτι θεοπέμπτους ὀνείρους ἀναγράφει ὁ θεῖος λόγος, οὐ μόνον τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πρεσβύτερον τῶν αἰτῶν προφαινομένους,

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς διὰ τῶν ὑποφητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ παδῶν ἀγγέλων.—Phil. Jud. Vol. v. p. 86.

³ Acts xxvii. 23.

⁴ Acts xii.

it by the speaking of an angel or spirit unto him, 'We find no evil in this man; but if an angel or spirit hath spoken to him, let us not fight against God¹.'

CHAPTER VI.

The second inquiry, What the meaning of those actions is, that are frequently attributed to the prophets, whether they were real, or only imaginary and scenical. What actions of the prophets were only imaginary, and performed upon the stage of fancy. What we are to think of several actions and res gestæ recorded of Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel in their prophecies.

THUS we have done with our first inquiry concerning the Contriver and Orderer of the prophetic stage: that which was represented upon it, no doubt, every one will grant to have been a masking or imaginary business. But there are many times, in the midst of prophetic narrations, some things related to be done by the prophets themselves upon the command of the prophetic voice, which have been generally conceived to have been acted really, the grossest of all not excepted, as Hosea's taking a harlot for his wife, and begetting children, &c. This conceit Mr Calvin hath, in part, happily undermined. But we shall not here doubt to conclude, both of that and all other actions of the prophets, which they were enjoined upon the stage of prophecy, that they were only scenical and imaginary; except, indeed, they were such as, of their own nature, must have a historical meaning, in which an

¹ Acts xxiii. 9. Other instances are those recorded in St Matth. i. 20, of the angel of the Lord appearing to Joseph 'in a dream;' Acts ix. 10, when 'the Lord' speaks to Ananias 'in a vision;'

Acts x. 3, when Cornelius sees 'an angel of God in a vision.' Add to these the trance into which St Peter fell when the voice spake unto him, and he answered it (Acts x. 10—15).

imaginary performance would not serve the turn. For this purpose, it may be worth our while to take notice of what Maimonides hath well determined in this case: 'Know therefore, that as it is in a dream, a man thinks that he hath been in this or that country, that he has married a wife there, and continued there for some certain time, that by this wife he has had a son of such a name, of such a disposition, and the like; know (saith he) that even just so it is with the prophetic parables, as to what the prophets see or do in a prophetic vision. For whatsoever those parables inform us concerning any action the prophet doth, or concerning the space of time between one action and another, or going from one place to another; all this is in a prophetic vision: neither are these actions real to sense, although some particularities may be precisely reckoned up in the writings of the prophets. For because it was well known that it was all done in a prophetic vision; it was not necessary, in the rehearsing of every particularity, to reiterate that it was in a prophetic vision; as it was also needless to inculcate that it was in a dream. But now, the vulgar sort of men think that all such actions, journeys, questions, and answers were really and sensibly performed, and not in a prophetic vision. And, therefore, I have an intention to make plain this business, and shall bring such things as no man shall be able to doubt of; adding thereunto some examples, by which you may be able to judge of the rest which I shall not, for the present, mention¹.' Thus we see how Mai-

¹ תדע כי כמו שיראה אדם בחלום
שכבר הלך לארץ הפלנית ונשא שם אשה
ועמד זמן ונולד לו בן וקראו פלני והיה
מעניינו מה שהיה בן משלי הנבואה האלו
אשר יראו או יעשו במראה הנבואה במה
שיורה המשל ההוא מעשה מן המעשים
ודברים יפעל אותם הנביא ומדת זמנים
יזכרו בין פעל ופעל על צד המשל ונסיעות
ממקום למקום הכל הוא במראה הנבואה

לא שהם פעלים נמצאים לחושים הנראים
ויבא זכרם בספרי הנבואה קצתם
מוחלטים שאחר שנודע שהכל היה
במראה הנבואה לא הוצרך להשיב
בזכור כל חלק וחלק מן המושל שהיה
במראה הנבואה כמו שיאמר הנביא
ויאמר יי' אלי ולא יצטרך לבאר
שהיה בחלום ויחשבו ההמון שהפעולות
הם והנסיעות והשאלות והמענים הכל



monides rejects it as a vulgar error, to conceive that those actions which are commonly attributed to the prophets in the current of their prophecy, their travelling from place to place, their propounding questions, and receiving answers, &c. were things real to sense; whereas they were only imaginary, represented merely to the fancy.

But, for a more distinct understanding of this business, we must remember what hath been often suggested, that *the prophetic scene or stage upon which all apparitions were made to the prophet, was his imagination*; and that there all those things which God would have revealed unto him were acted over *symbolically, as in a masque*, in which divers persons are brought in, amongst which the prophet himself bears a part: and therefore he, according to the exigency of this dramatical apparatus, must, as the other actors, perform his part, sometimes by speaking and reciting things done, propounding questions; sometimes by acting that part which in the drama he was appointed to act by some others; and so, not only by speaking, but by gestures and actions, come in, in his due place, among the rest; as it is in our ordinary dreams, to use the expression of Maimonides respecting it. And, therefore, it is no wonder to hear of those things done which, indeed, have no historical or real verity; the scope of all being to represent something strongly to the prophet's understanding, and sufficiently to inform it in the substance of those things in which he was to instruct that people to whom he was sent. And so, sometimes, we have only the intelligible matter of prophecies delivered to us nakedly, without the imaginary ceremonies or solemnities. And as

היה בעניין השגת החושים לא במראה
הנבואה ואני אזכור לך מזה מה שלא
יספק אדם בו ואחבר אליו קצת מה
שהוא ממינו מן הקצת ההוא יתבאר
לך מה שלא זכרתיו *More Nev. Pars*

II. cap. 46. sub init. Most of the cases treated of in the following pages of this chapter are referred to by Maimonides in the sequel of the above quotation.

this notion of those actions of the prophet that are interwoven with their prophecies is most genuine, and agreeable to the general nature of prophecy, so we shall further clear and confirm it in some particulars.

We shall begin with that of Hosea's marrying Gomer, a common harlot, and taking to himself 'children of whoredoms,' which he is said to do a first and a second time¹. This kind of action, however void it might be of true vice, yet would it not have been void of all offence, for a prophet to have thus unequally yoked himself (to use St Paul's expression) with any such infamous persons, though by way of lawful wedlock, if it had been *really* done. I know that this way of interpreting both this and other prophetical actions displeaseth Abarbanel, who thinks the literal sense and historical verity of all ought to be entertained, except it be *ρητῶς* expressed to have been done in a vision; and the general current of our Christian writers, till Calvin's time, has gone the same way. And to make the literal interpretation here good, R. Solomon Jarchi and our former author both tell us, that the ancient Rabbins have determined those prophetical narrations of Hosea to be understood *כמשמעם* 'literally.' The place they refer to is in the Gemara², where yet I find no such thing positively concluded by the Talmudists. Indeed they there, after their fashion, expound the place by inserting a long dialogue between God and the prophet about this matter, but so as that without the gloss of R. Solomon or of Abarbanel, we could no more think their scope was to establish the literal sense, than, I think, that the prophet himself intended to insinuate the same to us. We, therefore, choose to follow Abenezra as a more genuine commentator, who, in this place, and others of the like nature,

¹ Hos. i. and iii.

² *Gem. Pesach. cap. viii. fol. 87.*

follows Maimonides *κατὰ πόδας*¹, making all those transactions to have been only imaginary. For though it be not always positively laid down in these narrations, that the *res gesta* was in a vision; yet the nature and scope of prophecy so requiring that things should thus be acted in imagination, we should rather expect some positive declaration to assure us that they were performed in the history, if indeed it were so².

¹ Chronologically incorrect. Aben Ezra, although he agrees with Maimonides in the mode of interpreting the passages of Hosea and others of a like nature, did not *follow*, but *precede* him in such interpretation. Maimonides composed the *More Nevochim* A.D. 1181. (Vid. *Bibliothecam Magnam Rabb. Bartolocci*, Tom. iv. p. 87.) Aben Ezra died, as is commonly supposed, A.D. 1194 (Ibid. i. p. 41). His *Commentary on the Scriptures* was written many years before, that on Daniel having been completed, as he himself informs us, A.D. 1156 (Ibid. i. p. 38), i.e. twenty-five years before the composition of the *More Nevochim*.

הנכון בעיני כי זה הנביא היה רואה
במראות נבואה בחלום הלילה שהשם
אמר לו לך קח אשת זנונים והלך
ולקח אשת ידועה והרתה וילדה כל זה
במראות הנבואה.....ואל תתמה איך
יראה בחלום וילך ויקח והנה בחלום
אדם בלא נבואה ותאכלנה הפרות:
'The correct interpretation, according to my opinion, is that the prophet beheld in a prophetic vision, in a dream of the night, that God said to him, Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms, and that he went and took a particular woman to wife, and that she conceived and bare a son. All this was in prophetic visions. And do not wonder how he should see in a dream, and should go and take a wife. Consider how in a dream, not prophetic, a man beheld the ill-favoured and lean-fleshed kine, eat up the seven well-favoured and fat kine (Gen xli. 3).' Aben Ezra, *Comment. in loco*.

² The Chaldee paraphrast adopts a

somewhat different method of explaining the expressions in Hosea, though equally averse with Aben Ezra and Maimonides to the literal interpretation. He considers the phrases as setting forth a parable furnished by God to the prophet, to be employed by him in his reproof of Israel: 'Go, utter a prophecy against the inhabitants of the idolatrous city, who add sin to sin, for the inhabitants of the land go far astray from the worship of the Lord. So he went and prophesied against them, that if they would repent, they should be forgiven; but if not, they should fall as the leaves of the fig-tree; but they acted yet more wickedly.' (Ch. i. 2, 3.) Again (ch. iii. 1), 'Go, utter a prophecy against the house of Israel, that they are like a woman beloved of her husband,' &c. (ver. 2.) 'Yet I redeemed them by my words,' &c.

The manner in which the Targumist understands the passages is clear, notwithstanding his paraphrastic interpretation. The translation of ch. i. 3 is founded on the etymological meaning to be attached to the words Gomer and Diblain.

Abarbanel in his *Commentary* on ch. i. vv. 2, 3, after reviewing the three modes of interpretation, viz. the parabolical, as adopted by Jonathan; that preferred by Aben Ezra, Maimonides, and their followers, of considering the whole as having taken place in a prophetic vision; and lastly, the literal, gives his own decision in favour of the last. Yet is he not so firmly fixed in his opinion but that he uses the following words in his *Commentary* on the third chapter.

And, therefore, in these recitals of prophetic visions we find, many times, things less coherent than can agree with a true history; as in the narrative of Abraham's vision¹ (for so the Rabbins in *Pirke R. Eliezer* expound that whole chapter to be nothing else²), we find that 'God appeared to Abraham in a vision³;' and God brings him into the field as if it were after the shutting up of evening, and shows him the stars of heaven⁴: and yet, for all this, it was yet daytime, and the sun not gone down: 'And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram⁵;' 'And it came to pass that, when the sun went down and it was dark, behold, a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp that passed between those pieces⁶.' From whence it is manifest, that Abraham's going out into the field before, to take a view of the stars of heaven, and his ordering of those several living creatures for a sacrifice⁷, was all performed in a prophetic vision, and upon the stage of his imagination; it being no strange thing to have incoherent junctures of time made in such a way⁸.

So in *Jeremiah*⁹ we have a very precise narrative of *Jeremiah's* getting a linen girdle, and putting it upon his loins; and, after a while, he must needs take a long journey to *Euphrates*, to hide it there in a hole of the rock; and then returning, after many days, makes another weary journey to the same place, to take it out again after it was

After giving the interpretations of *Jonathan*, and of *Aben Ezra* and *Maimonides*: he writes: 'Of these two methods which I have referred to above, the former, that of *Jonathan*, appears to me the more probable—that the prophet employed the words as a parable in his reproof of the *Israelites*. But perhaps the two opinions may be adopted together, so that then God will be understood as having shown the prophet all this in a prophetic vision, and at the same time furnished him with a mode of reproof to

be addressed to the *Israelites*.'

¹ Gen. xv.

² Cap. xxviii.

³ Gen. xv. 1.

⁴ ver. 5.

⁵ ver. 12.

⁶ ver. 17.

⁷ vv. 9, 10.

⁸ The 'deep sleep' that fell upon Abram is described in the *Bereshith Rabba* as תרדמה נבואה—'the deep sleep of prophecy.'

⁹ ch. xiii.

all corrupted: all which could manifestly be nothing else but merely imaginary; the scope thereof being to imprint this more deeply upon the understanding of the prophet, that the house of Judah and Israel, which was nearly knit and united to God, should be destroyed and ruined.

The same prophet is brought in going to the house of a pottér, to take notice how he wrought a piece of work upon the wheel; and when the vessel he intended was all marred, that then he made of his clay another vessel¹. And in another place he is brought in as taking the ancients of the people and the ancients of the priests along with him, into the valley of the son of Hinnom, with a potter's earthen bottle under his arm, and there breaking it in pieces in the midst of them².

In this last chapter it is very observable how the scheme of speech is altered, when the prophet relates a real history concerning himself, speaking of himself in the third person, as if now he were to speak of somebody else, and not of a prophet or his actions; for so we read, "Then came Jeremiah from Tophet," &c.³ The like change of the person we find in the 28th chapter⁴, where a formal story is told of some things that passed between Jeremiah and Hananiah, the false prophet, who, in the presence of all the people, broke Jeremiah's yoke from off his neck: for it seems to have been a wonted thing for the prophets, by bonds and yokes, to type out unto the people victory or captivity in war. But in all this business the mode of Jeremiah's language insinuates a literal sense, by speaking altogether in the third person, as if the relation concerned somebody else, and not himself; and so must be of some real thing, and that which, to sense and observation, had its reality, and not only a reality in apprehension or imagination. Not unlike is

¹ ch. xviii.² ch. xix.³ ver. 14.⁴ ver. 10.

that we read of Zedekiah the false prophet, who made himself horns of iron, when he prophesied to Ahab his prosperity against the Syrians at Ramoth-Gilead, vulgarly to represent to him the success he should have against his enemies¹. So we seem to have an insinuation of a real history in Jeremiah's purchase of a field of Hanameel, his uncle's son, from the mode of expression which is there observable².

But at other times we meet with things graphically described with all the circumstantial pomp of the business, when yet it could be nothing else but a dramatical thing; as where the prophet goes and finds out the chief of the Rechabites particularly described, and brings them into such a particular chamber as is there set forth by all its bounds, and there sets pots and cups full of wine before them, and bids them drink³. Just in the same mode with this we have another story told, of his taking a wine-cup from God, and his carrying it up and down to all nations far and near—Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, and the kings and princes thereof; to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, his servants, princes, and people; to all the Arabians, and kings of the land of Uz; to the kings of the land of the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Ammon; the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and of the isles beyond the sea, Dedan, Tema, Buz; the kings of Zimri, of the Medes and Persians, and all the kings of the north: and all these he said he made to drink of this cup⁴. And in this fashion he is sent up and down with yokes, to put upon the necks of several kings⁵: all which can have no other sense than that which is merely imaginary, though we be not told that all this was acted only in a vision, for the nature of the thing would not permit any real performance thereof.

¹ 1 Kings xxii.² Jer. xxxii. 6—12.³ Jer. xxxv.⁴ Jer. xxv. 15—26.⁵ Jer. xxvii.

The like we must say of Ezekiel's *res gestæ*—his eating a roll given him of God¹. And in chap. iv. it is especially remarkable how ceremoniously all things are related concerning his taking a tile, and pourtraying upon it the city of Jerusalem, and his laying siege to it²; all which, I suppose, will be evident to have been merely dramatical, if we carefully examine all things in it, notwithstanding that God tells him he should in all this be a “sign to the people.” Which is not so to be understood, as if they were to observe, in such real actions, in a sensible way, what their own fates should be: for he is here commanded to lie continually before a tile three hundred and ninety days—which is full thirteen months—upon his left side, and after that, forty more upon his right, and to bake his bread that he should eat all this while with dung, &c.

So he is commanded to take a barber's razor, and to shave his head and beard, then to weigh his hair in a pair of scales, and divide it into three parts; and after the days of his siege should be fulfilled, spoken of before, then to burn a third part of it in the midst of the city, and to smite about the other third with a knife, and to scatter the other third to the wind³. All which, as it is most unlikely in itself ever to have been really done, so was it against the law of the priests, to shave the corners of their heads and the corners of their beards, as Maimonides observes. But that Ezekiel himself was a priest, is manifest⁴. Upon these passages of Ezekiel, Maimonides hath thus soberly given his judgment: ‘Far be it from God to render His prophets like to fools and drunken men, and to prescribe them the actions of fools and madmen: besides that this last injunction would have been inconsistent with the law; for Ezekiel was a great priest, and

¹ Ezek. iii.² Ezek. iv.³ Ezek. v.⁴ Ezek. i. 3.

therefore obliged to the observation of those two negative precepts, viz. of not shaving the corners of his head, and corners of his beard: and, therefore, this was done only in a prophetic vision¹. The same sentence likewise he passeth upon that story of Isaiah—his walking naked and barefoot²—wherein Isaiah was no otherwise a sign to Egypt and Ethiopia, or rather Arabia, where he dwelt not, and so could not more literally be a type therein, than Ezekiel was here to the Jews³.

Again: we read of Ezekiel's removing his household stuff in the night, as a type of the captivity, and of his digging with his hands through the wall of his house, and of the people's coming to take notice of this strange action, with many other uncouth ceremonies of the whole business which carry no show of probability⁴: and yet God declares upon this to him, "I have set thee for a sign to the house of Israel⁵;" and, "Son of man, hath not the house of Israel, the rebellious house, said unto thee, What doest thou⁶?" As if all this had been really done; which, indeed, seems to be nothing else but a prophetic scheme. Neither was the prophet any real sign, but only imaginary, as having the type of all those fates which were to befall the Jews symbolically represented in his fancy: which sense Kimchi, a genuine commentator, follows, with the others mentioned. And, it may be, according to this same notion is that in chap. xxiv. to be

חלילה לשם מתת נביאיו דומים¹
לשומים ולשכורים ויצום לעשות מעשה
השומים ויצום לעשות מעשה השנעון
מחובר אל המצוה במרי שהוא היה כהן
גדול וחייב שני לאוין על כל פאת זקן
ופאת ראש ואמנם היה זה כלו במראה
הנבואה: *More Nev. Pars II. cap. 46.*

² ch. xx. 3.

³ Aben Ezra comments thus on the passage of Isaiah: ככה על ישעיהו הנביא כאשר הלך עבדי ישעיהו ערום

ויחף זה היה במראה הנבואה כי למה ילך הנביא ערום בעבור כוש ומצרים: 'So too of Isaiah the prophet. Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot—this was in a prophetic vision; for why should the prophet go naked on account of Æthiopia and Egypt?' Aben Ezra, *Comment. in Hosea*, c. 1.

⁴ Ezek. xii.

⁵ ver. 6.

⁶ ver. 9.

understood, of the death of the prophet's wife, with the manner of those funeral solemnities and obsequies which he performed for her.

But we shall proceed no further in this argument, which I hope is, by this time, sufficiently cleared, that we are not, in any prophetic narratives of this kind, to understand any thing else but the history of the visions themselves which appeared to them, except we be led, by some farther argument of the reality of the thing, in a way of sensible appearance, to determine it to have been any sensible thing.

CHAPTER VII.

Of that degree of divine inspiration properly called Ruach hakkodesh, i. e. The Holy Spirit. The nature of it described out of Jewish antiquities. Wherein this Spiritus Sanctus differed from prophecy, strictly so called, and from the spirit of holiness in purified souls. What books of the Old Testament were ascribed by the Jews to Ruach hakkodesh. Of the Urim and Thummim.

THUS we have done with that part of divine inspiration, which was more technically and properly by the Jews called prophecy. We shall now a little search into that which is Hagiographical, or, as they call it, the dictate of the Holy Spirit; in which the Book of Psalms, Job, the works of Solomon and others, are comprised. This we find very appositely thus defined by Maimonides: 'When a man perceives some power to arise within him, and rest upon him, which urgeth him to speak, so that he discourse concerning the sciences or arts, and utter psalms or hymns, or profitable and wholesome rules of good living, or matters political and civil, or such as are divine; and that, whilst he is waking, and hath the ordinary vigour and use of his senses; this is such an one of whom

it is said, that he speaks by the Holy Spirit¹. In this definition we may seem to have the strain of the Book of Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, fully deciphered to us. In like manner, we find this degree of inspiration described by R. Albo, after he had set down the other degrees superior to it: 'Now to explain to you what is that other door of divine influx, through which none can enter by his own natural ability; it is when a man utters words of wisdom, or song, or divine praise, in pure and elegant language, besides his wont: so that every one that knows him, admires him for this excellent knowledge and composure of words; but yet he himself knows not from whence this faculty came to him, but is as a child that learns a tongue, and knows not from whence he had this faculty. Now the excellence of this degree of divine inspiration is well known to all, for it is the same with that which is called the Holy Spirit².' Or, if you please, we shall render these definitions of our former Jewish doctors in the words of Proclus, who hath very happily set forth the nature of this piece of divine inspiration, according to their mind, in these words³: 'This degree or

ימצא האדם כאלו עניין אחד חל¹
עליו וכן. אחד התחדש וישימהו לדבר
וידבר בחכמות או בתושבחות או
בדברי הוזהרה מועילים או בעניינים
הנהגיים או אלהיים וזה כלו בעת
היקיצה והשתמש החושים על מנהגיהם
וזהו אשר יאמר עליו שהוא מדבר
ברוח הקודש: *More Nevoch. Pars II.*
cap. 45.

יפתח לאיש מה שער אחר שלא²
ישער בו האדם מצד טבעו וידבר
בדברי חכמה או בדברי שיר ושבח
להשם בלשון צח ומהיר שלא היה כדרכו
לדבר או לידע זה ויתמה כל השומע
אותו מענייני ידיעתו וסדור דבריו
והוא עצמו לא ידע מהיכן בא לו הכח
ההוא כמו שהנער ילמוד הדבור ולא
ידע מהיכן יבא לו הכח ההוא ואמנם
כבר יתפרס ויוכר לכל יתרון מדרגתו
כזה והמדרגה הזאת תקרא רוח הקודש:

R. Albo, Lib. III. cap. 10.

The following is the definition as given by the author of *Cosiri*.

וכבר יצליח הכח הדברי בקצת
האנשים מההתדבקו בשכל הכללי במה
שירוממהו מהשתמש בהקשה והעיון
ויסור מעליו הטורח בלמוד בנבואה
ותקרא סגולתו זאת קדושה ותקרא
'In some men the rational faculty is so advanced by reason of its close connexion with the Universal Mind, as that they become exalted beyond need of the subserviency of reflection or speculation, and are released from all toil and labour, as in the prophetic discipline. This peculiar property is termed "holiness:" it is also denominated the "Holy Spirit."' *Cosiri, Pars v. § XII. p. 349. ed. Buxtorf.*

³ 'Ο δὲ χαρακτήρ τῶν λόγων ἐστὶν ἐν-

enthusiastical character, shining so bright with the intellectual influences, is pure and venerable, receiving its perfection from the father of the gods, being distinct from human conceptions, and far transcending them, always conjoined with delightfulness and amazement, full of beauty and comeliness, concise, yet withal exceeding accurate.'

[This kind of divine inspiration, therefore, was always more pacate and serene than the other of prophecy, neither did it so much fatigue and act upon the imagination. For though these Hagiographi, or holy writers, ordinarily expressed themselves in parables and similitudes, which is the proper work of fancy; yet they seem only to have made use of such a dress of language to set off their own sense of divine things, which in itself was more naked and simple, the more advantageously, as we see commonly in all other kind of writings. And seeing there was no labour of the imagination in this way of revelation, therefore it was not communicated to them by any dreams or visions, but while they were waking, and their senses were in their full vigour, their minds calm; it breathing upon them, *ὡς ἐν γαλήνῃ*, as Plotinus describes his pious enthusiast¹; Ἀρπασθεὶς ἢ ἐνθουσιάσας ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἐρήμῳ καταστάσει γεγένηται ἀτρεμεὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ οὐσίᾳ, οὐδαμοῦ ἀποκλίνων. For, indeed, this enthusiastical spirit seated itself principally in the higher and purer faculties of the soul, which were ὥσπερ ἀνταύγεια πρὸς αὐγὴν—that I may allude to the ancient opinion of Empedocles, who held there were two suns, the one archetypal, which was always in the inconspicable hemisphere of the world, but the beams thereof shining upon this world's sun, were reflected to us, and so further enlightened us².

θουσιαστικὸς, διαλάμπων ταῖς νοεραῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, καθαρὸς τε καὶ σεμνὸς, ὡς ἀπὸ πατρὸς τελειούμενος τῶν θεῶν, ἐξηλλαγμένος τε καὶ ὑπερέχων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐννοιῶν, ἄβρὸς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ καταπηκτικὸς, καὶ χαρί-

των ἀνάμεστος, κάλλους τε πλήρης, καὶ σύντομος ἅμα καὶ ἀπηκριβωμένος. Procl. in Plat. Tim. 300 c.

¹ Plotin. Enn. vi. 9, 11.

² Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δύο Ἡλίους, τὸν μὲν

Now this kind of inspiration, as it always carried pious souls into strains of devotion, or moved them strongly to dictate matters of true piety and goodness, did manifest itself to be of a divine nature: and, as it came in abruptly upon the minds of those holy men without courting their private thoughts, but transported them from that temper of mind they were in before, so that they perceived themselves captivated by the power of some higher light than that which their own understanding commonly poured out upon them, they might know it to be more immediately from God.]

For, indeed, that seems to be the main thing wherein this Holy Spirit differed from that constant spirit and frame of holiness and goodness dwelling in hallowed minds; that it was too quick, potent, and transporting a thing, and was a kind of vital form to that light of divine reason which they were perpetually possessed of. And, therefore, sometimes it runs out into a foresight or prediction of things to come, though, it may be, those previsions were less understood by the prophet himself; as we might instance, if it were needful, in some of David's prophecies, which seem to have been revealed to him, not so much for himself (as the apostle speaks), as for us. But it did not always spend itself in strains of devotion or dictates of virtue, wisdom, and prudence; and, therefore, if I may take leave here to express my conjecture, I should think the ancient Jews called this degree *Spiritus Sanctus*, not because it flows from the third person in the Trinity—which I doubt they thought not of in this business—but because of the near affinity

ἀρχέτυπον, πῦρ ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἡμισφαίριῳ τοῦ κόσμου, πεπληρωκὸς τὸ ἡμισφαίριον, ἀεὶ κατανωτικὸν τῇ ἀντανγίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ τεταγμένων τὸν δὲ φαινόμενον, ἀντανγίαν ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἡμισφαίριῳ τῷ τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ θερμομηγοῦς πεπληρωμένῳ. ἀπὸ κυκλοτεροῦς τῆς

γῆς κατ' ἀνάκλασιν ἐγγυωμένην εἰς τὸν ἥλιον τὸν κρυσταλλοειδῆ, συμπεριελκομένην δὲ τῇ κινήσει τοῦ πυρίνου· ὡς δὲ βραχέως εἰρησθαι συντεμένοντα, ἀντανγίαν εἶναι τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν πυρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. Plutarch. De Placit. Philos. 890 B.

and alliance it hath with that spirit of holiness and true goodness that always lodgeth in the breasts of good men. And this seems to be insinuated in an old proverbial speech of the Jewish masters, quoted by Maimonides in the forecited place, *Majestas Divina habitat super eum, et loquitur per Spiritum Sanctum*¹. Though some think it might be so called as being the lowest degree of divine inspiration: for sometimes the most ancient monuments of Jewish learning called *all prophecy* by the name of *Spiritus Sanctus*. 'The Holy Spirit rested upon Joseph from his youth till the day of his death, and guided him into all wisdom,' &c.² Though, it may be, all that might be but a Hagiographical spirit: for, indeed, the Jews are wont, as we showed before, to distinguish Joseph's dreams from prophetic. But this *Spiritus Sanctus* in the same chapter—to put all out of doubt—is attributed to Isaiah and Ezekiel, which were known prophets: *R. Phineas ait; postquam omnes illi interfecti fuerant, viginti annis in Babel requievit Spiritus Sanctus super Ezekielem, et eduxit eum ex convalle Dora, et ostendit ei multa ossa, &c.*³ And among those five things in which the Jews always supposed the second temple to be inferior to the first, one was the want of the *רוח הקודש*—*Spiritus Sanctus*, or spirit of prophecy⁴.

But we are here to consider this *Spiritus Sanctus* more strictly, and as we have formerly defined it out of Jewish antiquity. And here we shall first show what books of the Old Testament were ascribed to this

¹ שכינה שורה עליו ומדבר ברוח
:קודש More Nev. Pars II. cap. 45.

² רבי פנחס אומר שרת רוח הקדש
על יוסף מנעוריו ועד יום מותו והיתה
:מנהגת אותו בכל דבר חכמה Pirke,
R. Eliezer, cap. 39.

³ רבי פנחס אומר לאחר כ' שנה
שנהרגו כלם שרת רוח הקדש על
:יחזקאל והוציאו לבקעת דורא והראהו
:עצמות יבשות הרבה מאד Pirke,

R. Eliezer, cap. 33.

⁴ In the Talmud (*Gem. Sota*, fol. 48 B) it is said that *רוח הקודש*—the Holy Spirit—was taken away from Israel after the death of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and that Bath Kol succeeded in its place. 'The Holy Spirit' is here clearly identical with prophecy. See note near the end of Chap. x.

degree by the Jews. The Old Testament was, by the Jews, divided into *תורה ונביאים וכתובים* 'the Law, the Prophets, and the *Ἀγίόγραφα*.' And this division is insinuated in the following passage: "And Jesus said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written concerning me in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms¹;" where, by the Psalms, may seem to be meant the Hagiographa; for the writers of these Hagiographa might be termed psalmodists for some reasons which we shall touch upon hereafter in this discourse. But to return. The Old Testament being anciently divided into these parts, it may not be amiss to consider the order of these parts, as it is laid down by the Talmudical doctors: 'Our doctors have delivered unto us the order of the prophets; Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the twelve prophets, the first of which is Hosea²,' for so they understand those words: *Deus inprimis locutus est per Hoseam*³. The same Gemarists go on to lay down the order of the *Ἀγίόγραφα* thus: 'Ruth, the Book of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, the Chronicles.' And these the Jews did ascribe to the *Spiritus Sanctus*.

¹ Luke xxiv. 44.

² תנו רבנן סדרן של נביאים יהושע ושופטים שמואל ומלכים ירמיה ויהושע ישיעיה ושנים עשר מכרי הושע קדים:

The opinion of R. Jochanan is given in connexion with the above, viz. that Hosea was the first of the four prophets that prophesied at the same period—Hosea, Isaiah, Amos, and Micah. *Gem. Bava. Bathra*, cap. i. fol. 14 B. We find the same opinion recorded in another part of the Talmud, and in nearly the same words.

בפרק אחד נתנבאו ד' נביאים וגדול שבכולן הושע שנ' תחילת דבר זה בהושע וכי בהושע דבר תחלה והלא ממושה עד הושע כמה נביאים א"ר יוחנן

תחלה לארבעה נביאים שנתנבאו באותו הפרק ואילו הן הושע ישיעיה עמוס ומיכה: 'Four prophets prophesied at one period, but the greatest of all was Hosea, for it is said, The beginning of the word of the Lord by Hosea. Does this imply that the Lord spoke first by Hosea, and that there were not various prophets from Moses to Hosea? R. Jochanan said, the word "beginning" refers to the four prophets who prophesied at the same period, viz. Hosea, Isaiah, Amos, and Micah.' *Gem. Pesachim*. cap. viii. fol. 87 A.

³ תחלת דבר יהוה בהושע (Hos. i. 2).

But why Daniel should be reckoned amongst the **כתובים**, and not amongst the **נביאים**, 'the prophets,' I can see no reason, since the strain of it wholly argues the nature of a prophetical degree spending itself in dreams and visions, though those were joined with more obscurity (it being then the *crepusculum* of the prophetical day, which had long been upon the horizon of the Jewish church) than in the other prophets. And, therefore, whatever the latter Jews here urge, for thus ranking Daniel's books with the other **כתובים**, yet, seeing they give us no traditional reason which their ancestors had for so doing, I should rather think it to have been, first of all, some fortuitous thing which gave an occasion to this after-mistake, as I think it is.

But to pass on. Besides those books mentioned, there were some things else among the Jews usually attributed to this *Spiritus Sanctus*; and so Maimonides, in the forementioned place¹, tells us that Eldad and Medad, and all the high priests who asked counsel by *Urim* and *Thummim*, spake *per Spiritum Sanctum*, so that it was a character enthusiastical whereby they gave judicial answers, by looking upon the stones of the High Priest's breastplate, to those that came to inquire of God by them. And so R. Bechai speaks of 'one of the degrees of the Holy Spirit which was superior to Bath Kol (i. e. *filia vocis*) and inferior to prophecy².' It will not be amiss, by a short digression, to show what this *Urim* and *Thummim* was: and we may take it out of our former author R. Bechai, who, for the substance, agrees with the generality and best of the Jewish writers herein. It was, as he there tells us, done in this manner: 'The high

¹ *More Nev.* Pars II. cap. 45.

Thummim) constituted one of the degrees, &c.' R. Bechai, in *Parasha תצוה* fol. 108 A. 1.

² והענין היה מדרגה ממדרגות רוח הקדש למעלה מבת קול למטה מן הקדש למעלה מבת קול למטה מן: הנבואה: 'And they (i. e. *Urim* and

priest stood before the ark, and he that came to inquire of the *Urim* and *Thummim* stood behind him, inquiring with a submissive voice, as if he had been at his private prayers, Shall I do so, or so? Then the high priest looked upon the letters which were engraven upon the stones of the breastplate, and, by the concurrence of an enthusiastical spirit of divination of his own (if I may add thus much upon the former reasons to that which he there speaks) with some modes whereby those letters appeared, he shaped out his answer. But for those that were allowed to inquire at this oracle, they were none else but either the king or the whole congregation, as we are told in *Massec. Sotah*. None may inquire of it but the congregation of the people, or the king; by which it seems it was a political oracle¹.

But to return to our argument in hand, viz. What pieces of divine writ are ascribed to the **רוח הקודש** or *Spiritus Sanctus*. We must further know that the Jews were wont to reckon all those psalms or songs, which we any where meet with in the Old Testament, among the **כתובים**. For though they were penned by the prophets, yet because they were not the proper results of a *visum propheticum*, therefore they were not true prophecy :

מי שבא לשאול את הכהן באורים ו
ותומים כך היה הענין היה הכהן עומד
פניו כלפי הארון והשואל עומד מאחרי
הכהן ולא היה שואל בקול רם ולא
מהרהר בלבו אלא כאדם שמתפלל בינו
לבין עצמו והיה מוציא הדבר בפיו
ומיד היה הכהן מתלבש ברוח הקדש
ומביט בחשן ורואה בו כמראה הנבואה
עלה או לא תעלה באותיות שהיו
בולטות מן החשן כנגד פניו ואין
שואלין אלא צבור ומלך כראיתא
במסכת סוטה: R. Bechai, in *Parasha*
הזה fol. 108 A. 1.

The *Urim* and *Thummim* appear to have been of the nature of a political oracle, not only as respects those who

were privileged to consult them, but also as regards the subjects of consultation. אין נשאלין בהן להדיוט אלא למלך ולבית דין ולמי שהצבור צריך בו: 'No inquiry was made of them respecting a private individual, but regarding the king, the sanhedrim, or the minister of the congregation.' *Mishna Joma*, cap. VII. § 5. Abarbanel says that the consultation must have regard to the people generally, not על דבר פרטי לאיש מן האנשים: 'affect the private concern only of an individual.' Vid. Abarbanel in *Exod.* xxviii. and *Deut.* xxxiii. Cf. Sheringham, not. in *Joma*, cap. VII. § 5, and Spencer, *de Legibus Hebræorum*, Dissert. VII. § 2.

for they have a common tradition, that the prophets did not always prophesy *eodem gradu*, but sometimes in a higher, sometimes in a lower degree, as among others we are fully taught by Abarbanel upon occasion of that song of Isaiah: 'The same prophet prophesies sometimes in the form of the supreme prophetical degree, and sometimes in a lower degree by the Holy Spirit only¹.' And thus, having made his way, he tells us that common notion they had amongst them, 'that all songs were dictated by this *Spiritus Sanctus*.' 'Every song that is found in the writings of the prophets, was such a thing as was ordered or dictated by the penmen themselves, together with the superintendency of the Holy Spirit; forasmuch as they received them not in that higher way which is called prophecy, as all visions were received; for all visions were perfect prophecy².' But the author goes on further to declare his, and indeed the common opinion, concerning any such song, that it was not the proper work of God himself, but the work of the prophet's own spirit³. Yet we must suppose the prophet's spirit enabled by the conjunction of divine help with it, as he puts in the caution: 'the Spirit of God and His divine assistance did still cleave unto the prophet, and was present with him⁴.' For, as he tells us, the prophets, being so much accustomed to divine visions as they were, might be able sometimes *per vigiliam*, without any prophetical vision, to speak excellently by the Holy Ghost, 'with very elegant

¹ כמו שהנביא לא ינבא כל ימיו בהדבקות אבל ינבא עת ותפרד ממנו הנבואה עתים כן ינבא עת אחד בצורת מדרגה עליונה מהנבואה וינבא עת אחרת במדרגה למטה ממנה או ברוח הקדש בלבד: 'As a prophet does not prophesy all his life in continuance, but at one time prophesies, at other times the gift of prophecy being withheld from him, so the same prophet prophesies,' &c. Abarbanel in Isai. c. iv.

כל שירה שתמצא בדברי הנביאים הוא דבר שהם מעצמם היו מסדרים אותה ברוח הקדש ושלא ראו אותה בנבואה כשאר המראות לפי שהמראות כולם הם נבואות נמורות: *Ibid.*

לכן אינה מפעל השם כי אם מפעל ³ *Ibid.* הנביא עצמו שסידר אותה:

מפני שילוח אליו רוח ועזר אלהי ⁴ לדבר דבריו נקרא מדרגתו רוח הקדש: *Ibid.*

language, and admirable similitudes¹. And this he there proves from hence, that these songs are commonly attributed to the prophet himself, and not to God, there being so much of the work of the prophet's own spirit in them : 'Wherefore the Scripture commonly attributes these songs to the prophets themselves, and not unto God ; and accordingly speaks of the song at the Red Sea², "Then Moses and the people of Israel sang this song;" that is, Moses and the children of Israel did compose and order it. So in the song at Beer-Elm ; "Then sang Israel this song³." So in the song of Moses in the latter end of Deuteronomy, which was to be preserved as a memorial, the conclusion runs, "Set your hearts upon all those words which I testify to you this day⁴." So all those psalms which are supposed to have been composed by David, are perpetually ascribed unto him, and the rest of them, that were composed by others, are in like manner ascribed unto them ; whereas the prophetic strain is very different, always entitling God to it, and so is brought in with such kind of prologues, "the word of the Lord," or "the hand of the Lord," or the like⁵.'

But enough of that : yet seeing we are fallen now upon the original author of these divine songs and hymns, it will not be amiss to take a little notice of the frequency of this degree of prophecy, which is by songs and hymns, composed by an enthusiastical spirit, among the Jews.

הנביאים עם היותם רואים פעמים
רבות מראות נבואיות אמתיות הנז
בהיותם יקצים ומבלתי נבואה ידברו
דברים ברוח הקדש ביופי המליצה
:הפלגת *Ibid.*

¹ Exod. xv. 1—22.

² Numb. xxi. 17.

³ Deut. xxxii. 46.

לכן יחסה הכתוב תמיד אליהם לא
לשם יתברך כי הנה אמר בשירת הים
או ישיר משה ובני ישראל את השירה
הזאת לה:— כי משה ובני ישראל

עצמם סדרו אותה :— ובשירת הבאר
נאמר גם כן אז ישיר ישראל את השירה
הזאת וכן בשירת האזינו עם היות
שהקדוש ברוך הוא נתנה אל משה ואל
יהושע הנה הוא יתברך רצה שמושה
יאמר אותה כאילו הוא מעצמו סדרה
ושמפיו היו הדברים לא מפני השם —
ובסופה אמר שימו לבבכם לכל הדברים
אשר אנכי מעיד בכם היום — ומזאת
הבחינה נקראו תהלות דוד שיר ושיירה
:לפי שהוא סדרם ברוח הקדש: *Ibid.*

We find many of these prophets besides David, who were authors of sundry Psalms bound up together with his ; for we must not think all are his : as after the 72nd Psalm we have eleven together which are ascribed to Asaph, the 88th to Heman, the 89th to Ethan, some to Jeduthun, and very many are *incerti auctoris*, as it seems, being anonymous. Thus Kimchi, in his preface to the Psalms, and the rest of the Hebrew scholiasts, suppose divers authors to have come in for their particular songs in that book.

And these divine enthusiasts were commonly wont to compose their songs and hymns at the sounding of some one musical instrument or other, as we find it often suggested in the Psalms. So Plutarch describes the dictate of the oracle anciently, ‘how that it was uttered in verse, in pomp of words, similitudes, and metaphors, at the sound of a pipe¹.’ Thus, we have Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun set forth in this prophetic preparation : “Moreover David and the captain of the host separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with harps²,” &c. Thus R. Solomon Jarchi expounds the place : ‘When they played upon their musical instruments they prophesied, after the manner of Elisha, who said, “Bring me a minstrel³.”’ And in the forementioned place, (ver. 3), upon those words “who prophesied with a harp,” he thus glosseth : ‘As they sounded upon the harp the psalms of praise and the hallelujahs, Jeduthun their father prophesied⁴.’ And this sense of this place, I think, is

¹ τὴν δὲ τῆς Πυθίας φωνὴν καὶ διάλεκτον ὡς περ ἐκ θυμέλης, οὐκ ἀνήδυντον, οὐδὲ λιτὴν, ἀλλ’ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ὄγκῳ καὶ πλάσματι καὶ μεταφοραῖς ὀνομάτων καὶ μετ’ αὐλοῦ φθεγγομένην παρέχειν ἀξιούμεν.—Plut. ‘Cur Pythia nunc non reddat oracula carmine.’ 405 D.

² 1 Chron. xxv. i.

³ כשהיו מנגנים בכלי שירים הללו

היו מתנבאין דונמא באלישע קחו לי מנגן ויהי כנגן המנגן ותהי עליו יד יי : (2 Kings iii. 15.)

כשהיו מנגנים בכנור ומזמורים ודור : ומזמורים הללויה והיה מתנבא :

Kimchi thus comments on the passage :

היו בני אסף מנגנים בכלי שיר ואסף שורה עליו רוח הקדש והיה משורר

much more genuine than that which a late author of our own would fasten upon it, *viz.* that this prophesying was nothing but singing of psalms. For it is manifest that these prophets were not mere singers, but composers, and such as were truly called prophets or enthusiasts: so, Heman is expressly called the king's seer¹; the like of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun²—upon which our former commentator glosseth thus; *unusquisque eorum erat propheta*³. It is true, the poets are anciently called *vates*, but that is no good argument why a singer should be called a prophet: for it is to be considered that a poet was a composer, and, upon that account, by the ancients called *vates*, or a prophet, and that because they generally thought that all true poets were transported. So Plato, in his *Phædrus*, makes three kinds of fury, *viz.* enthusiastical, amatorious, and poetical⁴. But of this matter we shall speak more under the next head, which we are, in a manner, unawares fallen upon, which is, to inquire in general into the qualification of all kind of prophets.

בפיו לקול הכנורות וכן הימן ויודתון
כלם היו נביאים עם כלי השיר כי
ספר תהילים ברוח הקדש נאמר ויש
בו נבואות ועתידות הגלות והנאולה:
'The sons of Asaph played upon instruments of song, and the Holy Spirit rested upon Asaph, and he sang to the sound of the harps. So too Heman and Jeduthun both prophesied with the instruments of song; for the Book of Psalms was spoken by the Holy Spirit, and it contains prophecies foretelling the captivity and the deliverance.'

¹ חֵזֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ (v. 5.)

² 2 Chron. xxix. 30, and xxxv. 15.

³ 'Each of them was a seer.' Jarchi in 2 Chron. xxxv. 15.

⁴ Plato speaks of *four* kinds of madness: the *prophetical*, as exemplified by the Pythia, the Sibyl and others, and in an inferior degree by the human science of augury; the *hereditary* (if we may so call it), which was believed to be inflicted by the judgment of heaven, upon descendants of blood-stained families; the *poetical*, derived at once from the Muses; and, lastly, the madness of *Love*. Cf. Plat. *Phædr.* 244—250.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the dispositions antecedent and preparatory to prophecy. That the qualifications which did fit a man for the prophetic spirit were such as these, viz. inward piety, true wisdom, a pacate and serene temper of mind, and a due cheerfulness of spirit; in opposition to viciousness, mental crazedness and inconsistency, unsubdued passions, black melancholy, and dull sadness. This illustrated by several instances in Scripture. That music was greatly advantageous to the prophets and holy men of God, &c. What is meant by Saul's evil spirit.

OUR next business is to discourse of those several qualifications that were to render a man fit for the spirit of prophecy; for we must not think that any man might suddenly be made a prophet: this gift was not so fortuitously dispensed as to be communicated without any discrimination of persons. And this, indeed, all sorts of men have generally concluded; and, therefore, the old Heathens themselves, that only sought after a spirit of divination, were wont in a solemn manner to prepare and fit themselves for receiving the influx thereof, as R. Albo hath truly observed: 'The ancient Gentiles made themselves images, and offered prayers and frankincense to the stars, that, by this means, they might draw down a spiritual influence from some certain stars upon their image. For this influence slides down from the body of the star upon the man himself, who is also corporeal, and, by this means, he foretells what shall come to pass'. And thus, as he further observes, the necromancers themselves were wont to use many solemn rites and ceremonies to call forth the souls of any dead men into themselves, whereby they might be able to presage

היו האומות הקדומות עושים
צורות והקטורות ותפילות לכוכבים
להוריד רוחניות איזה כוכב על צורה
מה כדי שכל ידה יחול רוח הכוכב
ההוא שהוא נשוא כנשם הכוכב על

האדם שהוא נשמי ויגיד העתידות בכח
רוח הכוכב ההוא השופע על האיש
R. Albo, Lib. III. cap. 8, sub
init.

future things. But to come more closely to our present argument.

The *qualifications* which the Jewish doctors suppose necessarily antecedent, to render any one *habilem ad prophetandum* are *true probity and piety*; and this was the constant sense and opinion of them all universally, not excluding the vulgar themselves. Thus Abarbanel says: *Pietas inducit Spiritum Sanctum*¹. The like we find in Maimonides, who yet thinks this was not enough; and, therefore, he reckons up this as a vulgar error, which yet he says some of their doctors were carried away withal: 'That God may choose of men whom He pleaseth, and send him, it matters not whether he be wise and learned, or unlearned and unskilful, old or young; only that this is required, that he be a virtuous, good, and honest man; for hitherto there was never any that could say that God did cause the Divine Majesty to dwell in a vicious person, unless he had first reformed himself².'

But Maimonides himself rather prefers the opinion of the wise sages and philosophers of the Heathen than of these vulgar masters, which required also some perfection in the nature of him that should be set apart for prophecy, augmented with study and industry: 'Whence it cannot be that a man should go to bed no prophet, and rise the next day a prophet' (as he there speaks), *quemadmodum homo qui inopinato aliquid invenit*³. And a little after he

¹ Not the words of Abarbanel himself, but quoted by him as a more ancient maxim, *כאמרם ז"ל חסידות מביא* Abarbanel, *Præf. in Duodecim Prophetas*, fol. 222 B. 2.

² הדעת הראשון והוא דעת ההמון הפתאים ממי שיאמין בנבואה וקצת עמי אנשי תורתנו גם כן יאמינהו והוא שהשם יתעלה יבחר מי שירצה מבני אדם וישרה בו הנבואה וישלחהו

אין הפרש בין שיהיה האיש ההוא אצלם חכם או סכל רב השנים או צעיר השנים אלא שהם יתנו בו קצת טוב ותקן מדות כי בני אדם עד עתה לא אמר שישרה השם שכינתו על אדם רע אלא כשיחזירהו למוטב תחלה: *More Nev. Pars II. cap. 32, sub init.*

³ לא יהיה האדם מלין בלתי נביא ומשכים נביא כמי שימצא מציאה: *Ibid.*

adds : *Fatuos et hujus terræ filios quod attinet, non magis, nostro judicio, prophetare possunt, quam asinus aut rana*¹.

These perfections, then, which Maimonides requires as preparatory dispositions to render a man a prophet, are of three sorts, viz. 1. Acquisite or rational ; 2. Natural or animal ; lastly, Moral. And according to the difference of these he distinguisheth the degrees of prophecy : ‘As to these three perfections which we have here comprised, viz. the perfection of the rational faculty acquired by study ; the perfection of the imaginative faculty, by birth ; and the perfection of manners or virtuous qualities, by purifying and freeing the heart and affections from all sensual pleasures, from all pride, and from all foolish and pestilent desire of glory ; as to these, I say, it is evident that they are differently, and not in the same degree, participated in by men : and, according to such different measures of participation, the degrees of the prophets are also to be distinguished².’

Thus Maimonides, who indeed in all this did but aim at this technical notion of his—that all prophecy is the proper result of these perfections, as a form arising out of them all, as out of its elements compounded together. For it is plain that he thought there was a kind of prognostic virtue in souls themselves, which was in this manner to be excited ; which was the opinion of some philosophers, among whom Plutarch lays down his sense in this manner, according to the minds of many others : ‘The soul doth not then first of all attain a prophetic

¹ הפתאים מעמי הארץ אי אפשר זה
אצלינו ר"ל שינבא אחד מהם אלא
כאפשרות הנבא חמור או צפרדע :
Ibid.

² ידוע שאלו השלשה העניינים אשר
כללנום והם שלמות הכח הדברי בלמוד
ושלמות הכח המדמה ביצירה ושלמות

המדות בבטול המחשבה בכל התענוגים
הגופיים והסר התשוקה למיני התגדלות
הסכליות הרעות יש בהם בין השלמים
יתרון רב בזה על זה מאד לפי זה
היתרון בכל עניין משלשת העניינים
האלו יהיה יתרון מדרגות הנביאים
: כולם זו על זו : *Ibid.* cap. 36.

energy, when it leaves the body as a cloud ; but it now hath it already ; only she is blind of this eye, because of her concretion with this mortal body¹.' This philosopher's opinion Maimonides was more than prone to, however he would dissemble it, and therefore he speaks of an impotency to prophesy, supposing all those three qualifications named before, as of the suspension of the act of some natural faculty. So, 'in my judgment, (saith he) the matter here is just so as it is in miracles, and bears proportion with them. For natural reason requires, that he who, by his nature, is apt to prophesy, and is diligently taught and instructed, and of fit age, that such a one should prophesy ; but he that, notwithstanding, cannot do so, is like to one that cannot move his hand, as Jeroboam, or one that cannot see, as those that could not see the tents of the king of Syria, as it is in the story of Elisha².' And again, he further beats upon this string : *Si vir quidam ita comparatus fuerit, nullum dubium est, si facultas ejus imaginatriæ (quæ in summo gradu perfecta est, et influentiam ab intellectu secundum perfectionem suam speculativam accipit) laboraverit et in operatione fuerit, illum non nisi res divinas et admirandas apprehensurum, nihil præter Deum et ejus angelos visurum, nullius denique rei scientiam habiturum et curaturum, nisi earum quæ veræ sunt et quæ ad communem hominum spectant utilitatem*³. This opinion of Maimonides I find not any where entertained, only by the author of the

¹ 'H ψυχὴ τὴν μαντικὴν οὐκ ἐπικτᾶται δύναμιν ἐκβάσα τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερ νέφους, ἀλλ' ἔχουσα καὶ νῦν, τυφλοῦται διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν ἀνάμειξιν αὐτῆς καὶ σύγχυσιν. Plut. de Defect. Orac. 432 A.

² זה אצלי הוא כרמות הנפלאות כלם ונמשך כמנהגם שהעניין הטבעי שכל מי שהוא ראוי לפי בריאתו ויתלמד לפי גדולו ולמודו שיתנבא והנמנע מזה אמנם הוא כמי שנמנע מהניע ידו כירבעם או נמנע הראות כמחנה מלך

אדם בעניין אלישע : More Nev. Pars II. cap. 32.

האיש אשר זה תארו אין ספק כשיעשה כחו המדמה אשר הוא כתכלית השלמות וישפע עליו מן השכל כפי שלמותו העיוני שלא ישיג אלא עניינים אלהיים נפלאים מאד ולא יראה וזולת האל ומלאכיו ולא ישער ולא תהיה לו ידיעה אלא בעניינים הם דעות אמתיות והנהגות כוללות לתקון בני אדם :

Ibid. cap. 36.

book *Cosri*¹. That which seems to have led him into this conceit, was his mistaken sense, it may be, of some passages in the story of the Kings that speak of the schools of the prophets, and the like, of which more hereafter.

But I know no reason sufficient to infer any such thing as the prophetic spirit, from the highest improvement of natural or moral endowments. And I cannot but wonder how Maimonides could reconcile all this with the right notion of prophecy, which must of necessity include a divine inspiration, and therefore may freely be bestowed by God where and upon whom He pleaseth. Though, indeed, common reason will teach us, that it is not likely that God would extraordinarily inspire any men, and send them thus specially authorized by Himself to declare His mind authentically to them, and dictate what His truth was, who were themselves vicious and of unhallowed lives; and so, indeed, the Apostle Peter tells us plainly, they were “holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost².” Neither is it probable that those who were any way of crazed minds, or who were inwardly of inconsistent tempers by reason of any perturbation, could be very fit for these serene impressions. A troubled fancy could no more receive these ideas of divine truth to be impressed upon it, and clearly reflect them to the understanding, than a cracked glass, or troubled water, can reflect sincerely any image to be made upon them. And, therefore, the Hebrew doctors universally agree in this rule—that the spirit of prophecy never rests upon any but a holy and wise man, one whose passions are allayed. So the Talmud Massech. Sanhedrin, as it is quoted by R. Albo: ‘The spirit of prophecy never resides but upon a man of wisdom and fortitude, as also upon a rich and great man³.’

¹ Vide *Cosri*, Lib. III. § 11, pag. 170, ed. Buxtorf.

² 2 Pet. i. 21.

³ אין הנבואה שורה אלא על חכם נבון ועשיר ובעל קומה: R. Albo, Lib. III. cap. 10.

The two last qualifications in this rule Maimonides, in his *Fundamenta Legis*, hath left out, and, indeed, it is full enough without them. But those other two qualifications of wisdom and fortitude are constantly laid down by them in this argument. And so we find it ascribed to the author of this canon, who is said to be R. Jochanan: ‘R. Jochanan says, God doth not make his Shechinah to reside upon any but a rich and humble man, a man of fortitude, all which we learn from the example of Moses our master².’ Where, by fortitude, they mean nothing else but that power whereby a good man subdues his animal part; for so, I suppose, I may safely translate that solution of theirs which I have sometimes met with, and I think in Pirke Avoth: ‘Who is the man of fortitude? It is he that subdues his *figmentum malum*³,’ by which they meant nothing else but the sensual or animal part: of which more in another discourse. And thus they give us another rule, as it were, paraphrastical upon the former, which I find in the Gemara, where, glancing at that contempt which the wise man in Ecclesiastes cast upon mirth and laughter, they distinguish a twofold mirth, the one divine, the other mundane, and then sum up many of these mundane and terrene affections with which this Holy Spirit will not reside: ‘The Divine Presence (Shechinah), or *Spiritus Sanctus*, doth not reside where there is grief and dull sadness, laughter and lightness of behaviour, impertinent talk or idle discourse; but with due and innocuous cheerfulness it loves to reside, according to that which is written concerning Elisha, “Bring me now a minstrel: and it came to pass when the minstrel played, the hand of the Lord

¹ Vide cap. VII. § 1.

² אמר רבי יוחנן אין הקב"ה משה שכינתו אלא על גבור ועשיר וחכם ועניו
ובולן משה רבינו: *Gem. Nedarim*, cap.

4, fol. 38, a.

³ איזהו גבור הכובש את יצרו: *Mishna Massek. Avoth*. cap. IV. sub init.

was upon him" (2 Kings iii. 15.)¹ Here we see that the temper of mind principally required by them is a free cheerfulness, in opposition to all griefs, anger, or any other sad and melancholy passions. So, 'Every man when he is in a passion, if he be a wise man, his wisdom is taken from him; if a prophet, his prophecy².'

The first part of this aphorism they there declare by the example of Moses, who, they say, prophesied not in the wilderness after the return of the spies that brought an ill report of the land of Canaan, by reason of his indignation against them: and the last part, from the example of the prophet Elisha³, of which more hereafter. Thus in the book Zohar, wherein most of the ancient Jewish traditions are recorded: 'Behold, we plainly see that the divine presence doth not reside with sadness, but with cheerfulness: if there be no cheerfulness, it will not abide there; as it is written concerning Elisha, who said, "Give me now a minstrel." But from whence learn we that the Spirit of God will not reside with heaviness? From the example of Jacob; for all the while he grieved for Joseph, the Shechinah, or the Holy Spirit, did forsake him⁴.' They had also a common tradition, that Jacob prophesied not that time while his grief for the loss of his son Joseph remained with him.

אין שכינה שורה לא מתוך עצבות¹
ולא מתוך עצלות ולא מתוך שחוק
ולא מתוך קלות ראש ולא מתוך שיחה
ולא מתוך דברים בטלים אלא מתוך
דבר שמחה שנ' ועתה קחו לי מנגן
והיה כנגן חמנן ותהי עליו רוח אלהים:
Gem. Shabbath, cap. 2, fol. 30 b.

כל אדם שכועס אם חכם הוא²
חכמתו מסתלקת ממנו אם נביא הוא
נבואתו מסתלקת ממנו: *Gem. Pesach*.
cap. 6, fol. 65 b.

³ 2 Kings iii. 15.

הא חמינן דשכינתא לא שריא⁴
באתר עציבו ולא באתר דאית ביה
חרוה אי הרוה לית ביה לא שריא

שכינתא בההוא אתר כד"א ועתה קחו
לי מנגן וגו' דהא ודאי שכינתא לא
שריא באתר עציבו ומנלן מעקב דבנין
דהוה עציב עליה דיוסף אסתלקת
שכינתא מניה: *Zohar*, col. 408, in *Gen*.

כיון דאתא ליה חרור:
מבשורה דיוסף מיד ותחי רוח יעקב:
'When gladness came to him through the
news of Joseph, immediately the spirit of
Jacob revived.'

Onkelos renders the last part of *Gen*.
xlv. 27, by 'the Holy Spirit rested upon
Jacob their father.' Jarchi's words are,
'The Shechinah rested upon him, which
had before departed from him.'

So, 'The spirit of prophecy dwells not with sadness, but with cheerfulness'. I will not here dispute the punctuality of these traditions concerning Moses and Jacob, though I doubt not but the main scope of them is true, viz. that the spirit of prophecy used not to reside with any black or melancholy passions, but required a serene and pacate temper of mind, it being itself of a mild and gentle nature; as it was well observed concerning the Holy Ghost in another notion by Tertullian, in his *De Spectaculis*: *Deus præcepit Spiritum Sanctum, utpote pro naturæ suæ bono tenerum et delicatum, tranquillitate et lenitate, et quiete et pace tractare; non furore, non bile, non ira, non dolore inquietare*².

Now, according to this notion, I think we have gained some light for the further understanding of some passages in the fifty-first Psalm, which the Chaldee paraphrast and Hebrew commentators also understand of the spirit of prophecy which was taken from David in that time of his sorrow and grief of mind, upon the reflection of his shameful miscarriage in the matter of Uriah³; and this is called "a free spirit⁴," or a spirit of alacrity and liberty of mind, acting by generous and noble and free impulses upon it: and it is paraphrased by "joy and gladness⁵," as being that temper of mind which it most liberally moved and acted upon; as likewise a like periphrasis is used of it, "the joy of God's salvation⁶;" and David thus prayeth for the restoration of it to him, and the establishing him in the firm possession of

¹ אין שבינה שורה מתוך עצבות אלא
: מתוך שמחה: 'This maxim is continually met with in Rabbinical writings. Vid. *Gem. Shabbath*, cap. ii. fol. 30, b, and *Kinchi* on 1 Sam. x. 5, 6, and 2 Kings iii. 15, as quoted in the course of this Chapter.

² Tertull. *de Spectac.* cap. xv.

רוח נבואת קודשך לא תסלק מני :
'Remove not from me Thy Holy Spirit of Prophecy.'

רוח נבואה תסמכני :
'Support me with the Spirit of Prophecy.'—*Targ.*

⁴ רוח גריבה (v. 12).

⁵ v. 8.

⁶ v. 14.

it; "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a fixed spirit within me¹." As if he had said, Thy Holy Spirit of prophecy dwells in no unhallowed minds, but with purity and holiness; and when these are violated, that presently departs; the holy and the impure spirit cannot converse together: therefore cleanse my heart of all pollution, that this divine guest, being restored to me, may find a constant habitation within me. And thus both Jarchi and Abenezra gloss on this place, but especially R. Kimchi, who pursues this sense very largely: and so, before them, the Talmudists had expounded it, descanting upon those words, "Take not thy Holy Spirit from me" (ver. 13), and they tell us how David was punished by leprosy and double excommunication; one from this spirit—ששה חדשים נצטרע דוד—ופרשו הימנו סנהדרין ונסתלקה הימנו שכנינה—which words I find most corruptly translated by Vorstius in his Comment upon the *Fundamenta Legis* of Maimonides. I should, therefore, thus render them in their native and genuine sense, *Per sex menses erat David leprosus* (viz. *propter peccatum in negotio Uriæ admissum*), *et separabant se ab eo viri synagogæ magnæ, atque ablata est ab eo Shechinah* (i. e. *spiritus propheticus*). *Primum constat ex Ps. cxix. ubi dicitur, Revertantur ad me timentes te, et scientes testimonia tua: alterum ex Ps. li. ubi dicitur, Fac revertatur ad me lætitia salutis tuæ*².

But it is now time to look a little into that place which the masters constantly refer to in this notion, viz. 2 Kings iii. where, when the kings of Israel, and Judah, and Edom, in their distress for water, upon their

¹ וְרוּחַ נְכוֹן תִּדְּשׁ בְּקִרְבִּי (v. 10).

ששה חדשים נצטרע דוד ופרשו :
הימנו סנהדרין ונסתלקה הימנו שכנינה
דכתיב ישובו לי יראיך ויודעי עדותיך
וכתיב השיבה לי ששון ישעך :

Gem. Joma, cap. 2, fol. 22 B. The error of Vorstius arose from his twice translating הימנו (i. q. מִמֶּנּוּ) 'ab eo,' as if it had been ימינו, 'dextra ejus.' Vid. not. in Maim. *De Fundam. Legis*, cap. 7, § 5.

warlike expedition against the king of Moab, came to Elisha to inquire of God by him, the prophet seems to have been moved with indignation against the king of Israel, and so makes a very unwelcome address to him: "Surely were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee¹:" and then it follows, "But now bring me a minstrel: and it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him²." Which words are thus expounded by R. D. Kimchi, out of the Rabbins, (with which R. S. Jarchi, and R. L. Ben Gersom agree for the substance of his meaning)—'Our doctors tell us, that from that day wherein his master Elijah was taken up into heaven, the spirit of prophecy remained not with him for a certain time; for, for this cause he was very sorrowful, and the divine Spirit doth not reside with heaviness. Others say that, by reason of the indignation he conceived against the king of Israel, he was "disquieted in his mind;" and touching this they say, "that whensoever a prophet is disturbed through anger or passion, the Holy Spirit forsakes him." From whence learn we this? From the example of Elisha, who, in order to exhilarate himself, said, Give me a minstrel³.'

Thus we may, by this time, see the reason why musical instruments were so frequently used by the prophets, especially the hagiographi; which indeed seems to be nothing else but that their minds might be thereby put into a more composed, liberal, and cheerful temper, and so the better disposed and fitted for the transportation of the prophetic spirit. So we have heard before

¹ v. 14.

² v. 15.

³ אמרו כי מיום שנחלק אליהו רבו לא שרתה עליו רוח נבואה עדיין כי אבל היה ורוח הקדש אינה שורה אלא

מתוך שמחה ויא מפני הכעס שבכם עם מלך ישראל היה עצב ואמרו כל הכועס אם נבי' נבואתו מסתלקת ממנו מנא לו מאלישע ולשמחו אמר קחו לי מנגן:

Kimchi *in loco*.

out of 1 Chron. xxv. how Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun composed their enraptured and divine poems at the sound of the choir music of the temple¹: Another famous place we find for this purpose, 1 Sam. x., which place, as well as the former, hath been, I think, much mistaken and misinterpreted by some of *singing*; whereas certainly it cannot be meant of any thing less than *divine poetry*, and a composure of hymns excited by a divine energy, inwardly moving the mind. In that place, Samuel, having anointed Saul king of Israel, to assure him that it was so ordained of God, tells him of some events that should occur to him a little after his departure from him; whereof this is one, that meeting with some prophets, he himself should find the impulses of a prophetic spirit also moving in him. These prophets are thus described: "After that, thou shalt come to the hill of God, &c. and it shall come to pass, when thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them; and they shall prophesy. And the Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man²." Where this music with which they were accompanied, was to invigorate and compose their minds, as Kimchi comments upon the place: 'And before them was a psaltery (or lute), and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp: forasmuch as the Holy Spirit dwells no where but with alacrity and cheerfulness: and they prophesied, that is, (as Jonathan the Targumist expounds it,) they praised God: as if he had said, their prophecies were songs and praises to God, uttered by the Holy Ghost³.' Thus he.

¹ 1 Chron. xxv.

² vv. 5, 6.

³ וְלִפְנֵיהֶם גִּבֹּל וְתוֹף וְחָלִיל וְכִנּוֹר כִּי רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ אֵינָה שׁוֹרֵר אֱלֹהִים מִחוּץ

שִׁמְחָה: וְהָיָה מִתְנַבְּאִים תְּרַנֵּם יוֹנָתָן מִשְׁבַּחֵן כְּלוֹמֵר נִבְּוֹאָתָם הִיא שִׁירֹת וְתוֹשְׁבֹת לֹא נִאֲמָרוּ בְּרוּךְ הַקֹּדֶשׁ:

Now as this Divine Spirit thus acted upon free and cheerful souls, so the evil spirit actuated sad, melancholy minds, as we heard before, and as we may see in the example of Saul. And, indeed, that evil spirit which is said to have possessed him, seems to be nothing else originally but anguish and grief of mind, however wrought upon by some tempting insinuations of an evil spirit. And this sometimes instigated him to prophesy after the fashion of such melancholy fury: "And it came to pass, on the morrow, that the evil spirit from God came upon Saul, and he prophesied in the midst of the house¹;" which Jonathan renders by *insanivit in medio domus*², or, as Kimchi expounds the paraphrast, *locutus est verba stultitiæ*³. So also R. Solomon Jarchi upon this place expounds it to the same purpose.

So that, according to the strain of all the Jewish scholiasts, by this evil spirit of Saul nothing else is here meant but a melancholy kind of madness, which made him prophesy, or speak distractedly and inconsistently. To these we may add R. L. B. Gersom: 'He spake in the midst of the house very confusedly, by reason of that evil spirit⁴.' Now as this evil spirit was indeed fundamentally, as I said, nothing else but a sour and distracted temper of mind, arising from the terrene dregs of melancholy, grief, and malice, whereby Saul was at that time vexed; so the proper cure of it was the harmony and melody of David's music, which was therefore made use of to compose his mind, and to allay these turbulent passions. And that was the reason (as I hope by this time it appears) why this music was so frequently used,

¹ 1 Sam. xviii. 10.

² אִשְׁתַּטִּי בְּנוֹ בֵּיתָא

³ הִיָּה מְדַבֵּר דְּבָרֵי שְׂטוּת:

⁴ כְּשֶׁבִּאָה רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים רָעָה אֶל שָׁאוּל וְהָיָה מְדַבֵּר בְּתוֹךְ הַבַּיִת דְּבָרִים מְבֻלְבְּלִים בְּסִבַּת הָרוּחַ הָרָעָה וְהָיָה מְדַרְךְ רוּד לִנְגֵן לִפְנֵי בִרְיוֹ לְהַסִּיר

: הָרוּחַ הָרָעָה מִמֶּנּוּ 'When the evil spirit from God came upon Saul, and he spake in the midst of the house very confusedly, by reason of that evil spirit, then it was David's custom to play with his hands before him, to remove the evil spirit from him.'

viz. to compose the animal part, that, all kinds of perturbations being dispelled, and a fine gentle γαλήνη, or tranquillity, ushered in, the soul might be the better disposed for the divine breathings of the prophetic spirit, which enter not at random into any sort of men. Μόνος γὰρ σοφὸς ὄργανον Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἡχοῦν, κρουόμενον καὶ πληττόμενον ἀοράτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, as Philo hath well expressed it upon this occasion¹; these divine breathings enter only into those minds that are fitly disposed for them by moral and acquire qualifications.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the sons or disciples of the prophets. An account of several schools of prophetic education, as at Naioth in Rama, at Jerusalem, Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal, &c. Several passages in the historical books of Scripture pertinent to this argument explained.

AND, therefore, we find also frequently such passages in Scripture as strongly insinuate to us that anciently many were so trained up in a way of school-discipline, that they might become *candidati prophetiæ*, and were as probationers to these degrees, which none but God Himself conferred upon them: yet while they heard others prophesy, there was sometimes an *afflatus* upon them also, their souls, as it were, sympathizing, like unisons in music, with the souls of those which were touched by the spirit. And this seems to be the meaning of that story², where all Saul's messengers sent to Naioth in Rama to apprehend David, and at last he himself, are said to fall a prophesying. For it is probable that the prophecies there spoken of were anthems divinely dictated, or doxologies, with such elegant strains of devotion and fancy as might also excite and stir up the spirits of the auditors: as we

¹ Tom. iv. p. 116.

² 1 Sam. xix.

often find that any admirable discourses, in which there is a cheerful and free flowing forth of a rich fancy in an intelligible, and yet extraordinary way, are apt to beget a symbolizing quality of mind in a bystander.

And the above-mentioned notion is clearly suggested by the Jewish writers, who tell us that this Naioth in Rama was, indeed, a school of prophetic education; and so the Targum expounds the word Naioth, *domus doctrinæ*, i. e. *prophetiæ*¹. And R. Levi Ben Gersom: 'Our masters say that there was a school for the prophets near the city of Ramah, where Samuel dwelt²:' and to the like purpose R. Solomon³. And it is further insinuated that Samuel was the president of this school or college; as disciplining those young scholars, and training them up to those preparatory qualifications, which might more fully dispose them for prophecy; and also prophesying to them in sacred hymns, or otherwise, whereby their spirits might receive some tincture of a like kind. For so we find it, ver. 20: "And when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied." Where the Chaldee paraphrast translates 'prophesying,' by 'praising⁴' God with sacred hymns and hallelujahs, according to the common strain of the prophetic degree which was called *Spiritus Sanctus*. And so R. Kimchi and R. Levi Ben Gersom ascribe it 'to the Holy Spirit⁵.'

¹ בית אולפנא

² אמרו שהיה בית מדרש לנביאים
אצל עיר הרמה שהיה יושב בה שמואל:

³ Probably Kimchi was intended by our author—not R. Solomon Jarchi.

היה זה המקום מקום לבני הנביאים
שהיו יושבים שם ולומדים לפני שמואל:
'This (i. e. Naioth) was a place for the sons of the prophets who dwelt there and learned in the presence of Samuel.'—Kimchi *in loco*.

משבחין

⁵ נבאים' תרגומו משבחין כלומר היו
אומרים שירות ותושבחות לאל ברוח
הקדש ואפשר שהיו מתנבאין נבואות
'עתידות קרובות בזמנם: Prophesying,
i. e. according to the Targumist, "prais-
ing,"—meaning thereby, uttering songs
and praises to God by the Holy Spirit;
or perhaps they were foretelling future
events, the accomplishment of which was
soon to take place.' Kimchi.

Among these prophets it is said, "Samuel stood as appointed over them;" that is, 'He stood as a teacher or master over them,' as the Chaldee paraphrast reads it¹. But R. Levi Ben Gersom strains a little higher, and perhaps too high: 'He derived forth from himself, of his own prophetic spirit, by way of emanation, upon them².' Though this kind of language be very suitable to the notions of those masters, who would fain persuade us that almost all the prophets prophesied by virtue of some influence raying forth from the spirit of some other prophet into them: and Moses himself they make the common conduit through whom all prophetic influence was conveyed to the rest of the prophets. A conceit, I think, a little too nice and subtile to be understood.

But to return: upon this ground we have suggested, these disciples of the prophets are called 'sons of the prophets³;' and these are they which are meant in the place we named before⁴, and in those words, 'a company of the prophets⁵:' that is, as the Targum renders it, 'a company of scribes⁶,' for so these young scholars were anciently called; or, if you please rather, in Kimchi's language, 'a company of scribes, that is, scholars: for the scholars of the wise men were called scribes: for they were the scholars of the greater prophets, and these scholars were called the sons of the prophets. Now the greater prophets which lived in that time from Eli to David were Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun⁷.'

¹ קָאם מְלִיף עֲלֵיהֶן So Jarchi, מלמד אותם 'teaching them.'

² הנה זאת הנבואה היתה ממין רוח חקדש בהשתמש החושים על מנהגיהם וכאלו השפיע שמואל מן חרוח אשר עליו עליהם: 'This prophesying of theirs was of that sort to be attributed to the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as the ordinary use of the senses was preserved; and Samuel, as

it were, derived forth from himself,' &c. R. L. Ben Gersom *in loco*.

³ בני הנביאים

⁴ 1 Sam. xix. 20.

⁵ חֶבֶל נְבִיאִים 1 Sam. x. 5.

⁶ סִיעַת סִפְרָיָא

⁷ סִיעַת סִפְרָיָא ר'ל תלמידים כי תלמידי חכמים נקראו סופרים ואלה היו תלמידי הנביאים הגדולים והתלמידים

And thus we must understand the meaning of that question, "Who is their father¹?" which gave occasion to that proverbial speech afterwards commonly used amongst the Jews, "Is Saul also amongst the prophets?" used of one that was suddenly raised up to some dignity or perfection which, by his education, he was not fitted for. And, therefore, the Chaldee paraphrast, minding the scope of the place, renders "Who is their father?" by 'Who is their master²?' which Kimchi approves³, and accordingly expounds that proverb in this manner: 'When any one was raised from a low state to any dignity, they used to say, "Is Saul also among the prophets⁴?"' But R. Solomon Jarchi would rather keep the literal sense of those words, "Who is their father?" and, therefore, supposeth something more than we here contend for, viz. That prophecy was a kind of hereditary thing. For so he speaks: 'Do not wonder for that he is called the father of them, for prophecy is an hereditary thing⁵.' But I think we may content ourselves with what our former authors have told us, to which we may add the testimony of R. Levi B. Gersom, who tells us that these prophets, here spoken of, were the scholars of Samuel, who trained them up to a degree of prophetic perfection, and so is called their father, 'because Samuel instructed them, and trained

היו נקראים בני הנביאים והנביאים
שהיו באותו הזמן מעלי עד דוד היו
אלקנה ושמואל וגד ונתן והימן וידותון:

¹ v. 12.

² מן רבבון

³ The opinion of Kimchi on this passage can scarcely be adduced in support of our author's argument here. He indeed quotes the translation of Jonathan the Targumist approvingly; but then he interprets the words 'Who is their master?' as referring to God. מי המלמד אלה הנביאים ומשרה עליהם רוח נבואה ואין לתמוה בזה כי הקב"ה המלמד אלה הנביאים מלמד גם כן זה: 'Who is he that teacheth these prophets, and causeth

the spirit of prophecy to rest on them? Nor is there any cause of astonishment in this; for the same Holy Blessed One who teacheth these prophets teacheth also this one' (i. e. Saul).

⁴ כשהיה אדם שפל עולה במעלה
היה אומר הנם שאול בנביאים:

⁵ מה תימה לך בדבר מי אביהן של
נביאים וכי נבואה ירושה היא: Such an opinion is implied in the Chaldee translation of Amos vii. 14, where the Hebrew expression בן נביא 'son of a prophet,' is rendered literally by the equivalent בר נביא—not, as in other passages, by a word signifying 'disciple.'

them up, by his discipline, to a degree of prophetic perfection¹.

Of these disciples we find very frequent mention in Scripture; so we read of the sons or disciples of the prophets in Gilgal². And (chap. vi.) Elisha is brought in as their master, at whose command they were, and therefore they ask leave to enlarge their dwellings³. And Elisha himself was trained up by Elijah, as his disciple; and therefore it was thought a reason good enough to prove that he was a prophet, for that he had been Elijah's disciple, and "poured water upon his hands⁴," as all the Jewish scholiasts observe. And Elisha sends one of these his ministering disciples to anoint Jehu to be king of Israel⁵. And the young prophet sent to reprove Ahab for sparing Ben-hadad, king of Syria, is called by the Chaldee paraphrast 'One of the sons, the disciples of the prophets⁶.' And hence it was that Amos urged the extraordinariness of his commission from God, "I was no

¹ R. Levi Ben Gersom states nothing about Samuel being called the father of the prophets. His words are these: וְיָמֵי אֲבִיהֶם ר"ל שֶׁאֵין עֵינֵי הַנְּבוֹנָה וְהַשְׁלֻמוֹת מְנִיעַ מֵהָאֵב לִבָּן וְלוֹה יִתְכַּן שִׁיחָה הֵבֵן נִבְיָא וְאָף עַל פִּי שֶׁאֵבִי אִינוּ נִבְיָא: 'The meaning of the expression, "Who is their father?" is, that prophetic perfection is not a matter that is conveyed from father to son. Under these circumstances the son may be a prophet, though the father is not so.' Then, after speaking of the difference between the time when Samuel was first 'established to be a prophet of the Lord' (1 Sam. iii. 20), when 'the word of the Lord was precious,' without any 'open vision' (v. 1), and the present time, he adds, וְאִמְנֵם עֵתָּה רַבּוֹ הַנְּבִיָּאִים אִם מִצַּד מָה שֶׁלֹּמֶד אוֹתָם שֶׁמוֹאֵל וְהִבְיָא אֶל הַשְׁלֻמוֹת אִם: 'And perhaps the prophets had now become numerous either because Samuel instructed them, and trained them up, by his discipline, to a degree of prophetic perfection, or through some

other reason.'

² 2 Kings iv. 38, where the Heb. בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיָּאִים 'sons of the prophets, is rendered by Jonathan and Jarchi by תַּלְמִידֵי נְבִיָּא 'disciples of the prophets.' Similarly in 2 Kings vi. 1, *et passim*.

³ 2 Kings vi. 1, 2. The increase in the number of the sons of the prophets is attributed by the various Jewish commentators to the circumstance of the removal of Gehazi from among them. (2 Kings v. 27.)

⁴ 2 Kings iii. 11. That is, 'ministered unto him,' as the Targum renders it.

R. L. Ben Gersom remarks on the passage, that though Elijah had many disciples, yet Elisha was especially mentioned to Jehoshaphat, on account of his having been a personal attendant on Elijah, and so having had superior advantages of instruction and discipline.

⁵ 2 Kings ix. 1.

⁶ 1 Kings xx. 35, וְיָבִיָּא מִן הַנְּבִיָּאִים תַּלְמִידֵי נְבִיָּא

prophet, nor was I a prophet's son¹." 'He was not prepared for prophecy, nor trained up so as to be fitted for a prophetical function by his discipleship,' as Abarbanel glosseth upon the place². And, therefore, divine inspiration found him out of the ordinary road of prophets, among his herds of cattle, and in an extraordinary way moved him to go to Bethel, there to declare God's judgments against king and people, even in the king's chapel. To conclude: In the New Testament, when John the Baptist and our Saviour called disciples to attend upon them and to learn divine oracles from them, it seems to have been no new thing, but that which was the common custom of the old prophets.

Now of these prophets there were several schools or colleges, as the Jews observe, in several cities, according as occasion was to employ them. So, we read of a college in Jerusalem³, where Huldah the prophetess lived, which is called מִשְׁנֵה in the original, and by the Chaldee paraphrast translated *domus doctrinæ*⁴; by Kimchi בית המדרש 'a school'⁵. So, we meet with divers places set down as those, where the residence of those young prophets was, as Bethel, and Jericho, and Gilgal, &c⁶. So Kimchi observes upon the place: 'As the sons of the prophets were in Bethel and Jericho, so were there also of them in several other places. And the main reason why

¹ Amos vii. 14.

² לא היה מוכן לנבואה מפאת התלמדותו וגם לא היה מוכן אליה מצד טבעו ומפאת אביו: 'He was not prepared for prophecy by the discipline he had undergone, nor was he prepared for it by his own nature, nor through his father.' Abarbanel in cap. i. vv. 1, 2. The comment of Abarbanel on the passage itself is as follows: אני לא הכינותי עצמי לנבואה ולא נתעסקתי בלמודה וגם לא ירשתי מאבי מדרגת הנבואה: 'I have not prepared myself for prophecy,

nor have I been engaged in the study of it, nor have I inherited from my father the prophetical degree.'

³ 2 Kings xxii. 14.

⁴ בֵּית אוֹלְפָנָא

⁵ Not the words of Kimchi, but of R. L. Ben Gersom, who employs them as a translation of the Chaldee. Jewish Commentators are not unanimous in their interpretation of the Hebrew word מִשְׁנֵה. Jarchi states an opinion held by some, that it means the part beyond the walls.

⁶ 2 Kings ii. 3—5, and iv. 38.

they were thus dispersed in many of the cities of Israel was this,—that they might reprove the Israelites that were there: and their prophecy was wholly according to the exigency of those times; and, therefore, it was that their prophecy was not committed to writing¹.’ From hence, some of the Jewish writers tell us of a certain *Δαδουχία* of prophecy—one continually like an evening star shining upon the conspicuous hemisphere, when another was set. Kimchi tells us of this mystical gloss upon those words, “Ere the lamp of God went out².” ‘This is spoken mystically concerning the light of prophecy, according to that saying amongst our doctors—the sun riseth and the sun setteth—that is, ere God makes the sun of one righteous man to set, He makes the sun of another righteous man to rise³.’

כמו בבית אל ומה שהיו בני הנביאים בבית אל וביריהו כן היו בערים אחרות אלא זכר אלה לפי שהיה דרכם עליהם ומה שהיו ברוך ערי ישראל כדי להוכיח את ישראל בכל עיר ועיר ונבואתם היתה לשעה לפיכך לא נכתבה נבואתם: Kimchi, in 2 Reg. ii. 3.

² 1 Sam. iii. 3.

בדרש אמר כי על נר הנבואה אמר ואמרו וזרח השמש ונא השמש עד שלא יישקע הק'בה שמשו של צדיק אחד הוא מזריח שמשו של צדיק אחר:

In the book *Cosri*, the sons of the prophets are described as a class of persons who partially, though not entirely, separated themselves from the world, living in deserts, and holding converse only with men of similar character. בהמצא השכינה בארץ הקדושה בעם

המוכן לנבואה היו אנשים נפרדים ושוכנים במדברות מתחברים עם מי שרומה להם לא היו מתבודדים לגמרי אבל היו נעזרים על חכמות התורה ומעשיה המקובים אל המדרגה ההיא בקדושה ובטהרה והם בני הנביאים:

‘Quamdiu majestas Divina (Shechinah) præsens fuit in Terra Sancta, et in populo ad prophetiam disposito et præparato, plures extiterunt, qui se a mundo separaverunt, et in desertis habitaverunt, conversantes tamen cum sui similibus, nec prorsus et omnino solitarie viventes. Adjuti autem fuerunt sanctitate et puritate hac ad assequendum sapientiam Legis, et ejus operum, quorum ope ad gradum illum (quem quesiverunt; propheticum sc.) pervenitur. Et hi sunt, qui vocantur *Filii Prophetarum*.’ *Cosri*, Pars III. § 1.

CHAPTER X.

✓ Of Bath Kol, i. e. filia vocis: That it succeeded in the room of prophecy: That it was by the Jews counted the lowest degree of revelation. What places in the New Testament are to be understood of it.

WE should now come briefly to speak of the highest degree of divine inspiration or prophecy, taken in a general sense, which was the Mosaic. But before we do that, it may not be amiss to take notice of the lowest degree of revelation among the Jews, which was inferior to all that which they call by the name of prophecy: and this was their **בַּת קוֹל** *Bath Kol, filia vocis*, which was nothing else but some voice which was heard as descending from heaven, directing them in any affair as occasion served: which kind of revelation might be made to one, as Maimonides tells us, that was no way prepared for prophecy¹.

Of this *filia vocis*, we have mention made in one of the most ancient monuments of Jewish learning², and elsewhere very frequently among the Jewish writers, as that which was a frequent thing after the ceasing of prophecy among the Jews—of which more afterward. Josephus tells a story of Hyrcanus the high priest, how he heard this voice from heaven, which told him of the victory which his sons had got at Cyzicum against Antiochus, the same day the battle was fought; and this, (he says), while he was offering up incense in the temple: he was

זה הדבור אשר שמעוהו או שעלה
ברעתם הוא כדמות בת קול אשר זכרוה
החכמים תמיד והוא ענין אחד ילוה
לאיש שאינו מוזמן: The words which
they (i. e. Hagar and Manoah and his
wife) heard, or which came into their minds,
were in the nature of the *Bath Kol*, of
which the sages make frequent mention.
This is of such a character as that it may
attach to a man who is yet not prepared

(i. e. for prophecy). *More Nev. Pars II.*
c. 42, sub fin.

² On the occasion of Saul disobeying
the command of God, utterly to destroy
the Amalekites, (1 Sam. xv.) **בַּת**
קוֹל **וַאֲמַרָה לוֹ שְׂאוּל אֵל תְּהִי צָדִיק יוֹתֵר**
: **מִקֹּנֶךְ** 'The *Bath Kol* came forth, and
said to him, Saul be not more righteous
than thy Lord.' *Pirke R. Eliezer*, cap.

made partaker of a vocal converse with God, that is, by a **בַּת קוֹל**.¹

This R. Isaac Sangarensis strongly urgeth against the *Karræi* or *Scripturarii* (a sort of Jews that reject all Talmudical traditions), that the grand doctors of the Jews received such traditions from the seventy-two senators, who were guided, either by a **בַּת קוֹל**, or something answerable to it, in the truth of things, after all prophecy had ceased: 'There is a tradition that the men of the great Sanhedrim were bound to be skilled in the knowledge of all sciences, and, therefore, it is much more necessary that prophecy should not be taken from them, or that which should supply its room, viz. the daughter of voice, and the like.' Thus he, according to the genius of Talmudical learning, is pleased to expound the place, where it is said, that "a law shall go forth out of Zion³," of the consistorial decrees of the judges, rulers and priests of the Jews, and the great senate of seventy-two elders, whom he would needs persuade us to be guided infallibly by this **בַּת קוֹל**, or in some other way,—**בעזר אלהי**—by some divine virtue, power, or assistance, always communicated to them, as supposed, at least, that such a heroical spirit as that spirit of fortitude which belonged to the judges and kings of Israel, and is called the Spirit of God (as Maimonides tells us⁴), had perpetually cleaved to them⁵.

¹ Παράδοξον δέ τι περὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰσραήλ λέγεται, τίνα τρόπον αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον εἰς λόγους ἦλθε. Φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ συνέβαλον, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ θυμῶν, μόνος ὢν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἀκούσειε φωνῆς ὡς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νεκρῶν ἀρτίως τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τοῦτο προελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὶ τῷ πλῆθει φανερόν ἐποίησεν. καὶ συνέβη οὕτω γενέσθαι. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. XIII. cap. x. § 3.

² קבלו כי חסנדרין היו מצווים לדעת כל החכמות כל שכן שלא נסתלקת

מהם הנבואה או מה שעומד במקומה : מבת קול וזולת זה : Cosri, Lib. III. § 41, pp. 216, 17.

³ Is. ii. 3; Mic. ii. 4; Vid. Cosri, Lib. III. § xxxix. p. 213.

⁴ More Nev. Pars II. cap. 45.

⁵ The Bath Kol is frequently mentioned in the Talmud, and also in the later Targums. The following instances may suffice.

תנו רבנן משמחו חגי זכריה ומלאכי נסתלקה רוח הקודש מישראל ואע"פ

But we shall here leave our author to his Judaical superstition, and take notice of two or three places in the New Testament which seem to be understood perfectly of this *filia vocis*, which the constant tradition of the Jews assures us to have succeeded in the room of prophecy. The first is where this heavenly voice was conveyed to our Saviour, as if it had been the noise of thunder, but was not well understood by all those that stood by, who therefore thought that either it thundered, or that it was a mighty voice of some angel that spake to him: "Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified my name, and will glorify it again. The people, therefore, that stood by and heard it, said it thundered: others said that an angel spake to him¹." So, after our Saviour's baptism, upon His coming out of the water, the Evangelist tells us, that "the heavens were opened, and that the Spirit of God descended upon Him in the shape of a dove, and lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased²." And, last of

כן היו משתמשין בבת קול שפעם אחת
היו משמשין בעליות בית נוריא ביריחו
נתנו עליהן בת קול מן השמים ואמרה
יש בכם אדם אחד שראוי שתשרה
שכינה עליו אלא שאין דורו ראוי לכך
נתנו עיניהם בהילל הזקן וכשמת
חספידוהו הי חסיד עניו תלמידו של
עזרא: Our Rabbins have handed down
the tradition that from the time of the
death of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi,
the Holy Spirit was taken away from
Israel, nevertheless they had the privilege
of the Bath Kol. For once upon a time
they were ministering in an upper cham-
ber of the house of Goriya in Jericho,
and there came to them the Bath Kol
from heaven, saying, "there is among
you a certain man who is worthy that
the Shechina should rest upon him, but
his generation is unworthy of this. They
turned their eyes to the aged Hillel; and
when he died, they bewailed him, saying,
Alas, for the holy man! alas, for the

lowly disciple of Ezra!" The Bath Kol
is then said to have directed their atten-
tion in a similar manner to Samuel the
Less.' *Gem. Sota*. fol. 48 B.

אמר דוד למפיוששת אמרתי אתה
וציבה תחלקו את השדה יצתה בת
קול ואמרה לו רחבעם וירבעם יחלקו
את המלכות: 'David said to Mephibo-
sheth, I have said, thou and Mephibosheth
divide the land. The Bath Kol came
forth and said to him, Rehoboam and
Jeroboam shall divide the kingdom.'
Gem. Ioma. cap. 2, fol. 22 B.

¹ John xii. 28, 29. The voice here
was an articulate sound in the midst of
thunder.....The bystanders say, *It
thunders*; and others, that *an angel spake*,
both together saying the truth, that there
was a thunder joined with a voice from
heaven, which is *the daughter of thunder*.
Hammond *in loco*.

² Matt. iii. 17.

all, we meet with this kind of voice upon our Saviour's transfiguration, which is there so described as coming out of a cloud, as if it had been loud like the noise of thunder: "Behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them, and, behold, a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased¹," which voice, it is said, the three disciples that were then with him in the mount, heard, as we are told in the following verse, and also 2 Pet. i. 17, 18. From whence we are fully informed, that it was this *filia vocis* we speak of, which came for the sake of the Apostles that were with Him, as a testimony of that glory and honour with which God magnified His Son; which apostles were not yet raised up to the degree of prophecy, but only made partakers of a voice inferior to it. The words are these, "He received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to Him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven, we heard when we were with Him in the holy mount." Now that this was that very **בֵּת קוֹל** we speak of, which was inferior to prophecy, we may sufficiently learn from the next verse, "We have also a more sure word of prophecy:" for, indeed, true prophecy was counted much more authentical than this **בֵּת קוֹל**, as being a divine inspiration into the mind of the prophet; which this was not, but only a voice that moved their exterior senses; and, by the mediation thereof, informed their minds. And thus we have done with this argument.

¹ Matt. xvii. 5, 6.

CHAPTER XI.

✓ Of the highest degree of divine inspiration, viz. the Mosaical. Four differences between the divine revelations made to Moses, and to the rest of the prophets. How the doctrine of men, prophetically inspired, is to approve itself by miracles, or by its reasonableness. The sympathy and agreeableness between a holy mind and divine truth.

WE now come briefly to inquire into the highest degree of divine inspiration, which was the Mosaical—that by which the law was given; and this we may best do by searching out the characteristical differences of the inspiration of Moses from that which was technically called prophecy. And these we shall take out of Maimonides¹, where they are fully described, according to the general strain of all the Rabbinical doctrine delivered upon this argument.

The first is, That Moses was made partaker of these divine revelations *per vigiliam*; whereas God manifested Himself to all the other prophets in a dream or vision, when their senses were ἀργοί: ‘What is the difference between the prophecy of Moses and the prophecy of all other prophets? All other prophets did prophesy in a dream or vision: but Moses, our master, when he was awake and standing, according to what is written.’ ‘And when Moses was gone into the tabernacle of the congregation to speak with him, (i. e. God,) then he heard the voice of one speaking unto him².’ By which it appears he had free recourse to this heavenly oracle at any time. And, therefore, the Talmudists have a rule, ‘That Moses had never any prophecy in the night-time,’ i. e. in a dream or vision of the night, as the other prophets had³.

¹ De Fundam. Legis, cap. 7.

² מה הפרש יש בין נבואת משה לנבואת שאר כל הנביאים שכל הנביאים בחלום או במראה ומשה רבינו רואה והוא ער ועומד שנאמר

ובנבא משה אל אהל מועד לדבר אתו וישמע את הקול מדבר אליו: Maim. De Fund. Legis. cap. 7, § 6.

³ משה רבינו ע"ה לא באה אליו מעולם נבואה בלילה:

The *second* difference is, That Moses prophesied without the mediation of any angelical power, by an influence derived immediately from God; whereas in all other prophecies, as we have shewn heretofore, some angel still appeared to the prophet. 'All prophets did prophesy by the help or ministry of an angel, and therefore they did see that which they saw in parables, or under some dark representation; but Moses prophesied without the ministry of an angel'.¹ This he proves from Numb. xii. 8, where God says of Moses, "I will speak with him mouth to mouth;" and Exod. xxxiii. 11, "The Lord spake unto Moses face to face."

But we must not, in this place, so adhere to that exposition which Maimonides and the rest of his countrymen give us of this place, as to forget what we are told in the New Testament concerning the ministry of angels which God used in giving the law itself: and so St Stephen discourseth of it²; and St Paul tells us, "the law was given by the disposition of angels in the hands of a Mediator³," that is, Moses, the mediator then between God and the people. And, therefore, I should rather think the meaning of those words, "face to face," to import the clearness and evidence of the intellectual light wherein God appeared to Moses, which was greater than any of the prophets were made partakers of. And, therefore, the old tradition goes of them, that they saw *in speculo non lucido*, whereas Moses saw *in speculo lucido*⁴; οὐ δι' αἰνυγμάτων, as Philo tells us (together with Maimonides) in his book, 'Quis Rerum Divin. Hæres sit;' that is, without any impressions or images of things in his imagination in a hieroglyphical way, as was wont to be

כל הנביאים על ידי מלאך לפיכך¹
רואים מה שהם רואים במשל וחידה
Maim. משה רבינו לא על ידי מלאך:

De Fundam. Legis, cap. 7, § 7.

² Acta vii. 53.

³ Gal. iii. 19.

כל הנביאים נסתכנו באיסקלריא⁴
שאירה מאירה משה רבינו נסתכל
באיסקלריא המאירה: Gem. Jebham,
cap. 4, fol. 49 b.

in all dreams and visions; but by characterizing all immediately upon his understanding: though, otherwise, much of the law was indeed almost little more, for the main scope and aim of it, than an emblem or allegory¹.

But there may be yet a farther meaning of those words, "face to face," and that is, the friendly and amicable way whereby all divine revelations were made to Moses; for so it is added in the text, "As a man speaketh unto his friend."

And this is the *third* difference which Maimonides assigns, viz. 'All the other prophets were afraid and troubled, and fainted; but Moses was not so: for the Scripture saith, "God spake to him as a man speaks to his friend;" that is to say, as a man is not afraid to hear the words of his friend, so was Moses able to understand the words of prophecy, without any disturbance and astonishment of mind².'

The *fourth* and last difference is the liberty of the spirit of Moses to prophesy at all times, as we heard before out of Numb. vii. 89. He might have recourse, at any time, to the sacred oracle, in the tabernacle, which spake from between the cherubim: and so Maimonides lays down this difference, 'None of the prophets did prophesy at what time they would, save Moses, who was clothed with the Holy Spirit when he would, and the spirit of prophecy did abide upon him: neither had he need to predispose his mind, or prepare himself for it, for he was always disposed and in readiness as a ministering angel; and, therefore, he could prophesy at what time he

¹ Τί δὲ Μωσῆς; οὐ προφήτης ᾔδεται πανταχοῦ; Λέγει γὰρ, Ἐὰν γένηται ὑμῶν προφήτης κυρίου, ἐν ὁράματι αὐτῷ γενηθήσεται, Μωσῇ δὲ, ἐν εἰδῇ καὶ οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων. Καὶ πάλιν, Οὐκ ἀνέστη ἐτι προφήτης ὡς Μωϋσῆς, ὃν ἔγνω αὐτὸν κύριος πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον. Phil. Jud. Vol. IV. p. 116.

כל הנביאים יראים ונבהלים² ומתמוגנים ומשה רבינו אינו כן הוא שהכתוב אומר כאשר ידבר איש אל רעהו כלומר כמו שאין אדם נבהל לשמוע דברי חבירו כן היה כח בדעתו של משה רבינו להבין דברי הנבואה והוא עומד על עמדו שלם: Maim. De Fundam. Legis, cap. 7, § 8.

would, according to that which is spoken in Numb. ix. 8, "Tarry you here a little, and I will hear what the Lord will command concerning you¹." Thus Maimonides, who, I think, here somewhat hyperbolizeth, and scarce speaks consistently with the rest of the Hebrew masters. For we may remember what we heard before concerning the Talmudical tradition, that the mind of Moses was indisposed for prophecy when he was transported with indignation against the spies; though I think it is most probable that he had a greater liberty of prophesying than any other of the prophets.

Now this clear, distinct, kind of inspiration made immediately upon an intellectual faculty in a familiar way, which we see was the *gradus Mosaicus*, was most fit and proper for laws to be administered in: which was excellently taken notice of by Plutarch in that discourse of his, where he tells us the poetry that was usually interlaced with riddles and parables was taken away in his time, and a more familiar way of prophecy brought in; though he, by a Gentile superstition, applies that to his Pythia: 'The god hath now taken away from his oracles poetry, and the variety of dialect, and circumlocution, and obscurity; and hath so ordered them to speak to those that consult them, as the laws do to the cities under their subjection, and kings to their people, and masters to their scholars, in the most intelligible and persuasive language².' But, by Plutarch's leave, this character agrees neither with his Pythia, nor indeed with Moses himself,

כל הנביאים אין מתנבאים בכל עת
שירצו משה רבינו אינו כן אלא כל זמן
שיחפזין רוח הקדש לבשהו ונבואה שורה
עליו אינו צריך לכיין דעתו ולהורמן
לה שהרי הוא מכוון ומוזמן ועומד
כמלאכי השרת לפיכך מתנבא בכל עת
שנאמר עמדו ואשמע מה יצוה ה' לכם:
Ibid. cap. 7, § 9.

γλώσσας καὶ περιφράσεις καὶ ἀσάφειαν,
οὕτω διαλέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασε τοῖς χρω-
μένοις ὡς νόμοι τε πόλεσι διαλέγονται,
καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι δῆμοις, καὶ μα-
θηταὶ διδασκάλων ἀκροῶνται, πρὸς τὸ συν-
ετὸν καὶ πιθανὸν ἀρμοζόμενος. Plutarch.
'Cur Pythia nunc non reddat oracula car-
mine.' 406 F.

² ὁ θεὸς ἀφελὼν τῶν χρησμῶν ἔπη καὶ

who put a veil upon his face in giving the law itself to the people, but to our Saviour alone, the Dispenser of the true law of God inwardly to the souls of men; and therein conversing with them, not so much *προσώπῳ πρὸς πρόσωπον*, as *νόῳ πρὸς νοῦν*, not so much 'face to face,' as 'mind to mind.'

We have now seen what is this *gradus propheticus Mosaicus*, which, indeed, was necessary should be transcendent and extraordinary, because it was the basis of all future prophecy among the Jews: for all the prophets mainly aim at that to establish and confirm the law of Moses, as to the practical observation of it; and, therefore, it was also so strongly manifested to the Israelites by signs and miracles done in the sight of all the people, and his familiarity and acquaintance with heaven testified to them all, the divine voice being heard by them all at mount Sinai; which dispensation amounted, at least, to as much as a *בֵּת קוֹל*—*filia vocis*—to the very lowest of the people. All which considerations put R. Phineas into such an admiration of this *מעמד הר סיני* or *statio montis Sinai* (as the doctors are wont to call it), that he determines in *Pirke Eliezer*, 'That all this generation that heard the voice of the holy blessed God was worthy to be accounted as the ministering angels!'. But what that voice was which they heard, the later Jews are scarce well agreed: but Maimonides, according to the most received opinion², tells that they only heard those first words of the law distinctly, viz. "I am the Lord thy God," and, "Thou shalt have none other gods," &c., and but only the sound of all the rest of the words in which the remainder of the law was given: and this, as he says, was the great mystery of that station, so much spoken of by the ancients.

¹ כל אותו הדור ששמעו קולו של : *Pirke R. Eliezer*, cap. 41 *sub fin.*
הק"ב בהר סיני זכו להיות במלאכי

² *More Nev. Pars II. cap. 33.*

And here, by the way, we may take notice that that divine inspiration which is conveyed to any one man, primarily benefits none but himself: and therefore, many times, as Maimonides tells us, it rested in this private use, not profiting any else but those to whom it came¹. And the reason of this is manifest; for that an inspiration, abstractedly considered, can only satisfy the mind of him to whom it is made, of its own authority and authenticalness, as we have shown before: and, therefore, that one man may know that another hath that doctrine revealed to him by a prophetic spirit which he delivers, he must also either be inspired, and so be *in gradu prophetico* in a true sense, or be confirmed in the belief of it by some miracle, whereby it may appear that God hath committed his truth to such a one, by giving him some signal power in altering the course of nature; which, indeed, was the way by which the prophets of old ordinarily confirmed their doctrine, when they delivered any thing new to the people; which course our Saviour Himself and His disciples also took to confirm the truth of the gospel: or else, there must be so much reasonableness in the thing itself, as that by moral arguments it may be sufficient to beget a belief in the minds of sober and good men.

And I wish this last way of becoming acquainted with divine truth were better known amongst us: for when we have once attained to a true, sanctified, frame of mind, we have then attained to the end of all prophecy, and see all divine truth that tends to the salvation of our souls in the divine light, which always shines in the purity and holiness of the new creature, and so need no further miracle to confirm us in it. And, indeed, that

הנביא אפשר שתהיה נבואתו לעצמו
בלבד להרחיב לבו ולהוסיף דעתו עד
שירע מה שלא היה יודע מאותן הדברים
הגדולים: 'There may be a prophet whose
prophecy has regard to himself only, to

enlarge his heart, and to add to his knowledge, that he may understand what he understood not before, of those great matters.' Maim. *De Fundam. Legis*, cap. 7, § 11.

godlike glory and majesty which appear in the naked simplicity of true goodness, will, by its own connateness and sympathy with all saving truth, friendly entertain and embrace it.

CHAPTER XII.

When the prophetic spirit ceased in the Jewish Church. The cessation of prophecy noted as a famous epocha by the Jews. The restoring of the prophetic spirit by Christ. Some passages to this purpose in the New Testament explained. When the prophetic spirit ceased in the Christian Church. That it did not continue long, proved by several testimonies of the ancient writers.

THUS we have done with all those sorts of prophecy which we find any mention of: and, as a *coronis* to this discourse, we shall farther inquire a little *what period of time it was in which this prophetic spirit ceased, both in the Jewish and the Christian church.* In this business, because the Scripture itself is, in a manner, silent, we must appeal to such histories as are like to be most authentical in this business.

And, *first*, for the period of time when it ceased in the Jewish church, I find our Christian writers differing. Justin Martyr would needs persuade us that it was not till the *æra Christiana*. This he inculcates often in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew: ‘There never ceased, in your nation, either prophet or prince, till Jesus Christ was born, and had suffered¹.’ And so he often there tells us that John the Baptist was the last prophet of the Jewish church; which conceit he seems to have made so much of, as thinking to bring in our Saviour *lumine prophetico*, with the greater evidence of divine authority, as

¹ ὅτι οὖν οὐδέποτε ἐν τῷ γένει ὑμῶν ἐπαύσατο οὔτε προφήτης οὔτε ἀρχων, ἐξ οὗ ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, μέχρις οὗ οὗτος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἑπαθεν, οὐδ’ ἀναι-

σχύντως τολμήσετε εἰπεῖν, ἣ ἀποδείξει ἔχετε. Justin Martyr, *Dialog. c. Tryph.* cap. 52.

the promised M^essiah into the world. But Clemens Alexandrinus hath much more truly, with the consent of all Jewish antiquity, concluded that all prophecy determined in Malachi, numbering up the prophets of the Jews, making them thirty-five in all, and Malachi as the last¹. Though, indeed, the Talmudists reckon up fifty-five prophets and prophetesses together: 'The Rabbins say that there were forty-eight prophets, and seven prophetesses, that did prophesy to the Israelites²:' which after they had reckoned almost up, they tell us that Malachi was the last of them, and that he was contemporary with Mordecai, Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, and some others, whose prophecies are not extant, whom for the sake of their number, they there reckon up, who all prophesied in the second year of Darius. But, commonly, they make only these three, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, to be the last of the prophets, and so call them נביאים אחרונים: so the Mishnical doctors tell us, that from the time in which all the first prophets expired, the Urim and Thummim ceased³; and the Gemarists say that they are called נביאים ראשונים 'the first prophets,' 'in opposition to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, which are the last⁴.' And so Maimonides and Bartenora tell us that the *prophetæ priores* were so

¹ Clemens Alexandrinus does not state that prophecy ceased in the Jewish church with Malachi, but he expressly includes John the Baptist, thus agreeing with the opinion of Justin Martyr. The number thirty-five, as given by him, includes the prophets before the law (πρὸ τοῦ Νόμου), comprising Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; together with those in the legal times (σὺν τῷ Νόμῳ), beginning with Moses and Aaron, and ending with Ἀγγαῖος, Ζαχαρίας, καὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα ἄγγελος. He then proceeds: γίνονται δὲ οἱ πάντες προφῆται πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα· γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐταὶ προεφῆτην Σάρρα τε, καὶ Ρεβέκκα, καὶ Μαρίαμ, Δεβ-

βώρα τε καὶ Ὀλδά. ἔπειτα περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους (Hoc est, tempora τοῦ Νόμου, Judaicæ legis. Potter.) Ἰωάννης προφητεύει, μέχρι τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος· μετὰ δὲ τῇ γενέσει τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἄννα καὶ Σιμεὼν· Ζαχαρίας γάρ, ὁ Ἰωάννου πατήρ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς προφητεύει ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις λέγεται. Strom. Lib. I. cap. xxi.

² חנו רבנן ארבעים ושמונה נביאים ושבע נביאות נתנבאו להם לישׂראל: ושבׁע נביאות נתנבאו להם לישׂראל: Gem. Megillah, cap. i. fol. 14 a.

³ משמתו נביאים הראשונים בטלו אורם ותומים: Massec. Sota, cap. g. fol. 48 a.

⁴ לאפוקי מחני זכירה ומלאכי: דאחרונים נינהו: Ibid. fol. 48 b.

called, because they prophesied in the times of the first temple; and the *posteriores*, because they prophesied in the time of the second temple: and when these latter prophets died, then all prophecy expired, and there was left, as they say, only a *Bath Kol* to succeed some time in the room of it. So we are told: 'Our Rabbins say, that from the time the latter prophets died, the Holy Spirit was taken away from Israel; nevertheless they enjoyed the *filia vocis*!:' and this is repeated in *Massech. Joma*, cap. i.² Now all that time which the spirit of prophecy lasted among the Jews under the second temple, their chronology makes to be but forty years. So the author of the book *Cosri*: 'The continuance of prophecy under the time of the second temple was almost forty years³.' And this R. Jehuda, his scholiast, confirms out of a historico-cabbalistical treatise of R. Abraham Ben Dior, and a little after he tells us, that, after forty years, their *sapientes* were called senators: 'after forty years were passed, all the wise men were called the men of the great synagogue⁴.' And, therefore, the author of that book useth this æra of the cessation of prophecy; and so this is commonly noted as a famous epocha among all their chronologers, as the book *Juchasin*, the *Seder Olam Zuta*, as R. David Gantz hath summed them all up in his chronological history, put forth lately by Vorstius⁵. The like may be observed from 1 Mac. ix. 27, iv. 46, and xiv. 41.

תנו רבנן משמתו נביאים האחרונים
חני זכריה ומלאכי נסתלקה רוח הקדש
מישראל ואף ע"פ היו משתמשין בבת
קול: *Gem. Sanhedrin*, cap. i. fol. 11 a.

² Also in *Gem. Sota*, cap. 9, fol. 48 b.

³ התמידה הנבואה בבית שני קרוב
לארבעים שנה: *Cosri*, Lib. III. § 39,
p. 215.

⁴ אחר הארבעים שנה הירח המון
החכמים הנקראים אנשי כנסת הגדולה:
Ibid. § 65, p. 239.

⁵ Haggæus, Zacharias, et Malachias
mortui sunt anno 442, et vocatur tempus
obsignationis visionis vel prophetiæ: quia
isto tempore desiit prophetia in Israele.
R. autem Abraham F. David scribit in
libro *Kabale sue* ad ætatem secundam
virorum ex magna synagoga, Haggæum,
Zachariam, Malachiam, et Ezram scribam
obiisse anno 448. Sic quoque scribit au-
tor libri *Juchasin*, pag. 14. Sic ego col-
loco tempus obitus illorum in anno 442 ex
recensione *Seder Olam Zutha*, ubi hunc

This cessation of prophecy determined as it were all that old dispensation wherein God had manifested Himself to the Jews under the law, that so, by its growing old and thus wearing away, they might expect that new dispensation of the Messiah, which had been promised so long before, and which should again restore this prophetic spirit more abundantly. And so this *interstitium* of prophecy is insinuated by Joel, in those words concerning the latter times; "In those days shall your sons and your daughters prophesy¹," &c. And so St Peter makes use of the place, to take off that admiration which the Jews were possessed withal, to see so plentiful an effusion of the prophetic spirit again²: and therefore this spirit of prophecy is called the testimony of Jesus in the Apocalypse³.

According to this notion we must understand this passage, "The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified⁴." To which this also plainly answers, "He ascended up on high, and gave gifts unto men⁵;" as likewise the answer which the Christians at Ephesus made to Paul, when he asked them whether they had received the Holy Ghost, "That they knew not whether there was a Holy Ghost⁶"; that is, whether there were any extraordinary spirit, or spirit of prophecy restored again to the church or not, as hath been well

in sensum loquitur: 'Anno 52 Medi et Persæ mortui sunt Haggeus, Zacharias et Malachias: isto tempore sublata est prophetia ex Israele, fuitque annus 3442.' Hactenus ille. Licet autem omnia exemplaria Seder Olam Zutha Venetum, Teutonicum et Cracoviense, variant in numero annorum creationis, tamen illos mortuos esse anno 52 Medi omnia exemplaria æqualiter habent. Explicabimus autem deinde, annos illos 52 absolvi anno 442. Et Rasi b. m. scribit cap. 2, de 5 rebus; quæ defecerunt in templo secundo hunc in modum: 'Ab anno secundo Darii,

et deinceps non habitavit super prophetas Spiritus Sanctus.' Est autem procul dubio in hac lectione error scribæ, ut necesse sit legere: 'Ab anno 4 Darii.' Scriptum enim est in Zacharia cap. 7. 'Et factum est anno 4 Darii, ut esset verbum Domini ad Zachariam, &c.' Ganz, *Chronol. Hist. sub Templo Secundo*, p. 57.

¹ Joel ii. 28.

² Acts ii. 17.

³ Rev. xix. 10.

⁴ John vii. 39.

⁵ Eph. iv. 8.

⁶ Acts xix. 2.

observed, of late, by some learned men. But enough of this.

We come now briefly to despatch the *second* inquiry, viz. What time the spirit of prophecy, which was again restored by our Saviour, ceased in the Christian church? It may be thought that St John was the last of Christian prophets, for that the Apocalypse is the latest dated of any book which is received into the canon of the New Testament. But I know no place of Scripture that intimates any such thing, as if the spirit of prophecy was so soon to expire. And, indeed, if we may believe the primitive fathers, it did not; though it overlived St John's time but a little. Eusebius tells us of one Quadratus, 'who, together with the daughters of Philip, had the gift of prophecy'.¹ So the report was. This Quadratus, as he tells us, lived in Trajan's time, which was but at the beginning of the second century. And a little after, speaking of good men in that age, he adds: 'Many strange and admirable virtues of the Divine Spirit as yet showed forth themselves by them'.² And the same author tells us out of Justin Martyr, who lived in the middle of the second century, and then wrote his Apology for the Christians, that the gift of prophecy was still to be seen in the church: *Γράφει δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅτι μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα προφητικά διέλαμπεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*³. Yet not long afterward there is little or no remembrance of the prophetic spirit remaining in the church. Hence the Montanists are, by some of the fathers, proved to be no better than dissemblers, when they pretended to the gift of prophecy, for that it was then ceased in the church. And so Euse-

¹ Τῶν δὲ κατὰ τούτους διαλαμψάντων καὶ Κοδράτος ἦν. Ὅν ἄμα ταῖς Φιλίππου θυγατρᾶσι προφητικῶ χαρίσματι λόγος ἔχει διαπρέψαι—'qui cum Philippi filibus prophetica gratia illustris fuisse memoratur.' Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. III. cap. 37.

² ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος εἰσέτι τότε δι' αὐτῶν πλείσται παράδοξοι δυνάμεις ἐνῆργουν. *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* Cf. παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ μέχρι νῦν προφητικά χαρίσματά ἐστιν. Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphone Judæo*, cap. 81.

bis tells us, and withal that Montanus and his accomplices only took advantage of that virtue of working wonders, which yet appeared (as was reported, though doubtfully) in some places, to make a semblance of the spirit of prophecy: 'But then especially did Montanus, Alcibiades, and Theodotus raise up in many an opinion that they prophesied: and this belief was so much the more increased concerning their prophesying, for that as yet in several churches were wrought many miraculous and stupendous effects of the Holy Spirit; though yet there was no perfect agreement in their opinion about this¹.'

To conclude this, and to hasten to an end of this discourse of prophecy: there is, indeed, in antiquity, more frequent mention of some miracles² wrought in the name of Christ; but less is said concerning the prophetic virtue, especially after the second century. That it was rare, and to be seen but sometimes, and more obscurely in some few Christians only, who had attained to a good degree of self-purification, is intimated by that of Origen in his seventh book against Celsus: Πλὴν καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχνη ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος) παρ' ὀλίγοις, τὰς ψυχὰς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ταῖς κατ' αὐτὸν πράξεσι κεκαθαρμένοις³.

¹ Τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μοντανὸν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ Θεόδοτον περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τοῦ προφητεῦν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐκφερομένων. Πλείσται γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἄλλαι παραδοξοποιῶνται τοῦ θείου χαρίσματος εἰσέτι τότε κατὰ διαφόρους ἐκκλησίας ἐκτελούμεναι, πίστιν παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦ κακείνου προφητεῦν παρείχον, καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τῶν δε-

δηλωμένων. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. cap. 3.

² And that the gift of working miracles had ceased in his time, St Chrysostom doth more than once affirm, Τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν σημείων οὐδ' ἔχνος ὑπολείπεται, Lib. iv. *de Sacerdotio*, &c. The like is affirmed by St Austin. Orig. Ed.

³ Orig. *Contr. Cels.* Lib. vii. cap. 8.

CHAPTER XIII.

Some rules and observations concerning prophetical writ in general.

WE should now shut up all this discourse about prophecy; only, before we conclude, it may not be amiss to add a few rules for the better understanding of prophetical writ in general.

1. The *first*, which yet we shall rather put under debate, is concerning the style and manner of languaging all pieces of prophecy; whether that was not peculiarly the work of the prophet himself; whether it does not seem that the prophetical spirit dictated the matter only, or principally, yet did leave the words to the prophet himself. It may be considered that God made not use of idiots or fools by whom to reveal His will, but such whose intellects were entire and perfect; and that He imprinted such a clear copy of His truth upon them, as that it became their own sense, being digested fully into their understandings; so as they were able to deliver and represent it to others, as truly as any can paint forth his own thoughts. If the matter and substance of things be once lively in the mind, *verba non invita sequentur*: and, according as that matter operates upon the mind and phantasy, so will the phrase and language be in which it is expressed. And therefore, I think, to doubt whether the prophets might not mistake in representing the mind of God in their prophetical inspirations, except all their words had been also dictated to them, is to question whether they could speak sense as wise men, and tell their own thoughts and experiences truly or not. And, indeed, it seems most agreeable to the nature of all these prophetical visions and dreams we have discoursed of, wherein the nature of the enthusiasm consisted in a symbolical

and hieroglyphical shaping forth of intelligible things in their imaginations, and enlightening the understanding of the prophets, to discern the scope and meaning of these *visa* or *phantasmata*; that those words and phrases in which they were audibly expressed to the hearers afterwards, or penned down, should be the prophets' own: for the matter was not, as seems evident from what has been said, represented always by words, but by things. Though I know that sometimes, in these visions, they had a voice speaking to them; yet it is not likely that voice should so dilate, and comment so largely upon things, as it was fit the prophet should do, when he repeated the same things to vulgar ears.

It may also further be considered, that our Saviour and his apostles generally quoted passages out of the Old Testament as they were translated by the Seventy, and that where the Seventy have not rendered them *verbatim*, but have much varied the manner of phrasing things from the original; as hath been abundantly observed by philologers: which it is not likely they would have done, had the original words been the very dictate of the Spirit; for certainly that would seem not to need any such paraphrastical variations, as being of themselves full and clear enough; besides, herein they might seem to weaken the authenticalness of the divine oracles. And, indeed, hath not the swerving from this notion made some of late conceive, though erroneously, the translation of the Seventy to be more authentical than the Hebrew, which they would needs persuade us had been corrupted by the Jews, our Saviour declining the phraseology thereof¹?

¹ The opinion of Grinfield is that both the Hebrew original and the LXX. version are of Divine Inspiration. This opinion was the result of a life spent in the study of the LXX. in connexion with the New Testament, and the establishment of it is the object of his *Apology for the Septuagint*. In page 101 he says, 'there is

something wonderfully harmonious, when we review the different stages of Divine Inspiration, as consecutively exhibited in the Hebrew text, in the version of the LXX, and in the New Testament. The Hebrew was a sacred language, and it is probable that the Inspiration of Moses and the Prophets was principally *real* and

written
prophecy
revelation
made
by God
not a
dictation

Besides, we find the prophets speaking every one of them in his own dialect; and such a variety of style and phraseology appears in their writings, as may argue them to have spoken according to their own proper genius: which is observed by the Jews themselves (who are most zealously, as is well known, devoted to the very letter of the text) in all the prophets except Moses, and that part of Moses only which contains the decalogue. And hence we have that rule; 'The same form doth not ascend upon two prophets, neither do both of them prophesy in the same form¹.' This rule Cocceius confesseth he knows not the meaning of: but Abarbanel, who better understood the mind of his own compatriots, in his comment upon Jer. xlix. gives us a full account of it, upon occasion of some phrases in that prophecy concerning Edom, parallel to what we find in Obadiah. From this congruency of the style in both, he thus takes occasion to lay down our present notion as the sense of that former theorem: 'The prophets did not prophesy in the same manner as Moses did: for he prophesied from God immediately, from whom he received, not only the prophecy, but also the very words and phrases; and accordingly as he heard them, so he wrote them in the book of the Law, in the very same words which he heard from God: but as for the rest of the prophets, they beheld, in their visions, the things themselves which God made known to them,

suggestive. "They spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit." The inspiration of the Greek translators was *verbal*. It enabled them to adopt such words and expressions, as might subsequently form the vocabulary of the New Testament.—The Inspiration of the New Testament was of the highest order, it was *both real and verbal*. It related alike to thoughts and words, but the *words* were taken from the LXX.'

¹ The above is incorrectly rendered, there being no negative in the former clause of the original. The passage re-

ferred to does not assert the variety of manner in which different prophets received prophetic inspiration, but the different forms in which they delivered their prophecies. סננון אחר עולה לכמה נביאים ואין שני נביאים מתנבאים בסננון אחד: *Gem. Sanhedrin*, cap. 10, fol. 89 a. 'The same argument may be furnished to different prophets, and yet no two prophesy in the same strain.' Vid. Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabbin.* s. v. סננון. The rule is exemplified in the Talmud by reference to Jeremiah and Obadiah.

and both declared and expressed them in their own phraseology¹.’

Thus we see he ascribes the phrase and style every where to the prophet himself, except only in the Law, which he supposeth to have been dictated *totidem verbis*: which is probable enough, if he means the law strictly so taken, viz. for the decalogue—as it is most likely he doth². And again, a little after: ‘The things themselves they saw in prophecy, but they themselves did explain and interpret them in that dialect which was most familiar to them³.’ And this, as he there tells, was the reason why the same kind of phraseology occurred not among the prophets, according to the sense of the Talmudists’ maxim we mentioned. The like the Jewish scholiasts observe upon those false prophets who did all, *uno ore*, bid Ahab ascend up to Ramoth-Gilead and prosper: *unus idemque loquendi modus nunquam reperitur in duobus prophetis*:

הנביאים לא היו מנבאים באותו אופן שהיה מנבא משה רבינו ע"ה כי הוא היה מנבא מאת ה' לא לבר הענינים אבל גם הדברים והמלות כמו שהיה שומע אותם היה כותבם על ספר התורה באותם המלות אשר שמע אמנם שאר הנביאים היו רואים בנבואותיהם כללות הענינים שיוריעם הקדוש ברוך הוא והנביאים היו מספרים וכותבים אותם בלשון עצמם: Abarbanel, *Comment. in Jer.* xlix. 15.

² The words of Abarbanel would rather seem to imply a comparison between the prophecies of Moses *generally*, and those of the other prophets. The interpretation of ‘the book of the Law,’ as denoting merely the decalogue, appears far too restricted to suit the passage.

³ ראו הענינים ומעצמם הליצו אותם Abarbanel, *ibid.* Not only did the different prophets, according to the Jewish writers, deliver their prophecies after the style peculiar to each, but their commentators also remark upon the same prophet foretelling the same events at different times

in varying terms. דרך הנביאים לנבא על דבר אחד פעמים רבות בסגנונות מתחלפים: ‘It was the custom of the prophets to prophesy concerning the same subject on various occasions in different forms.’ Abarbanel, *Comment. in Is.* xxi. 1. Jarchi, on the same passage, after remarking that Isaiah had prophesied of the same events before (ch. xiii. 2,) says, הנבואה באה בפיו היום בסגנון אחד: ‘Prophecy came into the mouth of the prophet, now in one form, now in another.’

Maimonides (*More Nev.* Pars ii. cap. 29 *sub init.*) writes thus: דע כי לכל נביא דבר אחד מיוחד בו כאלו לשון האיש ההוא כן תביאנהו לדבר הנבואה המיוחדת: ‘Know that each prophet had his own peculiar style, as it might be his own language. In this form did his particular prophecy lead him to speak to those who understood him.’ Not only was his own language, but even the characteristic style of each prophet, the vehicle for delivering his prophecy.

and, therefore, they made it an argument that these were false prophets, because they did *idem canticum canere*, for they all said, "Go up and prosper¹." And thus the heathenish philosopher Plutarch thought likewise concerning his oracle, telling us, 'That all enthusiasm is a mixture of two motions; the one is impressed upon the soul, which is God's organ; the other ariseth from it²;' and therefore he says—'All prophetic enthusiasm, like as also that which is amatorious, doth make use of the subject faculty, and moves every recipient according to its disposition and nature³.' And thence he thus excuseth the rough and unpolished language in which the oracles were sometimes delivered, most fitly to our purpose describing prophetic inspiration—'For neither the voice, nor sound, nor phrase, nor metre is from God, but from Pythia herself; God only suppeditates the phantasms, and kindles a light in the soul to signify future things: for all enthusiasm is after this manner⁴.' Hence was that old saying of Heraclitus—'That the king, whose oracle is at Delphi, neither plainly expresses, nor conceals, but only obscurely intimates by signs⁵.' But to conclude this *first* particular, I shall add, by way of caution; We must not think that we can vary Scripture expression so securely, with retaining the true meaning, except we likewise have as real an understanding of the sense itself as the prophets had, whom God also did so far superintend in their copying forth His truth, as not to suffer them to swerve

¹ 1 Kings xxii. 12.

² Οὕτως ὁ καλούμενος ἐνθουσιασμός ἐοικε μίξις εἶναι κινήσεων δυοῖν, τὴν μὲν ὡς πέπονθε τῆς ψυχῆς ἄμα, τὴν δὲ ὡς πέφυκε κινουμένης. Plut. 'Cur Pythia nunc non reddat oracula carmine.' 404 F. ψυχὴ δὲ ὄργανον θεοῦ γέγονεν. *Ibid.* 404 B.

³ Ὁ δὲ μαντικός ἐνθουσιασμός, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐρωτικός, χρήται τῇ ὑποκειμένη δυνάμει, καὶ κινεῖ τῶν δεξαμένων ἕκαστον καθ' ὃ πέφυκεν. Plut. 'Cur Pythia nunc non reddat ora-

cula carmine.' 406 B.

⁴ Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ θεοῦ ἡ γῆρυς, οὐδὲ ὁ φθόγγος, οὐδὲ ἡ λέξις, οὐδὲ τὸ μέτρον, ἀλλὰ τῆς γυναικὸς· ἐκεῖνος δὲ μόνος τὰς φαντασίας παρίστησι, καὶ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. ὁ γὰρ ἐνθουσιασμός τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. *Ibid.* 397 C.

⁵ Ὁ ἀναξ, οὐ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει, οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. *Ibid.* 404 D.

from His meaning. And so we have done with that particular.

2. In the next place, for the better understanding of all prophetical writ, we must observe, That there is sometimes a seeming inconsistence in things spoken of, if we come to examine them by the strict, logical rules of method: we must not, therefore, in the matter of any prophetical vision, look for a constant, methodical contexture of things carried on in a perpetual coherence. The prophetical spirit doth not tie itself to these rules of art, or thus knit up its dictates systematically, fitly framing one piece or member into a combination with the rest, as it were with the joints and sinews of method: for this, indeed, would argue a human and artificial contrivance rather than any inspiration, which, as it must beget a transport in the mind, so must it spend itself in such abrupt kind of revelations, as may argue indeed the prophet to have been inspired. And, therefore, Cicero judiciously excepts against the authenticity of those verses of the Sibyls which he met with in his time (and which were the same, perhaps, with those we now have), because of those acrostics, and some other things, which argue an elaborate artifice, and an affected diligence of the writer, and so, indeed, *non furentis erant, sed adhibentis diligentiam*, as he speaks¹. *Lumen propheticum est lumen abruptum*, as was well noted anciently by the Jews. And, therefore, the masters of Jewish tradition have laid down this maxim: '*Non est prius et posterius in lege*².' We

¹ Sibyllæ versus observamus, quos illa furens fudisse dicitur..... Callide (enim) qui illa composuit, perfecit, ut quodcunque accidisset, prædictum videretur, hominum et temporum definitione sublata. Adhibuit etiam latebram obscuritatis, ut iidem versus alias in aliam rem posse accommodari viderentur.

Non esse autem illud carmen furentis, quum ipsum poema declarat (est enim

magis artis et diligentiae, quam incitationis et motus), tum vero ea, quæ ἀποστίχῃς dicitur, quum deinceps ex primis versuum litteris aliquid connectitur, ut in quibusdam Ennianis: id certe magis est attentī animi, quam furentis.—Cic. *de Divinat.* Lib. II. cap. 54.

² אין מוקדם ומאוחר בתורה: This maxim is frequently adduced by the Jewish writers when commenting upon

must not seek for any methodical concatenation of things in the Law, or indeed in any other part of Prophetical Writ; it being a most usual thing with them, many times, *πέρας ἀρχῇ συνάπτειν*—to knit the beginning and end of time together¹. *Nescit tarda molimina Spiritus Sancti gratia*, is true also of the grace or gift of prophecy. We find no curious transitions, nor true dependence, many times, of one thing upon another; but things of very different natures, and that were cast into periods of time, secluded one from another by vast intervals, all brought together in the same vision; as Jerome hath observed in many places, and therefore tells us, *Non curæ fuit Spiritui Prophetali historiæ ordinem sequi*. And thus he takes notice that whereas there were thirteen kings between Cyrus and Alexander the Great, the Prophet speaks of but four, skipping over the rest, as if the other nine had filled up no part of the interval². The like he observes upon Jer. xxi. 1, and elsewhere³; as likewise sudden and

passages of Scripture in which the natural sequence of events is disregarded in the description, e. g. by Aben Ezra in his remarks on the creation of man as recorded at the end of the 2nd chapter of Genesis.

¹ Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ χρόνου κίνησις κατὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ χρονικῇ μονάδι μέτρα προελθούσα πέρας ἀρχῇ συνάπτει, κ.τ.λ. Procl. in Plat. Tim. 248 A.

² Et ecce tres adhuc reges stabunt in Perside: et quartus ditabitur opibus nimis super omnes: et quum invaluerit divitiis suis, concitabit omnes adversum regnum Græciæ. 'Quatuor reges post Cyrum dicit in Perside surrecturos, Cambysen filium Cyri: et Smerden Magum qui Pantaptem filiam Cambysis duxit uxorem. Qui quum a septem Magis fuisset occisus, et in locum ejus Darius suscepisset imperium, eadem Pantaptes nupsit Dario: et ex eo Xerxen genuit filium, qui potentissimus rex et ditissimus. . . . Frustra igitur quidam Darium regem quartum, qui ab Alexandro supe-

ratus est scribit: qui non quartus, sed quartus decimus post Cyrum Persarum rex fuit: quem septimo imperii sui anno, et superavit et occidit Alexander. Et notandum quod quatuor post Cyrum regibus Persarum enumeratis, novem præterierit, et transierit ad Alexandrum. Non enim curæ fuit spiritui prophetali historiæ ordinem sequi, sed præclara quæque perstringere.' S. Hieron. Comment. in Dan. xi. 2.

³ Notandum quod in prophetis, maximeque in Ezechiele et Jeremia, nequaquam regum et temporum ordo servetur, sed præposterè, quod juxta historiam postea factum sit, prius referri, et quod prius gestum sit, postea. Aliud est enim historiam, aliud prophetiam scribere; ut in præsentī loco sedecias qui cum urbe Jerusalem captus est, mittens scribitur ad Jeremiam, et eo tempore quo obsidebatur Jerusalem: et postea narratur historia Joacim fratris ejus qui ante eum rex fuit: et Joachim, id est, Jechoniæ qui fuit filius Joacim, super quibus dicitur

abrupt introductions of persons, mutations of persons (*exits* and *intrats* upon this prophetical stage being made, as it were, in an invisible manner), and transitions from the voice of one person to another. The prophetical spirit, though it make no noise and tumult in its motions, yet is it most quick, spanning, as it were, from the centre to the circumference: it moves most swiftly, though most gently. And thus Philo's observation is true, Οὐδεὶς ἐννοῦς μαντεύει. There must be some kind of *Μανία* in all prophecy, as Philo tells us: 'When divine light ariseth upon the horizon of the soul of man, his own human light sets¹: it must, at least, hide itself as a lesser light, as it were by an *occusus heliacus*, under the beams of the greater, and be wholly subject to the irradiations and influences of it. As he goes on; 'Therefore the setting of a man's own discursive faculty, and the eclipsing thereof, begets an *ecstasis* and a divine kind of *mania*².'

3. The last rule we shall observe is, That no piece of prophecy is to be understood of the state of the world to come, or the *mundus animarum*: for, indeed, it is altogether impossible to describe that, or to comprehend it in this life. And, therefore, all divine revelation in scripture must concern some state in this world. And so we must understand all those places that treat of "a new heaven and a new earth," and such like. And so we must understand the new Jerusalem mentioned in the New Testament, in that prophetical book of the Apocalypse³. And thus the Jews were wont universally to understand them, according to that maxim we now speak of, ascribed to R. Jochanan: 'All the prophets prophesied to the days of the Messiah; but as for the world to come,

in sequentibus. S. Hieron. *Comment. in Jerem.* xxi. 1.

¹ Ὅτε μὲν γὰρ φῶς ἐπιλάμψει τὸ θεῖον, δύνεται τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Phil. Jud. Vol. iv. p. 118.

² Θέμις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συνοικῆσαι. διὰ τοῦτο ἡ δύσις τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν σκότος ἑκστασιν καὶ θεοφόρητον μανίαν ἐγέννησε. Philo Jud. Ibid.

³ Rev. xxi.

eye hath not seen it¹.’ So they constantly expound that passage in Isaiah: “Since the beginning of the world men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, besides thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for Him².” And, according to this aphorism, our Saviour seems to speak, when He says; “All the prophets and the Law prophesied until John³,” *ἕως ἰωάννου*, i. e. They prophesied to, or for, that dispensation which was to begin with John, who lived in the time of the twilight, as it were, between the Law and the Gospel. They prophesied of those things which should be accomplished within the period of gospel dispensation which was ushered in by John⁴.

¹ This maxim is based upon the verse of Isaiah accompanying it in the text.
כל הנביאים כולן לא נחבאו אלא
לימות המשיח אבל לעולם הבא עין
לא ראתה אלהים וזולתך: All the
prophets prophesied only to (or for) the
days of the Messiah; but respecting the
world to come, eye hath not seen, O God,
besides Thee. *Gem. Berachoth*, cap. v.
fol. 36 A.

² Chap. lxiv. 4. Kimchi, Jarchi, Abarbanel, &c., all quote the words of R. Jochanan in their comments on this passage.

Maimonides writes thus:

כבר הודיענו החכמים הראשונים
שטובת הע"הב אין כח באדם להשיגה
על בוריה ואין יודע גודלה ויפיה ועצמה
אלא הק"בר לבדו ושכל הטובות
שמחנבאין בהם הנביאים לישראל אינן
אלא לדברים שבגוף שנהנין בהן ישראל
לימות המשיח בזמן שתשוב הממשלה
לישראל אבל טובת חיי הע"הב אין
לה ערך ודמיון ולא דמות הנביאים כדי
שלא יפחתו אותה בדמיון הוא שישעיהו
אמר עין לא ראתה אלהים וזולתך יעשה
למחכה לו כלומר הטובה שלא ראתה
אותה עין נביא ולא ראה אותה אלא
אלהים עשה אותה האלהים לאדם
שמחכה לו אמרו חכמים כל הנביאים
כולן לא ניבאו אלא לימות המשיח אבל
הע"הב עין לא ראתה אלהים וזולתך:

‘The sages of antiquity have long ago assured us that the power of man is insufficient to comprehend clearly the good of the world to come, and that no one knows its magnitude, its beauty, and its substance, except the Holy Blessed One; moreover, that all the blessings whereof the prophets prophesy with respect to Israel, are only corporeal, to be enjoyed by Israel in the days of the Messiah, at the time when the kingdom shall be restored to Israel; but that the blessings of the world to come admit of no comparison or similitude, nor did the prophets employ any, lest by the similitude they might derogate therefrom. This is the meaning of Isaiah, when he says, “Eye hath not seen, O God, beside thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for Him,” i. e. the good which the eye of prophet hath not seen, and which no one hath beheld except God, hath God prepared for him that waiteth for Him. The sages have said: “All the prophets prophesied only of the days of the Messiah; but as to the world to come—eye hath not seen, O God, beside Thee.”’

Maimon. *Yad Chazakah, de Penitencia*, cap. 8. § 10.

³ Matt. xi. 13.

⁴ Our author might well have added a few lines on the *hyperbolic* language of the prophets. There is an ancient

As for the state of blessedness in heaven, it is *major mente humanâ*, much more is it *major phantasiâ*. But of this in part heretofore.

Jewish maxim which says, דברה תורה לשון הבאי: 'the Law sometimes speaks hyperbolically,' (*Gem. Cholin*, fol. 90 B). There are many passages in Holy Scripture, and more especially in the prophetic writings, in the interpretation of which this rule must be borne in mind. Maimonides, writing on this subject, says:

הנה יבא מהם בכתבי ספרי הנבואה וכשיובנו כמשמעם מדוקדקים ולא יודע שהם הפלגה ונזומא או יובנו כמה שתורה עליו המלה לפי ההנחה הראשונה ולא יודע שהם מושאלים יחדשו עניינים מרוחקים וכבר בארו ואמרו דברה תורה בלשון הבאי רוצה לומר הנזומא: There are some passages in the prophetic writings which, if understood according to their literal grammatical signification, without regard to their hyperbolic usage, or if interpreted after the primary meaning to be attached to the words, regardless of their metaphorical character, give rise to absurd ideas. So the old maxim says: The Law sometimes speaks hyperbolically.' *More Nevoch*. Pars II. cap. 47, sub. init. Of this sort is the phrase in Deuteronomy: 'The cities are great and walled up to heaven,' (i. 28). Similarly the earth is said to be rent with the sound of the pipes and the rejoicing of

the people (1 Kings i. 40). The following are the remarks of S. Augustine on the concluding words of St John's Gospel: 'Non spatio locorum credendum est mundum capere non posse, quæ in eo scribi quomodo possent, si scripta non ferret? sed capacitate legentium comprehendi fortasse non possent: quamvis salva rerum fide, plerumque verba excedere videantur fidem. Quod non fit quando aliquid quod erat obscurum vel dubium, causa et ratione reddita exponitur: sed quando id quod apertum est vel augetur, vel extenuatur, nec tamen a tramite significandæ veritatis erratur; quoniam sic verba rem quæ indicatur excedunt, ut voluntas loquentis nec fallentis appareat, qui novit quousque credatur, a quo ultra quam credendum est vel minuitur loquendo aliquid, vel augetur. Hunc loquendi modum Græco nomine, non solum Græcarum, verum etiam Latinarum litterarum magistri hyperbolen vocant. Qui modus, sicut hoc loco, ita in nonnullis aliis divinis Litteris invenitur: ut est, *Posuerunt in cælum os suum* (Ps. lxxii. 9); et, *Verticem capilli perambulantium in delictis suis* (Ps. lxxvii. 22); et multa hujusmodi, quæ Scripturis Sanctis non desunt, sicut alii tropi, hoc est locutionum modi. S. Aug. in Joannis Evang. Tract. cxxiv. Tom. III. col. 2474.

AN ADVERTISEMENT.

THE reader may remember that our author, in the beginning of his Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, propounded these three great principles of religion to be discoursed of; 1. The Immortality of the Soul; 2. The Existence and Nature of God; 3. The Communication of God to mankind through Christ. And having spoken largely to the two former principles of natural theology, he thought it fit (as a preparation to the third, which imports the revelation of the Gospel) to speak something concerning prophecy, the way whereby revealed truth is dispensed to us. Of this he intended to treat but a little, (they are his words in the beginning of the treatise on prophecy), and then pass on to the third and last part, *viz.* those principles of revealed truth which tend most of all to advance and cherish true and real piety. But in his discoursing on prophecy, so many considerable inquiries offered themselves to his thoughts, that by the time he had finished this discourse (designed, at first, only as a Preface) his office of Dean and Catechist in the college did expire. Thus far had the author proceeded in that year of his office: and it was not long after, that bodily distempers and weaknesses began more violently to seize upon him, which, the summer following, put a

period to his life here—a life so every way beneficial to those who had the happiness to converse with him. *Sic multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.* Thus he who designed to speak of God's communication of Himself to mankind through Christ, was taken up by God into a more inward and immediate participation of Himself in blessedness. Had he lived, and had health to have finished the remaining part of his designed method, the reader may easily conceive what a valuable piece that discourse would have been. Yet that he may not altogether want the author's labours upon such an argument, I thought good, in the next place, to adjoin a discourse of the like importance and nature, delivered heretofore by the author in some chapel exercises, from which I shall not detain the reader by any more Preface.



A

DISCOURSE

TREATING OF

LEGAL RIGHTEOUSNESS; EVANGELICAL RIGHTEOUSNESS,

OR, THE

RIGHTEOUSNESS OF FAITH;

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE

LAW AND THE GOSPEL; THE OLD AND THE NEW
COVENANT;

JUSTIFICATION AND DIVINE ACCEPTANCE;

THE CONVEYANCE OF THE EVANGELICAL RIGHTEOUSNESS
TO US BY FAITH.

Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. Matt. v. 20.

Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof. 2 Tim. iii. 5.

For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did. Heb. vii. 19.

“Ὅσοι υἱοὶ εἰσι τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τῆς διακονίας τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, οὗτοι παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν μαθάνουσι· θεοδιδάκτοι γάρ εἰσιν· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἐπιγράφει ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν τοὺς νόμους τοῦ πνεύματος. Οὐκ ὀφείλουσιν οὖν εἰς τὰς γραφὰς μόνον τὰς διὰ μέλανος γεγραμμένας πληροφορεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς πλάκας τῆς καρδίας ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγγράφει τοὺς νόμους τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια μυστήρια.

S. MACARIUS, *Homil.* XV.



Clarified
revised with
Platonism & Mysticism

A
DISCOURSE
ON
LEGAL RIGHTEOUSNESS;
AND ON THE
RIGHTEOUSNESS OF FAITH,
&c.

But Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness: Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but, as it were, by the works of the law. Rom. ix. 31, 32.

CHAPTER I.

The introduction, showing what it is to have a right knowledge of divine truth, and what it is that is either available or prejudicial to the true Christian knowledge and life.

THE doctrine of the Christian religion propounded to us by our Saviour and His apostles, is set forth with so much simplicity, and yet with so much repugnancy to that degenerate genius and spirit that rules in the hearts and lives of men, that we may truly say of it, it is both the easiest and the hardest thing: it is a revelation wrapt up in a complication of mysteries, like that book of the Apocalypse, which both unfolds and hides those great arcana that it treats of; or, as Plato sometimes chose so to explain the secrets of his metaphysical or theological philosophy, ὥστε ὁ ἀναγνὼνς μὴ γινῶ—that he that read

might not be able to understand, except he were a son of wisdom, and had been trained up in the knowledge of it. The principles of true religion are all in themselves plain and easy, delivered in the most familiar way, so that he that runs may read them; they are all so clear and perspicuous, that they need no key of analytical demonstration to unlock them: the Scripture being written *doctis pariter et indoctis*, and yet it is “wisdom in a mystery, which the princes of this world understand not¹,” a sealed book with which the greatest philosophers may be most unacquainted: it is like that pillar of fire and of a cloud that parted between the Israelites and the Egyptians, giving a clear and comfortable light to all those that are under the manuduction and guidance thereof, but being full of darkness and obscurity to those that rebel against it. Divine truth is not to be discerned so much in a man’s *brain*, as in his *heart*. Divine wisdom is a *tree of life* to them that find her, and it is only life that can feelingly converse with life. All the thin speculations and subtilest discourses of philosophy cannot so well unfold or define any sensible object, or tell any one so well what it is, as his own naked sense will do. There is a divine and spiritual sense which only is able to converse internally with the life and soul of divine truth, as mixing and uniting itself with it; while vulgar minds behold only the body and outside of it. Though in itself it be most intelligible, and such as man’s mind may most easily apprehend; yet there is a קליפת הטומאה (as the Hebrew writers call that יצר הרע)—*incrumentum immunditiei*—upon all corrupt minds, which hinders the lively taste and relish of it. This is that thick and palpable darkness which cannot comprehend that divine light that shines in the minds and understandings of all men, but makes them deny that very truth which they

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8.

seem to entertain. "The world through wisdom (as the apostle speaks) knew not God¹." Those great disputers of this world were too full of nice and empty speculations, to know Him who is only to be discerned by a pacate, humble, and self-denying mind: their curiosity served rather to dazzle their eyes than to enlighten them; while they rather proudly braved themselves in their knowledge of the Deity, than humbly subjected their own souls to a compliance with it; making the Divinity nothing else but, as it were, a flattering glass that might the better reflect and set off to them the beauty of their own wit and parts: and while they seemed to converse with God Himself, they rather amorously courted their own image in Him, and fell into love with their own shape. Therefore the best acquaintance with religion is *θεοδιδακτος γυνωσις* — 'a knowledge taught by God:' it is a light that descends from heaven, which only is able to guide and conduct the souls of men to heaven, from whence it comes. The Jewish doctors usually put it among the fundamental articles of their religion, 'That their law was from heaven²:' I am sure we may much rather reckon it amongst the principles of our Christian religion in a higher way, that it is an influx from God upon the minds of good men. And this is the great design and plot of the gospel, to open and unfold to us the true way of recourse to God; a contrivance for uniting the souls of men to Him, and deriving a participation of God to men, to bring in "everlasting righteousness," and to establish the true tabernacle of God in the spirits of men, which was done in a typical and emblematical way under the law. And herein consists the main pre-eminence which the gospel hath above the law, in that it so clearly unfolds the way and method

¹ 1 Cor. i. 21.

² התורה מן השמים He who denies the truth of this is classed among

the few who are excluded by the Jewish writers from any portion in the world to come. *Massec. Sanhedrin*, cap. 11, § 1.

of uniting human nature to Divinity; which the apostle seems mainly to aim at in these words: "But Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, &c."

CHAPTER II.

An inquiry into that Jewish notion of a legal righteousness, which is opposed by St Paul. That their notion of it was such as this, viz. That the law externally dispensed to them, though it were, as a dead letter, merely without them, and conjoined with the power of their own free-will, was sufficient to procure them acceptance with God, and to acquire merit enough to purchase eternal life, perfection, and happiness. That this their notion had these two grounds; First, An opinion of their own self-sufficiency, and that their free-will was so absolute and perfect, as that they needed not that God should do any thing for them, but only furnish them with some law about which to exercise this innate power. That they asserted such freedom of will as might be to them a foundation of merit.

FOR the unfolding of this, we shall endeavour to search out, first, *What the Jewish notion of a legal righteousness was, which the apostle here condemns.*

Secondly, What that evangelical righteousness, or righteousness of faith, is, which he endeavours to establish in the room of it.

For the *first*: That which the apostle here blames the Jews for, seems to be, indeed, nothing else but an epitome or compendium of all that for which he elsewhere disputes against them: which is not merely and barely concerning the formal notion of *justification*, as some may think—*viz.* whether the formal notion of it respects only faith, or works in the person justified, (though there may be a respect to that also)—it is not merely a subtile school-controversy which he seems to handle; but it is of a greater latitude; it is, indeed, concerning the whole way of life and happiness, and the proper scope of restoring

mankind to perfection and union with the Deity, which the Jews expected by virtue of that system and pandect of laws which were delivered upon mount Sinai, augmented and enlarged by the Gemara of their own traditions.

That we may the better understand this, perhaps it may not be amiss a little to traverse the writings of their most approved ancient authors, that so, finding out their constantly received opinions concerning their law and the works thereof, we may the better and more fully understand what St Paul and the other apostles aim at, in their disputes against them.

The Jewish notion, generally, of the law is this; 'That in the model of life contained in that body of laws, distinguished ordinarily into moral, judicial, and ceremonial, was comprised the whole method of raising man to his perfection; and that they, having only this book of laws without them, to converse with, needed nothing else to procure eternal life, perfection and happiness—as if this had been the only means God had for the saving of men, and making them happy, to set before them in an external way, a volume of laws, statutes, and ordinances, and so to leave them to work out, and purchase to themselves, eternal life in the observance of them.'

Now this general notion of theirs we shall unfold in two particulars.

First, as a foundation of all the rest, they took up this as a hypothesis, or common principle: 'That man had such an absolute and perfect freewill, and such a sufficient power from within himself to attain to virtue and goodness, as that he only needed some law as the matter or object whereon to exercise this innate power; and, therefore, needed not that God should do any thing more for him, than merely acquaint him with His divine will and pleasure.'

And for this we have Maimonides speaking very fully and magisterially, that this was one of their *radices fidei*—or articles of their faith—and one main foundation upon which the Law stood. His words are these: ‘The power of free-will is given to every man to turn himself, if he will, to that which is good, and to be good; or to turn himself to that which is evil, and to be wicked, if he will. Both are in his power, according to what is written in the law: “Behold, man is become as one of us, to know good and evil¹:” that is to say, Behold, this sort of creature, man, is alone (and there is not a second like to man) in this, *viz.* That man, from himself, by his own proper knowledge and power, knows good and evil, and does what pleaseth him in an uncontrollable way, so as none can hinder him as to the doing of either good or evil².’

And, a little after, he thus interprets those words in the Lamentations, of the repenting church: “Let us search and try our ways, and turn unto the Lord³:” ‘Seeing that we, who are endued with the power of free-will, have most wittingly and freely committed all our transgressions; it is meet and becoming that we should convert ourselves by repentance, and forsake all our iniquities, forasmuch as this also is in our power: this is the importance of those words, “Let us search and try our ways, and turn unto the Lord.” And this is a great fundamental, the very pillar of the law and precept, according to what is written; “See, I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evil,”’ (Deut. xxx. 15)⁴.

¹ Gen. iii. 22.

² רשות לכל אדם נתונה אם רצה
להטות עצמו לדרך טובה ולהיות צדיק
הרשות בידו • ואם רצה להטות עצמו
לדרך רעה ולהיות רשע הרשות בידו •
הוא שכתוב בתורה הן האדם היה
כאחד ממנו לדעת טוב ורע • כלומר הן
מין זה של אדם היה יחיד בעולם ואין
מין שני דומה לו בזה הענין שיהא הוא
מעצמו בדתו ובמחשבתו יודע הטוב

והרע ועושה כל מה שהוא חפץ ואין מי
שיעכב בידו מלעשות הטוב או הרע:
Yad Chazakah, Tract. de Peniten. cap. 5,
ad init.

³ Lam. iii. 40.

⁴ רואיל ורשותנו בדינו ומדתנו
עשינו כל הרעות ראוי לנו לחזור בתשובה
ולעזוב רשענו שהרשות עתה בדינו הוא
שכתוב אחריו נחפשה דרכינו ונחקרה
ונשובה: ודבר זה עיקר גדול הוא והוא

Thus we see Maimonides, who was well versed in the most ancient Jewish learning, and in high esteem among all the Jews, is pleased to reckon this as a main principle and foundation upon which that law stood; as indeed it must needs be, if life and perfection might be acquired by virtue of those legal precepts which had only an external administration, being set before their external senses, and promulged to their ears as the statute-laws of any commonwealth usually are. This was the very notion that they themselves had of these laws. And therefore in *Bereshith Rabba* (a very ancient writing) the Jewish doctors, taking notice of that passage in the Canticles: 'Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth¹,' thus gloss upon it: 'At the time of the giving of the law, the congregation of Israel desired that Moses might speak to them, they being not able to hear the words of God Himself: and while he spake, they heard, and hearing, forgot; and thereupon moved this debate among themselves, What is this Moses, a man of flesh and blood? and what is his law, that we so soon learn, and so soon forget it? O that God would kiss us with the kisses of His mouth!' that is, in their sense, that God would teach them in a more vital and internal way. And then (as they go on) Moses maketh this answer: 'That this could not be then: but it should so come to pass in the time to come, in the days of the Messiah, when the law should be written in their hearts, as it is said, "I will write it in their hearts."' (*Jeremiah xxxi. 33*)².

עמוד התורה והמצוה שנאמר ראה נתתי
לפניך היום את החיים וכתוב ראה אנכי
נותן לפניכם היום כלומר שהרשות
בירכם *Ibid.*

¹ Cant. i. 2.

באו אצל משה ואמרו משה רבינו שנ
תעשה את פריזביון שליח בינותינו שנ
דבר אתה עמנו ונשמעה ועתה למה
נמורת ומה הנייה יש באברה שלנו

חזרו להיות למדים ושכחים אמרו מה
משה בשר ודם עובר אף תלמודו עובר
מיד חזרו באו להם אל משה אמרו לו
משה רבינו לוואי יגלה לנו פעם שניה
לוואי ישקני מנשיקות פיהו לוואי יתקע
תלמוד תורה בלבנו כמות שהיה אמר
להם אין זו עכשיו לעת' לבא הוא
שנ נתתי את תורתי בקרבם ועל לבם
אכתבנה *Midrash on Cant. i. 2.*

By this, we may see how necessary it was for the Jews, that they might be consistent to their grand principle of obtaining life and perfection by this dead letter, and a thing merely without themselves, (as not being radicated in the vital powers of their own souls) to establish such a power of free-will as might be able uncontrollably to entertain it, and so readily, by its own strength, perform all the dictates of it.

And that Maimonides was not the first of the Jewish writers who expound that passage, 'Behold, man is become like one of us, to know good and evil', of free-will, may appear from the several Chaldee paraphrasts upon it, which seem very much to intimate that sense. Which, by the way, (though I cannot allow all that which the Jews deduce from it) I think is not without something of truth, *viz.* That that liberty which is founded in reason, and which mankind only, in this lower world, hath above other creatures, may be there also meant. But whatever it is, I am sure the Jewish commentators upon that place generally follow the rigid sense of Maimonides².

To this purpose R. Bechai, a man of no small learning, both in the Talmudic and Cabalistical doctrine of the Jews, tells us, that upon Adam's first transgression, that grand 'liberty of indifferency' equally to good or evil began first to discover itself; whereas, before that, he was 'all intellect and wholly spiritual,' (as that common Cabalistical notion was) being from within only determined to that

¹ Gen. iii. 22.

² This explanation depends, in part, on the interpretation of the Hebrew word *בְּמִנְהוּתוֹ*. Onkelos translates it as '*of*,' or '*by himself*,' not '*of us*.' הָאָדָם הֵנָּה יְחִידִי בְּעֵלְמָא מְגִיָּה לְמַדְעָא טָב וְרִישׁ: 'Ecce Adam unicus est in seculo ex se, sciens bonum et malum.' The Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan Ben Uzziel are more paraphrastic. The sense of

them, and partly their words, are contained in the Commentary of Jarchi on the passage.

הָרִי הוּא יְחִיד בְּתַחְתּוֹנִים כְּמוֹ שְׂאֲנִי יְחִיד בְּעֵלְיוֹנִים וְזֶה הוּא יְחִידוֹ לְרַעַת טוֹב וְרַע שְׂאֵין כֵּן בְּבִהְמָה וְחַיָּה: 'Behold, he is peculiar in the lower, as I am in the upper world. Now wherein does this his peculiarity consist? In the knowledge of good and evil, which is not found in beasts and cattle.'

which was good¹. But I shall at large relate his words, because of their pertinency and usefulness in the matter now in hand. 'Adam, before his sin, acted from a necessity of nature, and all his actions were nothing else but the issues of pure and perfect understanding. Even as the angels of God, being nothing else but intelligences, put forth nothing else but acts of intelligence; just so was man before he sinned, and did eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil: but after this transgression, he had the power of election and free-will, whereby he was able to will good or evil.' And, a little after, glossing on those words, "And the eyes of them both were opened²," he addeth, 'They derived the power of free-will from the tree of knowledge of good and evil: and now they became endued with this power of turning themselves to good or evil; and this property is divine, and, in some respect, a good property³.' So that, according to the mind of our author, the first original and pedigree of free-will is to be derived, not so much from the æra of creation, as from that after-epocha of man's transgression, or eating of the forbidden fruit: so that the indifferency of man's will to good or evil, and a power to turn himself freely to either, did then first of all unfold itself; whereas before, he conversed like a pure intelligence with its first cause, without any propension at all to material things, being determined, like a proper, natural, agent, solely to that which is good: and these propensions, arising upon the first transgression to material things, (which they supposed to

¹ קודם שחטא אדם היה כלו שבלי
: 'Before Adam sin-
ned, he was all intellect, subject to no
impediment whatever.' R. Bechai in *Pa-
rasha Bereshith*, fol. 14, b. 2.

² Gen. iii. 7.

³ האדם היה מוכרח על מעשיו קודם
שחטא והיו כל פעולותיו שכל גמור
כמלאך יי' שהוא מוכרח לעשות כל
פעולותיו שכליות לפי שאין לו מונע

כן האדם אבל אחר שחטא ואכל מעין
הדעת היה לו רצון ובחירה לדעת טוב
ורע ונתלבש בתאוות הגופניות ולזר
רומזות מלת וידעו הוא אמרו ותפקחנה
עיני שניהם וידעו כלומר המשיכו רצון
ובחירה מעין הדעת והיתה הבחירה
בירם להרע או להטיב זו מדה אלהית
ומדה טובה מצד אחד: R. Bechai in
Parasha Bereshith, fol. 11, b. 2.

be in men's power, either so to correct and castigate as to prevent any sin in them, or else to pursue in a way of vice) are, if not the form and essence, yet, at least, the original and root of that **יצר הרע** which they speak so much of. But of this in another place.

All this we have further confirmed out of Nachmanides, an author sufficiently versed in all matters concerning the Jewish religion. His words are these: 'From the time of the creation, man had a power of free-will within him to do good or evil, according to his own choice, as also through the whole time of the law; that so he might be capable of merit in freely choosing what is good, and of punishment in electing what is evil¹.' Wherein that he tells us that this free-will hath continued ever since the creation, we must not understand rigidly the very moment of man's creation, but that epocha taken with some latitude, so that it may include the time of man's first transgression: for he after suggests thus much; That, before the first sin, Adam's power to good was a mere natural power without any such indifferency to evil; and, therefore, he makes that state of Adam the model and platform of future perfection, which the most ancient Jewish authors seem to expect in the time of their Messiah, which he expresseth in this manner: 'He shall not covet nor desire (after a sensitive manner,) but man shall return in the times of the Messiah to that primitive state he was in before the sin of the first man, who naturally did whatsoever was good, neither was there any thing and its contrary then in his choice².' Upon which

¹ מזמן הבריאה היתה רשות ביד האדם לעשות כרצונו צדק או רשע וכל זמן התורה כן כדי שיהיה להם זכות בבחירתם בטוב ובעונש כרצונם ברע: *Comment. in Deut. xxx. 13.*

² לא יחמוד ולא יתאוה וישוב האדם בזמן ההוא לאשר היה קודם חטאו. של אדם הראשון שהיה עושה בטבעו

מה שראוי לעשות ולא היה לו ברצונו: דבר והפכו: *Ibid.*

He then adduces the passage of Jeremiah (xxxi. 31—34) where God says that He will make a new covenant with Israel, writing His law in their hearts, and adds: זהו בטול יצר הרע ועשות הלב בטבעו: מעשהו הראוי: 'This denotes that the

ground he afterwards concludes, That in those times of the Messiah there shall neither be merit nor demerit, because there shall be no free-will, which is the alone mother and nurse of both of them: but, in the mean while, that good and evil are to men (that I may phrase it in the language of the Stoic) ἐλεύθερα, ἀκώλυτα, ἀπαρεμπόδιστα. none prejudicing or, in the least degree, hindering the exercise of this liberty, neither from within nor from without,—‘none either in heaven or in earth’. And thus the same Nachmanides expounds that solemn attestation, wherein heaven and earth are called to witness, that that day life and death were set before them; as if God Himself had now established such a monarchical power in man, which heaven and earth should be in league withal and faithful to it².

Hereupon, R. Saadia Gaon (so called by way of eminency) doubts not to tell us, that the common sense of all the Jewish doctors was, That this liberty to good or evil was such an absolute kind of authority established in a man’s soul, that it was, in a sort, independent of God Himself; this being, as he saith (in the book called Sepher Emunah) the meaning of that old and vulgar maxim amongst the Jews, sometimes mentioned in the Talmud, *Omnia sunt in manu Cceli* (i.e. *Dei*) *excepto timore Dei*³.

I am not ignorant there is another axiom of the Jews as common, which may seem partly to cross this and what hitherto hath been spoken, *viz* בא ליטרהר מסייעין אותו לו בא ליטמא פותחין לו—the meaning of which is this;

evil disposition shall be abolished, and that the heart shall naturally incline to good actions.’

בימי המשיח לא יהיה באדם חפץ¹
אבל יעשה בטבעו המעשרה הראוי
ולפיכך אין בהם לא זכות ולא חובה
כי הזכות והחובה תלויים:

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐστὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα, ἀκώλυτα, ἀπαρεμπόδιστα· τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν, ἀσθενῇ, δοῦλα, κωλυτὰ ἀλλότρια.

Epictet. *Enchir.* cap. i.

ראה נתתי לפניך היום יחזור²
להזהירים עוד להגיד להם כי שני
הדרכים בידם וברשותם ללכת כאשר
יחפצו בה אין מונע ומעכב בידם לא
מן התחתונים ולא מן העליונים:

Nachmanides, *Comment. in Deut.* xxx. 19.

יש כל בירי השמים חוץ מיראת³
השמים:

'That assistance is perpetually afforded to all endeavours, both of sanctity and impiety.' But Maimonides hath somewhere told us (and, as I remember, in his *Sepher Hammedang*) how they mince the matter, and mean nothing else by it but this; That when men endeavour after the performance of the law, God, in a way of providence, furnisheth them with external matter and means, giving them peace, and riches, and other outward accommodations, whereby they might have advantage and opportunity to perform all that good to which their own free-will determines them¹: whereas wicked men find the like help of external matter and means for promoting and accomplishing their wicked and ungodly designs².

Thus we see how the Jews, that they might lay a foundation of merit, and build up the stately and magnificent fabric of their happiness upon the sandy foundation of a dead letter without them, endeavoured to strengthen it by as weak a rampart of their own self-

הבטיחנו בתורה שאם נעשה אותה¹
בשמחה ובטובת נפש ונהנה בחבמתה
תמיד שיסיר ממנו כל הדברים המונעים
אותנו מלעשותה כגון חולי ומלחמה
ורעב וכיוצא בהן וישפיע לנו כל הטובות
המחזיקות את ידנו לעשות התורה
כגון שובע ושלוש ורבות כסף וזהב
כדי שלא נעסוק כל ימינו בדברים
שהגוף צריך להן אלא נשב פנויים
ללמוד בחכמה ולעשות המצות כדי
שנוכל לחיי העולם הבא:

'He hath assured us in the Law that if we perform it cheerfully and with a good will, and meditate continually on the wisdom thereof, He will remove from us all those things that might hinder us in the performance thereof, such as sickness, war, famine, and the like; moreover that He will plenteously bestow upon us all things calculated to strengthen our hands in the performance of the Law, as plenty, peace, and abundance of silver and gold, so that we may not, all our days, be occupied about the things needful for the body,

but that we may have leisure to learn wisdom and to fulfil the commandments whereby we may attain to the life of the world to come.'—Maim. *Yad Chazakah*, *Tract. de Peniten.* cap. 9.

וכן הודיענו בתורה שאם נעזוב²
התורה מדעת ונעסוק בהבלי הזמן....
שדיין האמת יסיר מן העוזבים כל טובות
העולם הזה שהם חזקו ידיהם לבעוט
ומביא עליהם כל הרעות המונעים אותן
מלקנות העולם הבא כדי שיאבדו
ברשעים:

'So too He has made known to us in the Law, that if we knowingly forsake the Law, and occupy ourselves with the vanities of time.....that He, the Judge of Truth, will deprive those who forsake it of all the good things of this world, which emboldened them to kick (Deut. xxxii. 15); and that He will bring upon them all such evil things as may prevent them from attaining to the world to come, so that they may perish in their wickedness.'—*Ibid.*

sufficiency, and the power of their own free-will, able, as they vainly imagined, to perform all righteousness, as being adequate and commensurate to the whole law of God in its most extensive and comprehensive sense and meaning; rather looking upon the fall of man as the rise of that giant-like free-will, whereby they were enabled to bear themselves up against heaven itself, as being a great accessory to their happiness, rather than prejudicial to it, through the access of that multitude of divine laws which were given to them; as we shall see afterwards. And, so, they reckoned upon a more triumphant and illustrious kind of happiness victoriously to be achieved by the merit of their own works, than that beggarly kind of happiness (as they seem to look upon it) which cometh like an alms from divine bounty. Accordingly they affirm, 'That happiness על דרך הגמול—by way of reward—is far greater, and much more magnificent, than that which is על דרך החסד—by way of mercy.'

CHAPTER III.

The second ground of the Jewish notion of a legal righteousness, viz. That the law delivered to them on mount Sinai was a sufficient dispensation from God, and all that needed to be done by him to bring them to perfection and happiness: and that the scope of their law was nothing but to afford them several ways and means of merit. The opinion of the Jewish writers concerning merit, and the reward due to the works of the law. Their distinguishing of men in order to merit and demerit into three sorts, viz. perfectly righteous, perfectly wicked, and a middle sort betwixt these. The mercenary and low spirit of the Jewish religion. An account of what the Cabalists held in this point of legal righteousness.

THE second ground of that Jewish notion of a legal righteousness is this, 'That the law delivered to them upon mount Sinai was a sufficient dispensation

from God, and all that needed to be done by Him for the advancing of them to a state of perfection and blessedness; and, that the proper scope and end of their law was nothing but to afford them several ways and means of merit.' This is expressly delivered in the Mishnah; 'The Holy Blessed One was pleased to increase the merit of Israel', &c.' The meaning whereof is this; that therefore the precepts of the law were so many in number, that so they might single out where they pleased, and in exercising themselves therein procure eternal life; as Obadiah de Bartenora expounds it; 'That whosoever shall perform any one of the six hundred and thirteen precepts of the law, (for so many they make in number) without any worldly respects, for the love of the precept, behold, this man shall merit thereby everlasting life².' For, indeed, they supposed a reward due to the performance of every precept, which reward they supposed to be increased according to the secret estimation which God Himself hath of any precept, as we find suggested in the Mishnah, in the words of the famous R. Jehuda; 'Be careful to observe the lesser precept, as well as the greater, because thou knowest not the reward that shall be given to the observation of the precepts³.'

Here we must take notice that this was a great debate among the Jews, which precepts they were that had the greatest reward due to the performance of them; in which

רצה הקב"ה לזכות את ישראל
לפיכך הרבה להם תורה ומצות שנאמר
ה' הפץ למען צדקו יגדיל תורה ויאדיר:

'The Holy Blessed One was pleased to increase the merit of Israel. He therefore multiplied for them the Law, and the commandments, according to the words of Isaiah (ch. xlii. 21), "The Lord is well pleased for his righteousness' sake; he will magnify the law and make it honourable."—*Mass. Maccoth, ad fin.*

מעקרי האמונה בתורה כי כשיקיים
אדם מצוה מותרת מצות בראי וכהגון
ולא ישתטף עמה כונת מכונת העולם
בשום פנים אלא שיעשה אותה לשמה
מאהבה כמו שבארתי לך הנה זכה
בה לחיי העולם הבא This is not the
exposition of Obadiah de Bartenora, but
of Maimonides.

היו זהיר במצות קלה כבחמורה
שאי אתה יודע מתן שכרן של מצות:
Mass. Avoth, cap. 2, sub init.

controversy, Maimonides, in his comment upon this place, thus resolves us: That the measure of the reward, that was annexed to the negative precepts, might be collected from the measure of the punishments that were consequent upon the breach of them. But this knot could not be so well solved in reference to the affirmative precepts, because the punishments annexed to the breach of them were more rarely defined in the law: accordingly, he expresseth himself to this sense; 'As for the affirmative precepts it is not expressed what reward is due to every one of them; and all for this end, that we may not know which precept is most necessary to be observed, and which precept is of less necessity and importance¹.' And a little after he tells us, that for this reason their wise men said; *Qui operam dat præcepto, liber est a præcepto*; which he expounds to this sense: 'That whosoever shall exercise himself about any one precept, ought, without hesitation or dispute, to continue in the performance of it, as being, in the mean while, freed from minding any other².' For if God had declared which precepts Himself had most valued, and settled the greatest revenue of happiness upon, then other precepts would have been less minded; and any one that should have busied himself in a precept of a lower nature, would presently have left that, when opportunity should have been offered of performing a higher. And hence we have also another Talmudical canon for the performing of precepts, of the same nature with the former quoted by our foresaid author: 'It is not lawful to skip over precepts;' that is, as he expounds it, 'When a man is about to observe one precept, he may not skip over and relinquish that, that

¹ מצות עשה לא יתבאר שכר כל אחת מהן מה היא אצל השי"ת וכל זה כדי שלא נדע איזו מצוה צריך מאד לשמרה ואיזו מצוה למטה הימנה:

העוסק במצוה פטור מן המצוה ² מבלתי הקשה בין המצוה אשר הוא מתעסק בה ובין האחרת אשר תבצר ממנה:

so he may apply himself to the observation of another!¹ And thus, as the performance of any precept hath a certain reward annexed to it; so the measure of the reward they suppose to be increased according to the number of those precepts which they observe; as it is defined by R. Tarphon in the foresaid Mishnah: 'If thou hast been much in the study of the law, thou shalt be rewarded much: for faithful is thy Lord and Master, who will render to thee a reward proportionable to thy work².' And, a little before, we have the same thing in the words of another of their masters: *Qui multiplicat legem, multiplicat vitam*³. And, lest they should not yet be liberal enough at God's cost, they are also pleased to distribute rewards to any Israelite that shall abstain from the breach of a precept: for so we find it in the Mishnah Lib. Kiddushin: 'Whosoever keeps himself from the breach of a precept, shall receive the reward, as if he had kept the precept⁴.'

But this which hath been said concerning the performance of any one precept, must be understood with this caution, that the performance of such a precept be a continued thing, so as that it may compound and collect the performance of many good works into itself; otherwise, the single performance of any one precept is only available, according to the sense of the Talmudical masters, to cast the scale, when a man's good works and evil works equally balance one another, as Maimonides telleth us in his comment upon the forenamed Mishnah, where the words of the Jewish doctors are these: 'He

¹ אין מעבירין על המצות ר"ל כשיודמן
לך מעשה מצוה לא תעבירה ותניחיה
לעשות מצוה אחרת:

² אם למדת תורה הרבה נותנין לך.
שכר הרבה ונאמן הוא בעל מלאכתך
שישלם לך שכר פעלתך: *Pirke Avoth*,
cap. 2, *ad fin.*

³ *Ibid.* § 7. מרבה תורה מרבה חיים:

⁴ These words are erroneously stated in the text as occurring in the treatise Kiddushin. The proper reference is *Massech. Maccoth*, cap. 3, § 15.

הא כל היושב ולא עבר עבירה נותנין
לו שכר כעושה מצוה:

that observes any one precept, it shall be well with him, and his days shall be prolonged, and he shall possess the earth: but he that observes not any one precept, it shall not be well with him, nor shall his days be prolonged, nor shall he inherit the earth¹. Which words are thus expounded by Maimonides: 'He that observes any one precept, &c. that is, so as that by the addition of this work to his other good works, his good works outweigh his evil works, and his merits preponderate over his demerits².'

For the better understanding hereof we must know, that the Jewish doctors are wont to distinguish between three sorts of men, which are thus ranked by them: 'men perfectly righteous,' 'men perfectly wicked,' and 'a middle sort of men betwixt them³.' Those they are wont to call 'perfectly righteous,' who had no transgression or demerits that might be counted fit to be put into the balance against their merits; and those they called simply 'righteous,' whose merits outweighed their demerits; whereas, on the other side, the 'perfectly wicked' in their sense were such as had no merits at all; and those simply 'wicked,' whose demerits made the weightiest scale; and the 'middle sort' were such as their good deeds and evil deeds equally balanced one another. Of this first sort of men, *viz.* the perfectly righteous, they supposed there might be many; and such the Pharisees seem to have been in their own esteem, in our Saviour's time. And according to this notion our Saviour may seem to have shaped His answer to that young man in the gospel, who asked him, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" To

¹ כל העושה מצוה אחת מטיבין לו ומאריכין לו ימיו ונוחל את הארץ וכל שאינו עושה מצוה אחת אין מטיבין לו ואין מאריכין לו ימיו ואינו נוהל את הארץ. *Massec. Kiddushin*, cap. I, § 10.

רוצה לומר באמרו כל העושה² מצוה אחת שיעשה אותה יתירה על זכותיו שהיו כנגד עונותיו עד שחזרו זכותיו מרובין מעונותיו בזאת המצוה: צדיקים גמורים — רשעים גמורים — בינונים³

which our Saviour answers, "Keep the commandments:" which our Saviour propounds to him in so great a latitude, as thereby to take him off from his self-conceit, and that he might be convinced upon reflection on himself, that he had fallen short of eternal life, in failing of a due performance of the divine law. But he, insisting upon his own merit in this respect, inquires of our Saviour whether there be yet anything wanting to make him a 'one perfectly righteous.' To this our Saviour replies, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me¹." The meaning of which reply may, as I conceive, be this—to convince him of his imperfect obedience to, and compliance with, the law of God, from his over-eager love of this world. But, *secondly*, for the *medii*, or those that were in the middle rank of men, the Jewish doctors had divers rules, as, 1. In case a man's evil works and good were equal, the addition of one either way, might determine them to eternal life or misery. 2. That in case a man's evil works should preponderate over and weigh down his good, yet he might cast the scale by repentance, if he would; or in the other world, by chastisements and punishments, he might make expiation for them. These and the like ways they have found out, lest any of their fraternity should miscarry. To all this we must take in the caution which they are pleased to deliver to us, *viz.* That men's works have their different weight; some good works being so weighty, that they may weigh in the balance against many evil works, and *vice versa*.

All this we shall find largely set down by R. Albo, (de Fundamentis Fidei,) and partly by R. Saadia: but especially by Maimonides, who also tells us of other expedients provided by their law, for the securing of merit and hap-

¹ Matt. xix. 21.

piness, which I shall not here mention¹. And, indeed, finally, they have found out so many artifices to entail a legal righteousness and eternal happiness upon all the Israelites, that (if it were possible) none might be left out of heaven: as may partly appear by that question captiously proposed to our Saviour, “Master, are there few that shall be saved²?” whereby they expected to ensnare Him, they themselves holding a general salvation of all the Jews by virtue of the Law, however their wickedness might abound. This we find expressly set down by Maimonides in the forenamed place: ‘All wicked ones whose evil deeds exceed their good deeds, shall be judged according to the measure of their evil deeds so exceeding; and afterwards they shall have a portion in the world to come; for that all Israelites have a portion in the world to come, and this, notwithstanding their sins³.’ Now that maxim of theirs, ‘All Israelites have a portion in the world to come,’ is taken out of the Mishnah⁴, where it is put down as the most authentic opinion of the Jewish doctors; only some few are there recited who are excepted from this happiness; otherwise their greatest malefactors are not excepted from it: for so Obadiah de Bartenora unfoldeth their meaning: ‘even such as are judged by the great Sanhedrim worthy of death for their wickedness, these have a portion in the world to come.’ I know that the notion here, of ‘the world to come,’ is differently represented by Nachmanides and Maimonides, and their

כל אחד ואחד מבני האדם יש לו
זכות ועונות • מי שזכותיו יתירות על
עונותיו צדיק ומי שעונותיו יתירות על
זכותיו רשע • מחצה למחצה בינוני :

Each one of the sons of men has his good deeds, and his evil deeds. He whose good deeds exceed his evil deeds is called a *righteous man*, and he whose evil deeds exceed his good deeds, is called a *wicked man*; while he whose deeds are half good

and half bad is said to be an *intermediate man*.—Maim. de Penitent. cap. 3, ad init.

² Luke xiii. 23.

כל הרשעים שעונותיהן מרובים דנין
אותן כפי חטאיהם ויש להן חלק לעולם
הבא שכל ישראל יש להם חלק לעולם
הבא אף על פי שחטאו: Ibid. cap. 3,
§ 11.

⁴ Massech. Sanhedrin, cap. 16, ad init.

followers. But whether the sect of Maimonides or the other prevail in this point, it is not much material as to our present business, seeing both sides conclude that this *seculum futurum*, or world to come, points out such a state of happiness, as should not revolve or slide back again into misery.

And, by the way, we may observe what a lean and spiritless religion this of the Jews was, and how it was nothing else but a soulless and lifeless form of external performances, which did little or nothing at all reach the inward man, being nothing but a mere bodily kind of drudgery and servility: and, therefore, our Saviour, when He models out religion to them, points them out to something fuller of inward life and spirit, and such a one as might make them 'perfect, as their Father in heaven is perfect'. Such dull, heavy-spirited, principles as this Talmudical doctrine we have quoted affordeth us, very probably began to possess the chair in the time of Antigonus, who therefore put in this caution against part of it—that God was not to be served so much upon the account of merit and for hope of wages, as out of love²; though his disciples, Sadoc and Baithus, the founders of the sect of the Sadducees, straining that sober principle too far, might more strengthen that mercenary belief amongst the other doctors which they had before entertained.

But before I leave this argument, it may not be amiss to examine also what the cabbalistical Jews thought concerning this matter in hand; which in sum is this: 'That the law delivered upon mount Sinai was a device God

¹ Matt. v. 48.

אל תהיו כעבדים המשמשין את
הרב על לקבל פרס אלא הוּו כעבדים
המשמשין את הרב שלא על מנת לקבל
פרס ויהי מורא שמים עליכם: Be
not as servants who serve their Lord with

a view of receiving a reward; but be like unto servants who serve their Lord without any regard to a recompence; and let the fear of heaven be upon you.—*Purke Avoth*, cap. I, § 3.

had, to knit and unite the Jews and the Shechinah, or Divine Presence, together.' Therefore they are pleased to style it in the book Zohar, which is one of the most ancient monuments we have of the Jewish learning, 'the treasures of life¹.' And, as if the living God could be united to the souls of men by such a dead letter as this was, as it is styled by the Apostle², they are pleased to make this external administration the great *vinculum Dei et hominis*. And to this purpose, R. Simeon Ben Jochai, the compiler of the fore-quoted book, which is a mystical comment upon the Pentateuch, discourseth upon those words, "He is thy life, and the length of thy days³," upon which he grounds this observation: 'The Shechinah, or Divine Presence, is no where established but by the mediation of the law⁴:' and a little after he thus magnifies the study of the law: 'Whosoever doth exercise himself in the law, doth merit the possession of the upper inheritance which is in the holy kingdom above; and doth also merit the possession of an inheritance here below in this world⁵.' Here, by the way, we may take notice that the ancient Jews looked upon the inheritances of the land of Canaan as being typical and significative of a higher inheritance in the kingdom of heaven; both which they supposed to be the due rewards of men's works: and, therefore, they talk so much in the same place of guardian angels which are continually passing to and fro between heaven and earth, as the heralds and messengers of men's good works to God in heaven. And further upon those words, "Ye shall keep my statutes and judgments; which if a man do, he shall live in them⁶," he tells us, 'That the portion of Israel is meritorious, because that the Holy

¹ גנוזי דחיי :

² 2 Cor. iii.

³ Deut. xxx. 20.

⁴ שכניתא לא מתישבא אלא עם תורה;

כל מאן דאשתדל באוריתא וכו' :

Similar expressions to the above occur frequently in Zohar, though they are not found in the part referred to.

⁶ Levit. xviii. 5.

Blessed One delighteth in them above all the idolatrous nations; and out of His favour and goodness to them, gave them the laws of truth, and planted amongst them the tree of life; and the Shechinah was with them. Now what doth all this signify? thus much: that since the Israelites are signed with the holy seal in their flesh, they are thereby acknowledged for the sons of God: as, on the contrary, they that are not sealed with this mark in their flesh, are not the sons of God, but are the children of uncleanness: wherefore it is not lawful to contract familiarity with them, or to teach them the words of the law¹. This afterwards is urged further by another of their masters: 'Whosoever instructeth any uncircumcised person, though but in the least precepts of the law, doth the same as if he should destroy the world, and deny the name of the Holy Blessed One².'

All this plainly amounts to thus much as we had before out of the Talmudists, that the law was given unto the Israelites for this purpose—to enrich them with good works, and to augment their merits, and so to establish the foundations of life and blessedness amongst them; and to make it a medium of the union betwixt God and men, as R. Eliezer, in the same book, speaketh of the near union between these three, 'the Holy Blessed One, the Law, and Israel³.'

ר' אבא אמ' זכא חולקא דישאל דק"בא אתרעי בהו מכל שאר עממין ובנין רחימותא דיליה עליהו יהיב לון נימוסין דששט נטע בהו אילנא דחיי שארי שכינתא בינייהו מט' בנין דישאל רשימין ברשימא קדישא בבשריהון ואשתמודען דאינהו דיליה ואשתמודען מבני היכלי' ובניני כך כל אינון דלא רשימין ברשימ' קדישא בבשרהון לאו אינון דיליה ואשתמודען דכלהו מסטרא דמסאבות אתין ואסיר לאתחברא בהו ולאשתעשא בהדיהו במלוי דקב"ה ואסיר לאודעא להו מלי דאורייתא:
Zohar, col. 130 in Lev.

כל מאן דכא אתגור ויהבין ליה אפי' את זעירא דאוריתא אכאלו ריב עילמא ומשק' בשמא דקב"ה:
Zohar, col. 131 in Lev.
הלומד לתלמיד שאינו הגון נופל בנהיגם:
'Quicumque docet discipulum qui non est idoneus, ille incidet in gehennam.'—*Gem. Kiddushin, fol. 70. 1. Vide Buxtorf. Lex. Rabbin. s. v. הגון col. 593.*
ג' דרגין אינון מתקשרן דא ברא³: קב"ה אוריתא וישאל:
There are three orders bound up one with another; the Holy Blessed One, the Law, and Israel.'
—*Zohar, col. 130 in Lev.*

There is one passage more in our forenamed author R. Simeon Ben Jochai, at the end of Parashah Jethro, which, though it be more mystical than the rest, yet may be well worth our observing, as more fully hinting the perfection of the law, and setting that forth as an absolute and complete medium of rendering a man perfect; upon which R. Jos. Albo, in his third book *De Fundamentis*, hath spent two or three chapters. Thus therefore, as if the law were the great magazine and storehouse of perfection, our foresaid author there telleth us, 'That when the Israelites stood upon mount Sinai, they saw God eye to eye, or face to face, and understood all secrets of the law, and all the *arcana superna et inferna*¹,' &c. and then he adds, 'That the same day in which the Israelites stood upon mount Sinai, all uncleanness passed away from them, and all their bodies did shine in brightness like to the angels of heaven, when they put on their bright, shining, robes to fit themselves for the embassy upon which they are sent by God their Lord².' And a little after, thus: 'And when their uncleanness passed away from them, the bodies of the Israelites became shining and clear without any defilement; and their bodies did shine as the brightness of the firmament³.' And then thus concludeth all: 'When the Israelites received the law upon mount Sinai, the world was then perfumed with a most aromatic smell, and heaven and

¹ בההוא שעתא כל רזין דאורייתא וכל רזין עלאין ותתאין לא אערי מנייהו בנין דהוו חמאן עינא בעינא זיו יקרא דמריהון מה דלא הוה בההוא יומא מיומא דאתברי עלמא דקב"ה אתגלי: 'At that time no mystery of the law, nor any mystery, high or low, was withheld from them, for they beheld, eye to eye, the splendor of the glory of their Lord, so that no day was like that, from the day when the world was created, for the Holy Blessed

One was revealed in his glory on mount Sinai.'—*Zohar*, col. 167 in *Exod*.

² ההוא יומא דקיימו ישראל על טורא דסיני אעבר זוהמא מנייהו וכל נופין הוו מצחצחון כצחצחא דמלאכין עלאין כד מתלבשן בלבושי מצחצחון למיעבד שליחותא דמריהון: *Ibid*.

³ כד אעבר מנייהו ההוא זוהמא אשתארו ישראל נופין מצחצחון בלא טנופא כלל וגשמתין לנו כוהרא דרקיעא לקבלא נהורא: *Ibid*.

earth were established, and the Holy Blessed One was known above and below, and He ascended in His glory above all things¹.'

By all these mystical and allegorical expressions our author seems to aim at this main scope, viz. To set forth the law as that which of itself was sufficient, without any other dispensation from God, for the perfecting of those to whom it was dispensed; and to make them comprehensors of all righteousness here, and glory hereafter: which they are wont to set forth in that transcendent state of perfection which the Israelites were in at the receiving of the law; whence it hath been an ancient maxim amongst them, *In statione montis Sinai Israelitæ erant sicut angeli ministerii*.

And thus we have endeavoured to make good that which we first propounded, namely, to show that the grand opinion of the Jews concerning the way to life and happiness was this: 'That the law of God externally dispensed, and only furnished out to them in tables of stone and a parchment roll, conjoined with the power of their own free-will, was sufficient both to procure them acceptance with God, and to acquire merit enough to carry them with spread sails into the harbour of eternal rest and blessedness.'

So that, by this time, we may see that those disputes which St Paul and other apostles maintain against the Jews, touching the law and faith, were not merely about that one question, Whether justification formally and precisely respects faith alone; but were of a much greater latitude.

שמיא וארעא ואשתמודע קב"ה עילא : כיון דקבילו ישראל אורייתא על¹ מורא דסיני כדן אתבסם עלמא ואחקיימו
Ibid. ותתא ואסתלק ביקריה על כלא :

CHAPTER IV.

The second inquiry, concerning the evangelical righteousness or the righteousness of faith, and the true difference between the law and the gospel, the old and the new covenant, as it is laid down by the apostle Paul. A more general answer to this inquiry, together with a general observation of the apostle's main end in opposing faith to the works of the law, viz. To beat down the Jewish proud conceit of merit. A more particular and distinct answer to the inquiry, viz. That the law or old covenant is considered only as an external administration, a dead thing in itself, a dispensation consisting in an outward and written law of precepts: but the gospel or new covenant is an internal thing, a vital form and principle of righteousness in the souls of men, an inward manifestation of divine life, and a living impression upon the minds and spirits of men. This proved from several testimonies of Scripture.

HAVING done with the first inquiry, we now come to the second, which was this: *What the evangelical righteousness, or the righteousness of faith, is, which the apostle sets up against that of the law, and in what notion the law is considered by the apostle: which in sum was this, viz. That the law was the ministry of death, and in itself an external and lifeless thing, neither could it procure or beget that divine life, and spiritual form of godliness, in the souls of men, which God expects from all the heirs of glory, nor that glory which is only consequent upon a true divine life. Whereas, on the other side, the gospel is set forth as a mighty efflux and emanation of life and spirit, freely issuing forth from an Omnipotent source of grace and love, as that true godlike vital influence, whereby the Divinity derives itself into the souls of men, enlivening and transforming them into its own likeness, and strongly imprinting upon them a copy of its own beauty and goodness: like the spermatical virtue of the heavens, which spreads itself freely upon this lower world, and subtilly insinuating itself into this benumbed, feeble, earthly matter, begets life and motion in it. Briefly,*

—It is that whereby God comes to dwell in us, and we in Him.

But that we may the more distinctly unfold the difference between that righteousness which is of the law, and that which is of faith, and so the better show how the apostle undermines that fabric of happiness which the Jews had built up for themselves; we shall observe *first*, in general, That the main thing which the apostle endeavours to beat down was, that proud and arrogant conceit which they had of merit, and to advance against it the notion of the divine grace and bounty, as the only fountain of all righteousness and happiness. For, indeed, that which all those Jewish notions, of which we have before taken notice, aimed principally at, was the advancing of the weakened powers of nature into such a height of perfection as might render them capable of meriting at God's hands: and that perfection of which they speak so much, (as is clear from what hath been said) was nothing else but a mere sublimation of their own natural powers and principles, performed by the strength of their own fancies. And, therefore, these contractors with heaven were so pleased to look upon eternal life as a fair purchase which they might make for themselves at their own charge; as if the spring and rise of all were in themselves: their eyes were so much dazzled with those foolish fires of merit and reward kindled in their own fancies, that they could not see that light of divine grace and bounty which shone about them.

And this *fastus* and swelling pride of theirs (if I mistake not) is that which St Paul principally endeavours to chastise, in advancing faith, so much as he doth, in opposition to the works of the law. For this purpose he spends the first and second chapters of his epistle to the Romans in drawing up a charge of such a nature, both against Gentiles and Jews, but principally against

the Jews, who were the grand justitiaries, that might make them bethink themselves of imploring mercy, and of laying aside all plea of law and justice; and so he concludes all with a severe check to such presumptuous arrogance: *ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις*; “Where then is boasting¹?” This seems then to be the main end which St Paul everywhere aims at, in opposing faith to the works of the law, namely, to establish the foundation of righteousness and happiness upon the free mercy and grace of God: the glorifying and magnifying of which, in the real manifestations of it, he holds forth upon all occasions, as the design and plot of the gospel administration; seeing it is impossible for men, by any works which they can perform, to satisfy God’s justice for those sins which they have committed against Him, or truly to comply with His Divine will, without His Divine assistance. So that the method of reconciling men to God, and reducing straying souls back again to Him, was to be attributed wholly to another original than that which the Jews imagined. But,

Secondly, That righteousness of faith which the apostle sets up against the law, and compares with it, is indeed, in its own nature, a vital and spiritual administration, wherein God converseth with man; whereas the law was merely an external or dead thing in itself, not able to beget any true divine life in the souls of men. All that legal righteousness of which the Jews boasted so much, was but from the earth, earthly; consisting merely in external performances, and so, falling extremely short of that internal and godlike frame of spirit, which is necessary for a true conjunction and union of the souls of men with God, and making them capable of true blessedness.

But that we may the more distinctly handle this argument, we shall endeavour to unfold the true difference

¹ Rom. iii. 27.

between the Law and the Gospel, as it seems evidently to be laid down every where by St Paul in his epistles: and the difference between them is clearly this, viz. That the Law was merely an external thing, consisting in such precepts as had only an outward administration; but the Gospel is an internal thing, a vital form and principle seating itself in the minds and spirits of men. And this is the most proper and formal difference between the Law and the Gospel, that the one is considered only as an *external* administration, and the other as an *internal*. And, therefore, the apostle calls the Law *διακονίαν γράμματος*, and *θανάτου*, “the ministration of the letter and of death¹,” it being in itself but a dead letter; as all that which is without a man’s soul must needs be. But, on the other side, he calls the Gospel, because of the intrinsic and vital administration thereof in living impressions upon the souls of men, *διακονίαν πνεύματος*, “the ministration of the spirit,” and *διακονίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, “the ministration of righteousness.” By this he cannot mean the history of the Gospel, or those *credenda* propounded to us to believe; for this would make the Gospel itself as much an external thing as the law was, and, according to the external administration, as much a killing or dead letter as the Law was: and so we see that the preaching of “Christ crucified was to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness².” But, indeed, he means a vital efflux from God upon the souls of men, whereby they are “made partakers of life and strength” from Him: and therefore (ver. 7) he thus exegetically expounds his own meaning of that short description of the Law, namely, that it was *διακονία τοῦ θανάτου ἐν γράμμασιν, ἐντετυπωμένη ἐν λίθοις*: which, I think, may be fitly thus translated—‘it was a dead, or lifeless, administration,’ (for so sometimes, by a Hebraism, the genitive case *in re-*

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 6, 7.² 1 Cor. i. 23.

gimine is put for the adjective); or else ‘an administration of death exhibited in letters, and engraven in tables of stone:’ and therefore he tells us what the effect of it was in those words, ‘The letter killeth¹’—as, indeed, all external precepts which have not a proper, vital, radication in the souls of men, whereby they are able to secure them from the transgression of them, must needs do. Now to this dead or killing letter he opposes a quickening spirit, or ‘the ministration of the Spirit²;’ which, afterwards he expounds by ‘the ministration of righteousness³,’ that is, the evangelical administration. So that the gospel or evangelical administration must be an internal impression, a vivacious and energetical spirit and principle of righteousness in the souls of men, whereby they are inwardly enabled to express a real conformity thereto. Upon this ground the apostle further pursues the effects of both these, from the fourteenth verse to the end.

By all this the apostle means to set forth to us how vast a difference there is between the external manifestations of God in a law of commandments, and those internal appearances of God, whereby He discovers the mighty power of His goodness to the souls of men.

Though the history and outward communication of the Gospel to us *in scriptis*, is to be always acknowledged as a special mercy and advantage, and certainly no less privilege to Christians than it was to the Jews, to be the depositaries of the oracles of God⁴; yet it is plain that the apostle, where he compares the Law and the Gospel, and in other places, doth, by the Gospel, mean something which is more than a piece of book-learning, or a historical narration of the free love of God, in the several contrivances of it for the redemption of mankind. For if

¹ τὸ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει, 2 Cor. iii. 6.

² ἡ διακονία τοῦ Πνεύματος, v. 8.

³ ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης, v. 9.

⁴ Rom. iii. 2.

this were all that is meant properly by the Gospel, I see no reason why it should not be counted as weak and impotent a thing, as dead a letter as the Law was, as we intimated before; and so there would be no such vast difference between them as the apostle asserts there is; the one being properly an external declaration of God's will, the other an internal manifestation of divine life upon men's souls: and, therefore, he so distinguisheth between this double dispensation of God, that this evangelical dispensation is a vital and quickening thing, able to beget a soul and form of divine goodness upon the souls of men; which because the Law could not do, it was laid aside, as being insufficient to restore man to the favour of God, or to make him partaker of His righteousness. "If there had been a law given which could have given life,—verily righteousness should have been by the law¹;" where, by *δικαιοσύνη*, he seems to mean the same thing which he meant by it, when in his Epistle to the Corinthians he calls the economy of the gospel *διακονίαν δικαιοσύνης*—"the ministration of righteousness," or as *זכות* is taken among the Jewish writers for acceptance with God, and that internal form of righteousness that qualifies the soul for eternal life: and so he takes it in a far more large and ample sense than that external righteousness of justification is: and, indeed, it seems to express the just state of those who are renewed by the Spirit of God, and made partakers of that divine life which is emphatically called the seed of God. For this *δικαιοσύνη*, 'righteousness,' which he here speaks of, is the proper result of an enlivening and quickening law, which is this new law of the Gospel, in opposition to that old law which was administered only *in scriptis*: and, therefore, this new law is called, in the Epistle to the Hebrews,

¹ *ὅτι οὕτως ἂν ἐκ νόμου ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη.*—Gal. iii. 21.

κρείττων διαθήκη, 'the better covenant'¹, whereas the old was faulty. In which place this is put down as the formal difference between the legal and the evangelical administration, or the old and the new covenant; that the old covenant was only externally promulged, and wrapt up, as it were, in ink and parchment, or, at best, engraven upon tables of stone; whereas this new covenant is set forth in living characters imprinted upon the vital powers of men's souls², 'This is the covenant that I will make, &c. I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts:' and, therefore, the old covenant is said not to be ἀμεμπτος—an unblamable or faultless thing³—because it was not able to keep off transgressions, or hinder the violation of itself, any more than an inscription upon some pillar or monument is able to inspire life into those that read it and converse with it: the old law, or covenant, being in this respect no other than all other civil constitutions are, which receive their efficacy merely from the willing compliance of men's minds with them, so that they must be enlivened by the subject that receives them, being dead things in themselves. But the evangelical or new law is such a thing as is an efflux of life and power from God Himself the original thereof, and produceth life wheresoever it comes. And to this double dispensation, viz. of law and gospel, doth St Paul clearly refer: 'Ye are the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone⁴:' which last words are a plain gloss upon that mundane kind of administering the Law in a mere external way, to which he opposeth the Gospel. And this argument he further pursues in the seventh and eighth chapters of his Epistle to the Romans, in which last chapter he styles the gospel νόμον τοῦ πνεύματος

¹ Heb. viii. 6, &c.

³ v. 7.

² vv. 10, 11.

⁴ 2 Cor. iii. 3.

τῆς ζωῆς, 'the law and the spirit of life¹,' which was able to destroy the power of sin, and to introduce such a spiritual and heavenly frame of soul into men, as might enable them to express a cheerful compliance with the law of God, and demonstrate a true, heavenly, conversation and godlike life in this world.

We read in Iamblichus and others, of the many preparatory experiments used by Pythagoras to try his scholars, whether they were fit to receive the more sublime and sacred pieces of his philosophy; and that he was wont to communicate these only to souls, in a due degree purified and prepared for such doctrine². And what did all this signify but only this, that he might, by all these methods, work and mould the minds of his hearers into such a fit temper, as that he might the better stamp the seal of his more divine doctrine upon them, and that his discourses to them περὶ δικαίων τε καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, 'of things just and lovely and good,' might be written τῷ ὄντι ἐν ψυχῇ, 'truly and really in the soul,' that I may use Plato's words in his Phædrus, where he commends the impressions of truth which are made upon men's souls above all outward writings, which he therefore compares to dead pictures. By this we see what the wisest and best philosophers thought of this internal writing; but it peculiarly belongs to God to write the laws of goodness in the tables of men's hearts. All the outward teachings of men are but dead things in themselves. But God's imprinting His mind and will upon men's hearts is properly that which is called the teaching of God, and then they become living laws written in the living tables of men's hearts, fitted to receive and retain divine impressions. I

¹ Rom. viii. 2.

² After alluding to the outward tests employed by Pythagoras to try the capability of his disciples, Iamblichus adds:

[μετὰ] ψυχῆς τε ἀπορρύψεις καὶ καθαρμούς, κ. τ. λ. *De Pythag. Vita*, Pars I. p. 154. Cf. note, p. 13.

shall only add that speech of Crollius the chymist, not impertinent in this place: *Non in discendo, sed in patiendo divina, hominis mens perficitur*¹.

And that we may come a little nearer to these words upon which all this present discourse is built, this seems to be the scope of his argument in this place, where this νόμος δικαιοσύνης, 'law of righteousness,' may fairly be paralleled with that which before he called νόμον πνεύματος, 'the law of the spirit,' and which he therefore calls δικαιοσύνην πίστεως, 'the righteousness of faith,' because it is received from God in a way of believing. For I cannot easily think that he should mean nothing else in this place but merely the righteousness of justification, as some would persuade us, but rather that his sense is much more comprehensive, so as to include the state of gospel-dispensation, which includes, not only pardon of sins, but an inward spirit 'of love, power, and of a sound mind²,' as he expresseth it. And this he thus opposeth to the Law. "But the righteousness of faith speaketh on this wise; Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven, &c. or, Who shall descend into the deep? But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that is, the word of faith which we preach³." In these words, Cunæus would have us to understand some cabbala or tradition amongst the Jews

¹ This passage has been incorrectly quoted in the former editions thus: 'Non tam discendo, quam patiendo, divina perficitur mens humana.' The real sense is, of course, quite perverted in the misquotation. Crollius says that no knowledge is abiding unless derived from within oneself, and this 'essentialis intrinseca cognitio non est ex carne et sanguine, nec in multitudine librorum et lectionis, nec...sed in ipsa passione divinorum: non in discendo, sed in patiendo divina, hominis mens perficitur.' The sense is more fully explained by the context:

'Totum situm est in cognitione, quia sumus ex omnibus, et omnia in nobis portamus, non aliter ac ipse Deus Pater noster.' All good things, says Crollius, *natural and supernatural*, are 'antea' in man, though in his present state obscured by sin; and in accordance with the Platonic theory, all knowledge was possessed by the human intellect (Humanus intellectus) before it was united to the body. *Præfat. in Basilica Chymica*, p. 51, ed. 1643. Geneva.

² 2 Tim. i. 7.

³ Rom. x. 6, &c.

for this meaning of that place from which these words are borrowed', which, as they there stand, seem not to carry that evangelical sense according to which here St Paul expounds them; though yet Cunæus hath not given us any reason for this opinion of his². But, indeed, the Jewish writers, generally, who were acquainted with the principles of the cabbala, commenting upon that place, do wholly refer it to the times of the Messiah, making it parallel with that place of Jeremiah which defines the new covenant to be 'a writing of the law of God in men's hearts³.' And thus the life and salvation that results from the righteousness of faith itself is all, as faith itself is, derived from God, gratuitously dispensing Himself to the minds of men: whereas, if life could have been by the law, its original and principle must have been resolved into men themselves, who must have acted upon that dead matter without them, and have produced that virtue and energy

¹ Deut. xxx. 12.

² In Deuteronomii capite tricesimo, sapientissimus legislator Moses, extrema oratione qua populum allocutus est sic inquit: 'Præceptum hoc, quod ego præcipio tibi hodie, non est occultum a te, neque longinquum: non est in cœlis, ut dicas, quis ascendet nobis in cœlum, et capiet illud nobis? neque est trans mare, ut dicas, quis transibit mare, et accipiet illud? propinquum est tibi verbum, in ore tuo et in animo tuo, ut facias illud.' Nempe hoc ait, non esse Hebræis longe eundum, uti sciscitentur numinis voluntatem, quippe in medio eorum esse legem. Hæc omnia Divus Paulus in Epistola, quæ ad Romanos scripta est, in capite decimo, alioversum traxit, et de Evangelio interpretatus est. Ac primo quidem spectavit verba Mosis, quæ in Levitici capite decimo et octavo extant. Itaque ait, 'Moses describit justitiam, quæ est ex lege, quod, qui præstitit ea, vivet per illa.' Hic simplici sensu verba legislatoris accipit, uti sonant. Subjicit dein vers. 6, alia ejusdem verba ex Deutero-

nomio, non præter mentem quidem ejus, sed longe tamen aliter, quam intellecta non dicam ab Hebræis, sed a cunctis mortalibus fuerant usque in illum diem. 'At, quæ ex fide est, justitia, ita dicit: ne dixeris, quis ascendet in cœlum, aut descendet in abyssum? prope te enim verbum est in ore tuo et in corde tuo. Hoc est verbum illud fidei, quod prædicamus.' Valde errant, qui hic nihil nisi quandam esse verborum allusionem arbitrantur. Duplicem enim esse justitiam Apostolus, autore Mose, ait, alteram ex operibus, alteram ex fide. Unum testimonium legislatoris citat על משמעו uti sonat; alterum Cabalice על מדרשו hoc est, ex sensu quidem Mosis, sed mystico: nam postquam verba ejus retulit, addit vers. 8. 'Hoc est verbum illud fidei, quod prædicamus. Nos hujusmodi expositionis modum etsi non intelligimus, tamen quia a Spiritu Dei est, rectum esse credimus et verum. Cunæus de Repub. Hebr. Lib. III. cap. 8.

³ Jer. xxxi. 33.

in it, by their exercising themselves therein, which of itself it had not; as the observance of any law enables that law itself to dispense that reward which is due to the observance of it: and therefore the righteousness of the law was so defined that 'he that did those things should live in them.' And thus the New Testament every where seems to present to us this twofold dispensation or œconomy, the one consisting in an external and written law of precepts, the other in inward life and power. This St Austin hath well pursued in his book *De Litera et Spiritu*, from which Aquinas, who endeavours to tread in his footsteps, seems to have taken first of all an occasion of moving that question, *Utrum lex nova sit lex scripta, vel lex indita*, and thus resolves it; that the new law or gospel is not properly *lex scripta*, as the old was, but *lex indita*: and that the old law is *foris scripta*, the other *intus scripta*—written in the tables of the heart¹.

Now from all this we may easily apprehend how much the righteousness of the gospel transcends that of the law, in that it hath indeed a true command over the inward man which it acts upon and informs; whereas the law, by all its menaces and punishments, could only compel men to an external observance of it in the outward man; as the schoolmen have well observed: *Lex vetus ligat manum, lex nova ligat animum*².

And herein St Paul every where magnifies this

¹ ...Unde et Augustinus dicit, in Lib. de Spiritu et Littera, cap. 17 et 26, quod *sicut lex factorum scripta fuit in tabulis lapideis, ita lex fidei scripta est in cordibus fidelium*: et alibi dicit, in eodem Lib. cap. 21 in princ.: *Quæ sunt leges Dei ab ipso Deo scriptæ in cordibus, nisi ipsa præsentia Spiritus Sancti?* Habet tamen lex nova quædam sicut dispositiva ad gratiam Spiritus Sancti, et ad usum hujus gratiæ pertinentia, quæ sunt quasi secundaria in lege nova: de quibus oportet

tuit instrui fideles Christi et verbis et scriptis, tam circa credenda quam circa agenda. Et ideo dicendum est quod principaliter lex nova est lex indita, secundario autem est lex scripta. Thom. Aquin. II. *Sum. Theol.* I. Quæst. CVI. 1.

² Sed hæc ponitur differentia inter novam legem et veterem, quod vetus lex *cohibet manum*, sed lex nova *cohibet animum*. Thom. Aquin. II. *Sum. Theol.* I. Quæst. CVIII. 1.

dispensation of the free mercy and grace of God, as being the only sovereign remedy against all the inward radiated maladies of sin and corruption, as that *panacea* or *balsamum vitæ* which is the universal restorative of decayed and impotent nature. So he tells us, 'Sin shall not have dominion, because we are not under the law, but under grace¹.' And this is that which made him so much extol his acquaintance with Christ in the dispensation of grace, and to despise all things as loss; when, among his other Jewish privileges, having reckoned up his blamelessness in all points touching the law, he undervalues them all, and counts all but loss 'for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus².' In this place the apostle doth not mean to disparage a real, inward, righteousness, and the strict observance of the law; but his meaning is to show how poor and worthless a thing all outward observances of the law are, in comparison with a true, internal, conformity to Christ in the renovation of the mind and soul according to His image and likeness; as is manifest from vers. 9, 10, &c. in which he thus delivers his own meaning of that 'knowledge of Christ' which he so much extolled, very emphatically: 'That I may be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.' Where, by the way, we may further take notice what this *δικαιοσύνη πίστεως*, and *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*—"the righteousness of faith," and "the righteousness of God," (which we have already spoke much of) is, according to his own true meaning, as he expounds himself, viz. a Christ-like nature in a man's soul, or Christ appearing in the minds of men by the mighty power of His Divine Spirit, and thereby deriving a true participation of Himself to them:

¹ Rom. vi. 14.

² διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Phil. iii. 8.

so he adds, "That I may know Him, and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable unto His death¹." And thus Christ and Moses are opposed, as Christ is the Dispenser of grace and truth, of God's free and gratuitous bounty, of life and substance: whereas Moses was but the minister of the Law, of rites and shadows.

But it may, perhaps, be questioned whether the same internal dispensation of God was not as well under the Law, as since our Saviour's coming, and so, consequently, that the Jews were equally partakers thereof; and so it could be no new thing to them.

To all this I might reply, that this dispensation of grace was then a more mystical thing, and not so manifested to the world as it hath been since our Saviour's coming. *Secondly*, This dispensation of free grace was not that which properly belonged to the nation of the Jews, but only a type and shadow of it.

For the fuller understanding of this, and all that hath been spoken, we must know, that before our Saviour's coming, the great mysteries of religion being wrapt up in hieroglyphics and symbolical rites, (the unfolding of all which was reserved for Him who is the great Interpreter of heaven and Master of truth), God was pleased to draw forth a scheme or copy of all that divine œconomy and method of His commerce with mankind, and to make a draught of the whole artifice thereof in external matter: and, therefore, He singled out a company and society of men of the same common extraction, marked out from all other sorts of men by a character of genealogical sanctity, (for so circumcision was,) collected and united together by a common band of brotherhood; and this He set up as an emblem of a divine and holy seed or society of men, which are all, by way of spiritual generation, descended

from Himself. And hence it is that the Jews, (the whole Jewish nation universally considered) who were but a mere representative of this spiritual fraternity and congregation, are called the holy seed, or the holy people. Then afterwards, amongst these, He erects a government and polity, and rules over them in the way and manner of a political prince, as hath been long since well observed by Josephus, who, therefore, properly calls the Jewish government 'a theocracy,' or 'the government of God Himself'.

And thus, in a scheme or figure, He shadows forth that spiritual kingdom and government which He would establish amongst that divine society of men, in reference to which we have so much mention made of 'the kingdom of heaven' in the gospel; which is not generally and solely meant of the state of glory, much less of any outward church rites, but mainly of that idea and exemplar, of which the Jewish theocracy was an imitation. *Lastly*, As a political prince, God draws forth a body of laws, as the political constitutions and rules of this government which He had set up, choosing mount Sinai for the theatre whereon He would promulge those laws by which all His subjects should be governed. And so, I doubt not but that preface by which the law is ushered in², which speaks of God's mercy in delivering them from the Egyptian thralldom, may very well be allegorized and mystically expounded. And all this was to signify and set forth that law which was to go forth from mount Sion, the promulgation whereof was to be, in a vital and spiritual way, among the subjects of this spiritual kingdom. To all this we may add those temporal inheritances which He distributed to the Jewish families,

¹ 'Ο δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς μὲν τούτων οὐδοσιούην ἀπέειδεν' ὡς δ' ἂν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα, Θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος

ἀναθεῖς, κ. τ. λ. Joseph. *contra Apion.* Lib. II. cap. 16.

² Exod. xx. 2.

in imitation of that eternal blessedness, and those immortal inheritances, which He shares out amongst His spiritual sons and subjects in heaven. And this I the rather add, because here the Jews are much perplexed about untying this knot, namely, what the reason should be that their law speaks so sparingly of any eternal reward, but runs out generally in promises of mundane and earthly blessings in the land of Canaan. But by this we may see the true reason of that which the apostle speaks concerning them: "Until this day, the same vail in the reading of the Old Testament remaineth untaken away¹." That vail which was on the face of Moses, was an emblem of all this great mystery: and this vail was upon the face of the Jews in their reading the Old Testament; they dwelling so much in a carnal converse with these sacramental symbols which were offered to them in the reading of the law, that they could not see through them into the thing signified thereby, and so embraced shadows instead of substance, and made account to build up happiness and heaven upon that earthly law, to which properly the land of Canaan was annexed: whereas, indeed, this law should have been their 'schoolmaster to have led them to Christ²,' whose law it prefigured; which that it might do the more effectually, God had annexed to the breach of any one part of it such severe curses, that they might from thence perceive how much need they had of some further dispensation. And, therefore, this state of theirs is set forth by a state of bondage, or *πνεῦμα δουλείας*. For all external precepts carry perpetually an aspect of austerity and rigour to those minds that are not informed by the internal sweetness of them. And this it is only which makes the Gospel, or the new Law, to be a free, noble, and generous thing, because it is seated in

¹ τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει, μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον. 2 Cor. iii. 14.

² Gal. iii. 24.

the souls of men: and therefore Aquinas, out of Austin, hath well observed another difference between the Law and the Gospel: *Brevis differentia inter legem et evangelium est timor et amor*¹. This I the rather observe, because the true meaning of that spirit of bondage, which the apostle speaks of, is frequently mistaken. We might further (if need were), for a confirmation of this which we have spoken, concerning the typicalness of the whole Jewish economy, appeal to the third and fourth chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians, which cannot well be understood without this notion, where we have the Jewish church, as a type of the true evangelical church, brought in as a child in its minority, in servitude, under tutors and governors, shut up under the Law, till the time of that emphatical revelation of the great mystery of God should come, till the day should break, and all the shadows of the night fly away.

That I may return from this digression to the argument we before pursued, this briefly may be added; that under the old covenant, and in the time of the Law, there were amongst the Jews some that were evangelized, that were *re, non nomine, Christiani*; as under the Gospel there are many that do judaize, are of as legal and servile spirits as the Jews, 'children of the bond-woman,' resting in mere external observances of religion, in an outward seeming purity, in a form of godliness, as did the Scribes and Pharisees of old.

From what hath hitherto been discoursed, I hope the difference between both covenants clearly appears, and that the Gospel was not brought in only to hold forth a new platform and model of religion: it was not brought in only to refine some notions of truth, that might for-

¹ Præterea, Augustinus dicit in libro contra Adamantium (vel Adimantum) Manichæi discipulum cap. 17. inter princ.

et med. quod *brevis differentia legis et Evangelii est timor et amor*. Thom. Aquin. II. Sum. Theol. I. Quæst. CVII. 1.

merly seem discoloured and disfigured by a multitude of legal rites and ceremonies; it was not to cast our opinions concerning the way of life and happiness only into a new mould and shape, in a pedagogical kind of way: it is not so much a system and body of saving divinity, as the spirit and vital influx of it spreading itself over all the powers of men's souls, and quickening them into a divine life: it is not so properly a doctrine that is wrapt up in ink and paper, as it is *vitalis scientia*, a living impression made upon the soul and spirit. We may, in a true sense, be as legal as ever the Jews were, if we converse with the Gospel as a thing only without us; and be as far short of the righteousness of God as they were, if we make the righteousness which is of Christ by faith to serve us only as an outward covering, and endeavour not after an internal transformation of our minds and souls into it. The gospel does not so much consist *in verbis* as *in virtute*: neither doth evangelical dispensation therefore please God so much more than the legal did, because, as a finer contrivance of His infinite understanding, it more clearly discovers the way of salvation to the minds of men; but chiefly, because it is a more powerful efflux of His divine goodness upon them, as being the true seed of a happy immortality continually thriving and growing on to perfection. I shall add further, the Gospel does not therefore hold forth such a transcendent privilege and advantage above what the law did, only because it acquaints us that Christ our true High Priest is ascended up into the holy of holies, and there, instead of the blood of bulls and goats, hath sprinkled the ark and mercy-seat above with His own blood: but also because it conveys that blood of sprinkling into our defiled consciences, to purge them from dead works. Far be it from me to disparage, in the least, the merit of Christ's blood, His becoming obedient

unto death, whereby we are justified. But I doubt, sometimes, some of our dogmata and notions about justification may puff us up in far higher and goodlier conceits of ourselves than God hath of us; and that we profanely make the unspotted righteousness of Christ to serve only as a covering, wherein to wrap up our foul deformities and filthy vices; and when we have done, think ourselves in as good credit and repute with God as we are with ourselves, and that we are become heaven's darlings as much as we are our own. I doubt not but the merit and obedience of our Saviour gain us favour with God, and potently move down the benign influences of heaven upon us: but yet, I think, we may sometimes be too lavish and wanton in our imaginations, in fondly conceiving a greater change in the esteem which God hath of us than becomes us, and too little reckon upon the real and vital emanations of His favour upon us.

Therefore, for the further clearing of what hath been already said, and laying a ground upon which the next part of our discourse (*viz.* concerning the conveyance of this godlike righteousness to us by faith) is to proceed, we shall here speak something more to the business of justification and divine acceptance, which we shall dispatch in two particulars.

CHAPTER V.

Two propositions for the better understanding of the doctrine of justification and divine acceptance. 1. That the divine judgment and estimation of every thing is according to the truth of the thing; and God's acceptance or disacceptance of things is suitable to His judgment. On what account St James does attribute a kind of justification to good works. 2. God's justifying of sinners in pardoning their sins carries in it a necessary reference to the sanctifying of their natures. This abundantly proved from the nature of the thing.

OUR first proposition is this; *The Divine judgment and estimation of every thing is according to the truth of the thing; and God's acceptance or disacceptance of things is suitable and proportionable to His judgment.* Thus St. Peter plainly tells us, 'God is no respecter of persons; but every one that worketh righteousness is accepted of Him¹.' And God Himself posed Cain, who had entertained those unworthy and ungrounded suspicions of His partiality, with that question, 'If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted²?' Wheresoever God finds any stamps and impressions of goodness, He likes and approves them, knowing them well to be what they indeed are, nothing else but His own image and superscription. Wherever He sees His own image shining in the souls of men, and a conformity of life to that eternal idea of goodness which is Himself, He loves it and takes a complacency in it, as that which is from Himself, and is a true imitation of Himself. And as His own unbounded being and goodness is the primary and original object of His immense and Almighty love; so also every thing that partakes of Him, partakes proportionably of His love; all imitations of Him, and participations of His love and goodness, are perpetually adequate and commensurate the one to the other. By how much the more any one comes to resemble God, by

¹ Acts x. 34, 35.

² Gen. iv. 7.

so much the more is he acceptable to Him. It was a common notion in the old Pythagorean and Platonic theology, Τὸν Δία μετασχηματισθέντα εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα, κ. τ. λ., as Proclus phraseth it¹—that the Divinity, transformed into love, and enamoured with its own unlimited perfections and spotless beauty, delighted to copy forth and shadow out itself, as it were, in created beings, which are perpetually embraced in the warm bosom of the same love, from which they can never swerve nor apostatize, till they also prove apostate to the estate of their creation. And, certainly, it is true in our Christian divinity, that that Divine light and goodness which flows forth from God, the Original of all, upon the souls of men, never goes solitary and destitute of love, complacency, and acceptation, which are always lodged together with it in the Divine essence. And as the Divine complacency thus dearly and tenderly entertains all those which bear a similitude of true goodness upon them; so it always abandons from its embraces all evil, which never doth nor can mix itself with it: the Holy Spirit can never suffer any unhallowed or defiled thing to enter into it, or to unite itself with it. Therefore, in a sober sense, I hope I may truly say, there is no perfect and thorough reconciliation wrought between God and the souls of men, while any defiled and impure thing dwells within the soul, which cannot truly close with God, nor God with that. The Divine love, according to those degrees by which it works upon the souls of men, in transforming them into its own likeness, by the same renders them more acceptable to itself, mingleth itself with, and uniteth itself to, them: as the spirit of any

¹ εἰκότως ἄρα φιλίας ἐστὶν αἰτίος τοῖς δημιουργήμασι καὶ ὁμολογίας· καὶ ἴσως πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποβλέπων καὶ ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἐρωτα μεταβεβλήσθαι τὸν Δία, μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσ-

μον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε καὶ ταυτότητα πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρε καὶ ἔνωσεν τὴν δι' ὧν διήκουσαν. Procl. in Plat. Tim. 156 Δ.

thing mixeth itself more or less with any matter it acts upon, according as it works itself into it, and so makes a way and passage open for itself.

Upon this account, I suppose, it may be, that St James attributes a kind of justification to good works, which unquestionably are things that God approves and accepts, and all those in whom He finds them, as seeing there a true conformity to His own goodness and holiness. Whereas, on the other side, he disparageth that barren, sluggish, and drowsy belief, that a lazy lethargy in religion began in his times so much to cherish, in reference to acceptation with God. I suppose I may fairly thus gloss upon his whole discourse upon this argument: God respects not a bold, confident, and audacious faith, that is big with nothing but its own presumptions. It is not because our brains swim with a strong conceit of God's eternal love to us, or because we grow big and swell into a mighty bulk with airy fancies and presumptions of our acceptance with God, that makes us at all the more acceptable to Him: it is not all our strong dreams of being in favour with heaven that fills our hungry souls at all the more with it: it is not a pertinacious imagination of our names being enrolled in the book of life, or of the debt-books of heaven being crossed, or of Christ being ours, while we find Him not living within us, or of the washing away of our sins in His blood, while the foul and filthy stains thereof are deeply sunk in our own souls; it is not, I say, a pertinacious imagination of any of these that can make us the better: and a mere conceit or opinion, as it makes us never the better in reality within ourselves, so it cannot render us the more acceptable to God, who judges of all things as they are. No: it must be a true compliance with the Divine will, which must render us such as the Divinity may take pleasure in. 'In Christ Jesus neither

circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing,' nor any fancy built upon any other external privilege, 'but the keeping of the commandments of God¹.' No: but 'if any man does the will of God, him will both the Father and the Son love; they will come in to him, and make their abode with him².' This is the scope and mark at which a true, heaven-born faith aims; and when it hath attained this end, then is it indeed perfect and complete in its last accomplishment. And by how much the more ardency and intention faith levels at this mark of inward goodness and divine activity, by so much the more perfect and sincere it is. This is that which God justifies, it being just and correspondent with His own good pleasure: and in whomsoever He finds this, both it and they are accepted of Him. And so I come to the second particular.

2. *God's justifying of sinners, in pardoning and remitting their sins, carries in it a necessary reference to the sanctifying of their natures;* without which, justification would rather be a glorious name than a real privilege to the souls of men. While men continue in their wickedness, they do but vainly dream of a device to restrain the hands of an Almighty vengeance from seizing on them: no—their own sins, like so many armed giants, would first or last set upon them, and rend them with inward torment. There needs no angry cherub, with a flaming sword drawn out every way, to keep their unhallowed hands from the tree of life: no—their own prodigious lusts, like so many arrows in their sides, would chase them; their own hellish natures would sink them low enough into eternal death, and chain them up fast enough in fetters of darkness among the filthy fiends of hell. Sin will always be miserable; and the sinner, at last, when the empty bladders of all those

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 19.

² John xiv. 23.

hopes and expectations of an airy, mundane happiness, that did here bear him up in this life, shall be cut, will find it like a talent of lead weighing him down into the bottomless gulf of misery. If all were clear towards heaven, we should find sin raising up storms in our souls. We cannot carry fire in our own bosoms, and yet not be burnt. Though we could suppose the greatest serenity without us, though we could suppose ourselves here so much to be at truce with heaven, and all Divine displeasure laid asleep; yet would our own sins, if they continue unmortified, first or last, make an *Ætna* or *Vesuvius* within us. Nay; those sunbeams of eternal truth, that by us are detained in unrighteousness, would, at last, in those hellish vaults of vice and darkness that are within us, kindle into an unquenchable fire. It would be of small benefit to us, that Christ hath triumphed over the principalities and powers of darkness *without* us, while hell and death, strongly immured in a fort of our own sins and corruptions, should tyrannize *within* us; that His blood should speak peace in heaven, if, in the mean while, our own lusts were perpetually warring and fighting in and against our own souls; that He hath taken off our guilt and cancelled that handwriting that was against us, which bound us over to eternal condemnation; if, for all this, we continue fast sealed up in the hellish dungeon of our own filthy lusts. Indeed, we could not expect any relief from heaven, out of that misery under which we lie, were not God's displeasure against us first pacified, and our sins remitted: but, should the Divine clemency stoop no lower to us than to a mere pardon of our sins, and an abstract justification, we should never rise out of that misery under which we lie. This is the signal and transcendent benefit of our free justification through the blood of Christ, that God's offence justly conceived against us for our sins

(which would have been an eternal bar and restraint to the efflux of His grace upon us) being removed, the Divine grace and bounty may freely flow forth upon us. The fountain of the Divine grace and love is now unlocked and opened, which our sins had shut up; and now, the streams of holiness and true goodness from thence freely flow forth into all gasping souls that thirst after them. The warm sun of the Divine love, whenever it breaks through and scatters the thick cloud of our iniquities that had formerly separated between God and us, immediately breaks forth upon us with ‘healing in its wings;’ it exerciseth the mighty force of its own light and heat upon our dark and benumbed souls, begetting in them a lively sense of God, and kindling into sparks of Divine goodness within us. This love, when once it hath chased away the thick mist of our sins, will be ‘as strong as death upon us, as potent as the grave: many waters will not quench it, nor the floods drown it¹.’ If we shut not the windows of our souls against it, it will at last enlighten all those regions of darkness that are within us, and lead our souls to the light of life, blessedness, and immortality. God pardons men’s sins, out of an eternal design of destroying them; and whenever the sentence of death is taken off from a sinner, it is, at the same time, denounced against his sins. God does not bid us be warmed and be filled, and deny us those necessities which our starving and hungry souls call for. Christ having made peace through the blood of His cross, the heavens shall be no more as iron above us; but we shall receive freely the vital dew of them, the former and the latter rain in their season—those influences from above, after which souls, truly sensible of their own misery and imperfection, incessantly gasp; that righteousness of God which drops from above, from

¹ Cant. viii. 6, 7.

the unsealed spring of free goodness which makes glad the city of God. This is that free love and grace, in which the souls of good men so much triumph; this is that justification which begets in them lively hopes of a happy immortality, in the present anticipations thereof which spring forth from it in this life. And all this is that which we have sometimes called 'the righteousness of Christ;' sometimes, 'the righteousness of God;' and here, 'the righteousness which is of faith.' In heaven, it is a not imputing of sin; in the souls of men, it is a reconciliation of rebellious natures to truth and goodness. In heaven, it is the lifting up the light of God's countenance upon us, which begets a gladsome entertainment in the souls of men, holy and dear reflections and reciprocations of love: Divine love to us, as it were, by a natural emanation, begetting a reflex love in us towards God, which, like that *ἔρως* and *ἀντέρως* spoken of by the ancients, live and thrive together.

CHAPTER VI.

How the gospel-righteousness is conveyed to us by faith, made to appear from these two considerations. 1. *The gospel lays a strong foundation of a cheerful dependence upon the grace and love of God, and affiance in it. This confirmed by several gospel expressions, containing plainly in them the most strong motives and encouragements to all ingenuous addresses to God, to all cheerful dependence on Him, and confident expectation of all assistance from Him.* 2. *A true, evangelical faith is no lazy or languid thing, but an ardent breathing and thirsting after Divine grace and righteousness: it looks beyond a mere pardon of sin, and mainly pursues after an inward participation of the Divine nature. The mighty power of a living faith in the love and goodness of God, discoursed of throughout the whole chapter.*

WE come now to the last part of our discourse, viz. *To show the way by which this godlike and gospel-*

righteousness is conveyed to us: and that is, by faith. This is that powerful attractive which, by a strong and divine sympathy, draws down the virtue of heaven into the souls of men; which strongly and forcibly moves the souls of good men into a conjunction with that Divine goodness by which it lives and grows: this is that Divine impress that invincibly draws and sucks them in, by degrees, into the Divinity, and so unites them more and more to the Centre of life and love: it is something in the hearts of men which, feeling, by an occult and inward sensation, the mighty insinuations of the Divine goodness, immediately complies with it, and, with the greatest ardency that may be, is perpetually rising up into conjunction with it; and, being first begotten and enlivened by the warm beams of that goodness, always breathes and gasps after it for its constant growth and nourishment. It is then fullest of life and vivacity, when it partakes most freely of it; and perpetually languisheth when it is in any measure deprived of that sweet and pure nourishment it derives from it.

But that we may the more clearly unfold this business, how gospel-righteousness comes to be communicated through faith, we shall set it forth in two particulars.

First, *The Gospel lays a strong foundation of a cheerful dependence upon the grace and love of God, and affiance in it.* We have the greatest security and assurance that may be given us, of God's readiness to relieve such forlorn and desolate creatures as we are: that there are no such dreadful fates in heaven, as are continually thirsting after the blood of sinners, insatiably greedy after their prey, never satisfied till they have devoured the souls of men. Lest we should, by such dreadful apprehensions, be driven from God, we are told of the 'blood of sprinkling that speaks better things'¹ for us; of a mighty

¹ Heb. xii. 24.

Favourite soliciting our cause, with perpetual intercessions, in the court of heaven; of 'a new and living way' to the throne of grace, and to the holy of holies which our Saviour hath 'consecrated through His flesh¹:' we are told of a great and mighty Saviour, 'able to save to the utmost' all that come to God by Him: we hear of the most compassionate and tender promises that may be, from the Truth itself, that 'whosoever comes to Him He will in no wise cast out²;' that 'They that believe on Him, out of them should flow streams of living water³:' we hear of the most gracious invitations that heaven can make, to all 'weary and heavy laden⁴' sinners to come to Christ, that they may find rest: the great secrets of heaven, and the arcana of Divine counsels, are revealed, whereby we are acquainted that 'Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good-will towards men⁵,' are sweetly joined together in heaven's harmony, and happily combined together in the composure of its ditties; that the glory of the Deity, and salvation of men, are not allayed by their union one with another, but both exalted together in the most transcendent way; that Divine love and bounty are the supreme rulers in heaven and earth; that there is no such thing as sour despire and envy lodged in the bosom of that ever blessed Being above, whose name is LOVE, and all whose dispensations to the sons of men are but the disspreadings and distended radiations of His Love, as freely flowing forth from it, through the whole orb and sphere of its creation, as the bright light from the sun in the firmament, of whose benign influences we are then only deprived, when we hide and withdraw ourselves from them⁶. We are taught that the mild and

¹ Ibid. x. 20.

² John vi. 37.

³ Ibid. vii. 38.

⁴ Matt. xi. 28.

⁵ Luke ii. 14.

⁶ φθόνος γὰρ ἐξω θελου χοροῦ ἰστανται.
Plat. *Phædr.* 247 A. irrelevant?

gentle breathings of the Divine Spirit are moving up and down in the world to produce life, and to revive and quicken the souls of men into a feeling sense of a blessed immortality. This is that mighty Spirit that will, if we comply with it, 'teach us all things¹,' even the hidden things of God; mortify all the lusts of rebellious flesh, and 'seal us to the day of redemption².' We are taught that, with all holy boldness, we may 'in all places lift up holy hands to God, without wrath or doubting³,' without any sour thoughts of God, or fretful jealousies, or harsh surmises. We can never distrust ourselves enough, nor ever trust too much in God. This is the great plerophory, and that full confidence, which the Gospel every where seems to promote: and, should I run through all the arguments and solicitations that are there laid down, to provoke us to an entertainment hereof, I should then run quite through it from one end to another: it containing almost nothing else in the whole complex and body of it, but strong and forcible motives to all ingenuous addresses to God, and the most effectual encouragement that may be, to all cheerful dependence on Him, and confident expectation of all assistance from Him, to carry on our poor endeavours to the achievement of blessedness, and that in the most plain and simple way that may be, *sine fraude et fuco*—without any double mind or mental reservation: heaven is not acquainted so feelingly with our wicked arts and devices. But it is very strange that, where God writes life so plainly in fair, capital letters, we are so often apt to read death; that when He tells us over and over, that hell and destruction arise from ourselves, that they are the workmanship of our own hands, we will needs understand their pedigree to be from heaven, and that they were conceived in the womb of life and blessedness. No: but the Gospel tells

¹ John xiv. 26.² Eph. iv. 30.³ 1 Tim. ii. 8.

us we are not come to 'mounts of burning,' nor unto 'blackness, and darkness, and tempest,' &c.¹ Certainly, a lively faith in this love of God, and a sober converse with His goodness, by a cordial entertainment and thorough persuasion of it, would warm and chafe our benumbed minds, and thaw our hearts, frozen with self-love; it would make us melt and dissolve out of all self-consistency, and, by a free and noble sympathy with the Divine love, yield up ourselves to it, and dilate and spread ourselves more fully in it. This would banish away all atheism and ireful, slavish superstition: it would cast down every high thought, and proud imagination, that swells within us and exalts itself against this sovereign Deity: it would free us from all those poor, sorry, pinching, and particular loves that here intral the souls of men to vanity and baseness: it would lead us into the true liberty of the sons of God, filling our hearts, once enlarged with the sense of it, with a more generous and universal love, as unlimited and unbounded as true goodness itself is. Thus, Moses-like, conversing with God in the mount, and there beholding His glory shining thus out upon us in the face of Christ, we should be deriving a copy of that eternal beauty upon our own souls, and our thirsty and hungry spirits would be perpetually sucking in a true participation and image of His glory. A true Divine love would wing our souls, and make them take their flight swiftly towards heaven and immortality. Could we once be thoroughly possessed and constrained with a full confidence of the Divine love, and God's readiness to assist such feeble, languishing, creatures as we are, in our essays after heaven and blessedness, we should then, finding ourselves borne up by an Eternal and Almighty strength, dare to adventure, courageously and confidently, upon the highest designs of happiness;

¹ Heb. xii. 18.

to assail the kingdom of heaven with a holy gallantry and violence; to pursue a course of well-doing without weariness; knowing that our labour should not be in vain in the Lord, and that we should receive our reward, if we faint not: we should work out our salvation in the most industrious manner, trusting in God, as one ready to instil strength and power into all the vital faculties of our souls: we should ‘press towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus, that we might apprehend that for which also we are apprehended of Christ Jesus’.¹ If we suffer not ourselves to be robbed of this confidence and hope in God, as ready to accomplish the desires of those that seek after Him, we may then walk on strongly in the way to heaven, and not be weary; we may run, and not faint. And the more the souls of men grow in this blissful persuasion, the more they shall mount up like eagles into a clear heaven, finding themselves rising higher and higher above all those filthy mists, those clouds and tempests of a slavish fear, despair, fretfulness against God, pale jealousies, wrathful and embittered thoughts of Him, or any strugglings or contests to get from within the verge of His power and omniscency, which would mantle up their souls in black and horrid night.

I mean not, all this while, by this holy boldness, and confidence, and presence of mind in a believer’s converse with the Deity, that high pitch of assurance that wafts the souls of good men over the Stygian lake of death, and brings them to the borders of life; that here puts them into an actual possession of bliss, and re-instates and re-establishes them in paradise: no: that more general acquaintance which we may have with God’s philanthropy and bounty, ready to relieve, with the bowels of His tender compassions, all those starving souls that call

¹ Phil. iii. 14.

upon Him—for surely He will never do less for fainting and drooping souls than He doth for the young ravens that cry unto Him—that converse which we are provoked by the Gospel to maintain with God's unconfined love, if we understand it aright, will awaken us out of our drowsy lethargy, and make us 'ask of Him the way to Sion with our faces thitherward¹.' This will be digging up fresh fountains for us, while we go through the valley of Baca, whereby refreshing our weary souls we shall 'go on from strength to strength, until we see the face of our' loving, and ever to be loved, 'God in Sion².' And so I come to the next particular, wherein we shall further unfold how this godlike righteousness, of which we have spoken, is conveyed to us by faith: and that is this,

Secondly. *A true, gospel, faith is no lazy or languid thing, but a strong, ardent, breathing for, and thirsting after, Divine grace and righteousness:* it doth not only pursue an ambitious project of raising the soul immaturely to the condition of a darling favourite with heaven, while it is unripe for it, by procuring a mere, empty, pardon of sin: it desires, not only to stand upon clear terms with heaven, by procuring the crossing of all the debt-books of our sins there; but it rather pursues after an internal participation of the Divine nature. We often hear of a saving faith; and that, where it is, is not content to wait for salvation till the world to come: it is not patient of being an expectant in a probationership for it, until this earthly body resigns up all its worldly interest, that so the soul may then come into its room: no: but it is here perpetually gasping after it, and effecting it in a way of serious mortification and self-denial: it enlarges and dilates itself, as much as may be, according to the vast dimensions of the Divine love, that it may comprehend 'the height and depth, the length and breadth' thereof,

¹ Jer. l. 5.

² Psal. lxxxiv. 7.

and fill the soul, where it is seated, 'with all the fulness of God:' it breeds a strong and insatiable appetite, where it comes, after true goodness. Were I to describe it, I should do it no otherwise than in the language of the apostle: it is that whereby 'we live in Christ,' and whereby 'He lives in us'; or, in the dialect of our Saviour Himself, something so powerfully sucking in the precious influences of the Divine Spirit, that the soul where it is, is continually flowing with living waters² issuing out of itself. A truly believing soul, by an ingenuous affiance in God, and an eager thirst after Him, is always sucking from the full breasts of the Divine love: thence it will not part; for there, and there only, is its life and nourishment: it starves and faints away with grief and hunger, whensoever it is pulled away from thence: it is perpetually hanging upon the arms of immortal goodness, for there it finds its great strength lies; and, as much as may be, arms itself with the mighty power of God, by which it goes forth, like a giant refreshed with wine, to run that race of grace and holiness that leads to the true Elysium of glory, and that heavenly Canaan which is above. And whensoever it finds itself enfeebled in its difficult conflict with those fierce and furious corruptions, those tall sons of Anak, which, arising from our terrene and sensual affections, do here encounter it in the wilderness of this world; then, turning itself to God, and putting itself under the conduct of the Angel of His presence, it finds itself presently out of weakness to become strong, enabled from above to put to flight those mighty armies of the aliens. True faith (if you would know its rise and pedigree) is begotten of the Divine bounty and fulness manifesting itself to the spirits of men, and it is conceived and brought forth by a deep and humble sense of self-indigency and poverty. Faith arises out of self-exinanition, seating

¹ Gal. ii. 20.² John vii. 38.

and placing itself in view of the Divine plenitude and all-sufficiency; and thus (that I may borrow those words of St Paul) 'we received the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in Him¹.' The more this sensual, brutish, and self-central life thrives and prospers, the more Divine faith languisheth; and the more that decays, and all self-feeling, self-love, and self-sufficiency pine away, the more is true faith fed and nourished, the more vigorous it grows: and as carnal life wastes and consumes, so the more does faith suck in a true, divine, and spiritual life from the true *Αὐτοζωή* who hath life in Himself, and freely bestows it to all those that heartily seek for it. When the Divinity united Himself to human nature in the person of our Saviour, He then gave mankind a pledge and earnest of what He would further do therein, in assuming it into as near a conjunction as might be with Himself, and in dispensing and communicating Himself to man, in a way as far correspondent and agreeable as might be to that first copy. And, therefore, we are told of 'Christ being formed in us,' and 'the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us; of our being made conformable to Him, of having fellowship with Him, of being as He was in this world, of living in Him and His living in us, of dying, and rising again, and ascending with Him into heaven,' and the like: because, indeed, the same Spirit that dwelt in Him, extends itself, in its mighty virtue and energy, through all believing souls, shaping them more and more into a just resemblance and conformity to Him as the first copy and pattern: whence it is that we have so many ways of unfolding the union between Christ and all believers, set forth in the Gospel. And all this is done for us by degrees, through the efficacy of the Eternal Spirit, when, by a true faith, we deny ourselves and our own wills, submit ourselves in a deep sense of our own folly

¹ 2 Cor. i. 9.

and weakness to His wisdom and power, comply with His will, and, by a holy affiance in Him, subordinate ourselves to His pleasure: for these are the vital acts of a gospel faith.

And according to this which hath been said, I suppose we may fairly gloss upon St Paul's discourses which so much prefer faith above works. We must not think, in a giant-like pride, to scale the walls of heaven by our own works, and by force thereof to take the strong fort of blessedness, and wrest the crown of glory out of God's hands whether He will or no. We must not think to commence a suit in heaven for happiness, upon such a poor and weak plea as our own external compliance with the old law is. We must not think to deal with God in the method of commutative justice, and to challenge eternal life as the just reward of our great merits, and the hire due to us for our labour and toil we have taken in God's vineyard. No: 'God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble'¹: it must be a humble and self-denying address of a soul, dissolved into a deep and piercing sense of its own nothingness and unprofitableness, that can be capable of the Divine bounty: 'He fills the hungry with good things, but the rich He sends empty away'². They are the hungry and thirsty souls, always gasping after the living springs of Divine grace, as the parched ground in the desert doth for the dew of heaven, ready to drink them in by a constant dependence upon God; souls that, by a living, watchful, and diligent faith, spreading forth themselves in all obsequious reverence and love of Him, wait upon Him 'as the eyes of a handmaid wait on the hand of her mistress:' these are they that He delights to satiate with His goodness. Those that being mastered by a strong sense of their own indigency, their pinching and pressing poverty, and His all-

¹ James iv. 6.

² Luke i. 53.

sufficient fulness, trust in Him as an Almighty Saviour, and in the most ardent manner pursue after that perfection to which His grace is leading them; those that cannot satisfy themselves in a bare performance of some external acts of righteousness, or an external observance of a law without them, but, with the most greedy and fervent ambition, pursue after such an acquaintance with His Divine Spirit as may breathe an inward life through all the powers of their souls, and beget in them a vital form and soul of divine goodness;—these are the spiritual seed of faithful Abraham, the sons of the free-woman and heirs of the promises, to whom all are made ‘Yea and Amen in Christ Jesus¹.’ These are they which shall abide in the house for ever, when the sons of the bond-woman, those that are only Arabian proselytes, shall be cast out.

CHAPTER VII.

An appendix to the foregoing discourse—How the whole business and undertaking of Christ is eminently available, both to give full relief and ease to our minds and hearts, and also to encourage us to godliness, or a godlike righteousness, briefly represented in sundry particulars.

FOR the further illustration of some things, especially in the latter part of this discourse, it may not be amiss, in some particulars, which might easily be enlarged, to show, *How the undertaking of Christ*—that great object of faith—is greatly advantageous and available to giving full relief and ease to our minds and hearts, and also to encouraging us to godliness, or a true godlike righteousness.

In the general, therefore, we may consider, That full and evident assurance is given hereby to the world, that God doth indeed ‘seek the saving of that which is lost²;

¹ 2 Cor. i. 20.

² Luke xix. 10.

and men are no longer to make any doubt or scruple of it. Now what can we imagine more available to carry on a design of godliness, and to rouse dull and languid souls to an effectual minding of their own salvation, than to have this news sounding in their ears by men, that, at the first promulgation thereof, durst tell them roundly in the name of God, that God required them everywhere to repent, for that His kingdom of grace was now apparent; and that He was not only willing, but it was His gracious design to save and recover lost sinners who had forsaken His goodness?

Particularly, that the whole business of Christ is very advantageous for this purpose, and highly accommodate thereto, may appear thus:

1. We are fully assured that God hath this fore-mentioned design upon lost men, because here is one (viz. Christ) that partakes every way of human nature; in whom the Divinity magnifies itself, and whom it carries through this world, in human infirmities and sufferings, to eternal glory: a clear manifestation to the world, that God had not cast off human nature, but had a real mind to exalt and dignify it again.

2. The way into the holy of holies, or to eternal happiness, is laid as open as may be by Christ, in His doctrine, life, and death: in all which we may see, with open face, what human nature may attain to, and how it may, by humility, self-denial, divine love, and a Christ-like life, rise above all visible heavens into a state of immortal glory and bliss.

3. Here is a manifestation of love given, enough to thaw all the iciness of men's hearts which self-love had quite frozen up: for here is One who, in human nature most heartily everywhere denying Himself, is ready to do anything for the good of mankind, and, at last, gives up His life for the same purpose; and that according to the

good will and pleasure of that eternal love which 'so loved the world, that He gave' this beloved and 'His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him, should not perish, but have everlasting life¹.'

4. Whereas every penitent sinner carries a sense of guilt upon his own conscience, is apt to shrink with cold, chill, fears of offended majesty, and to dread the thoughts of violated justice; he is assured that Christ hath laid down His life, and thereby made propitiation and atonement for sin; that He hath laid down His life for the redemption of him; and so in Christ 'we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins².' Thus may the hearts of all penitents, troubled, at first, with a sense of their own guilt, be quieted, and fully established in a living faith and hope in an eternal goodness; seeing how their sins are remitted through the blood of Jesus, who came to die for them and save them, and through His blood they may have free access unto God.

5. Seeing sin and guilt are apt continually to beget a jealousy of God's majesty and greatness, from whom the sinner finds himself at a vast distance, he is made acquainted with a Mediator, through whom he may address himself to God, without this jealousy or doubting; for that this Mediator, likewise, is one of human nature, that is highly beloved and accepted of God, He having so highly pleased God by performing His will in all things. Certainly it is very decorous, and much for the ease of a penitent's mind, (as it makes also for the disparagement of sin) that our addresses to God should be through a mediator. The Platonists wisely observed that, between the pure Divinity and impure sinners, as there is no union, so no communion: it is very agreeable, every way and upon all accounts, that they who, in themselves, are

¹ John iii. 16.

² Eph. i. 7.

altogether unworthy and under demerit, should come to God by a mediator.

Thus the Scripture everywhere seems to represent and hold forth Christ in the forenamed particulars, (without descending into niceties and subtilties, such as the schoolmen and others from them have troubled the world with, in a very full and ample manner), that so the minds of true believers, that are willing to comply with the purpose of God for their own eternal peace, might, in all cases, find something in Christ for their relief, and make use of Him, as much as may be, to encourage and help on godliness: for, by this whole undertaking of Christ manifested in the gospel, God would have to be understood full relief of mind and ease of conscience, as also all encouragement to godliness, and disparagement of sin. And, indeed, the whole business of Christ is the greatest blow to sin that may be; for the world is taught hereby, that there is no sinning upon cheap and easy terms: men may see that God will not return so easily into favour with sinners; but He will have His righteousness acknowledged, and likewise their own demerit. And this acknowledgment He is once, indeed, pleased to accept of in the person of our Saviour: yet, if men will not now turn to Him, and accept His favour, they must know that there is no other sacrifice for sin.

By these particulars, upon which we have briefly touched, to name no more, it may appear, that when we look into the Gospel, we are taught to believe that Christ hath done, according to the good pleasure of God, everything for us that may truly relieve our minds, and encourage us to godliness—a godlike righteousness far exceeding the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees.

A
DISCOVERY
OF THE
SHORTNESS AND VANITY
OF A
PHARISAICAL RIGHTEOUSNESS;
OR,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FALSE GROUNDS UPON WHICH MEN ARE
APT VAINLY TO CONCEIVE THEMSELVES TO BE RIGHTEOUS.

And he said unto the Pharisees, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed amongst men is abomination in the sight of God. Luke xvi. 15.

Πᾶς ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἀποφύνας καθαρὸν, ἀκάθαρτον ἑαυτὸν τελείως κατέκρυψε.

EPIPHANIUS *adv. Hær. (contr. Cathar. § 6.)*

Nulli facilius ad magnam pietatis famam perveniunt, quam superstitiosi vel hypocritæ.

RENATUS DES CARTES, *Princ. Philos. (Epist. Dedic.)*



THE
SHORTNESS AND VANITY
OF A
PHARISAICAL RIGHTEOUSNESS,
DISCOVERED IN A DISCOURSE UPON

MATT. xix. 20, 21.

The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up : what lack I yet ? Jesus saith unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven ; and come and follow Me.

CHAPTER I.

A general account of men's mistakes about religion. Men are nowhere more lazy and sluggish, and more apt to delude themselves, than in matters of religion. The religion of most men is but an image and resemblance of their own fancies. The method propounded for discoursing upon those words in St Matthew. 1. To discover some of the false mistakes and notions about religion. 2. To discover the reason of these mistakes. A brief explication of the words.

AS there is no kind of excellency more generally pretended to than religion, so there is none less known, or wherein men are more apt to delude themselves. Every one is ready to lay claim, and to plead a right in it ; like the bat in the Jewish fable, that pretended the light was hers, and complained of the unjust detainment thereof from her ; but few there are that understand the true worth and preciousness of it. There are some common notions, and a natural instinct of devotion, seated in the minds of men, which are ever and anon roving after religion ; and, as they casually and fortuitously start up any models and

ideas of it, they are presently prone to believe themselves to have found out this only pearl of price; the religion of most men being, indeed, nothing else but such a strain and scheme of thoughts and actions, as their natural propensions, swayed by nothing else but an inbred belief of a Deity, accidentally run into; nothing else but an image and resemblance of their own fancies, which are ever busy in painting out themselves; which is the reason why there are as many shapes and features of religion painted forth in the minds of men, as there are various shapes of faces and fancies. Thus men are wont to fashion and delineate their religion to themselves in a strange and uncouth manner, as the imaginations of men in their dreams are wont to represent monstrous and hideous shapes of things, that appear nowhere else but there. And though some may seem to themselves to have ascended up above this low region, this vulgar state of religion; yet I doubt they may still be wrapped up in clouds and darkness, they may still be but in a middle region, like wandering meteors that have not yet shaken off that gross and earthly nature, which will, at last, force them again downwards. There may be some who may arrive at that book-skill and learning in Divine mysteries, that, with a Pharisaical pride looking down upon the rude and vulgar sort of men, may say, ‘This people who knoweth not the law are cursed¹;’ who themselves yet converse only with an airy ghost and shadow of religion: though the light of Divine truth may seem to shine *upon* them, yet, by reason of their dark and opacous hearts, it shines not *into* them: they may, like this dark and dull earth, be superficially gilded, and warmed too, with its beams, and yet the impressions thereof not pierce quite through them. There may be many fair semblances of religion where the substance and power of it is not. We shall here endeavour to discover some of

¹ John vii. 49.

them which may seem most specious, and with which the weak understandings of men, which are nowhere more lazy and sluggish than in matters of religion, are most apt to be deluded; and then discover the reason of these mistakes.

For this purpose we have made choice of these words, wherein we find a young Pharisee beginning to swell with a vain conceit of his good estate towards God, looking upon himself as being already upon the borders of perfection, having, from his youth up, kept on a constant course in the way of God's commandments: he could not now be many miles from the land of Canaan, if he were not already passed over Jordan: he thought himself to be already in a state of perfection, or, at least, within sight of it; and, therefore, making account he was as lovely in our Saviour's eyes as he was in his own, asks Him, "What lack I yet?"

For the understanding of this, we must know the Jews were wont to distinguish righteous men into two sorts, צדיקים and גמורים, to which this query of his seems to refer; as if he had said, Having kept all God's commandments, sure my good deeds cannot only over-balance my evil, no—but they rather fill both the scales of the Divine balance; I have no evil deeds to weigh against them¹: what, therefore, can I want of the end and scope of the Divine law, which is to make men perfect, seeing I have guided my whole life from my youth up by the precepts of it? To which our Saviour replies; "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow Me." These words I can neither think to be spoken as *consilium perfectionis* in the papal sense, nor yet only as a particular and special precept; but rather by way of conviction: so that the full sense and

¹ Cf. note 1, p. 317.

importance of our Saviour's speech seems to be this, *viz.* A mere conformity of the outward man to the law of God is not sufficient to bring a man to eternal life; but the inward man also must deeply receive the stamp and impression of the Divine law, so as to be made like to God. True perfection is not consistent with any terrene loves or worldly affections: this mundane life and spirit which acts so strongly and impetuously in this lower world, must be crucified: the soul must be wholly dissolved from this earthy body in which it is so deeply immersed, while it endeavours to enlarge its sorry tabernacle upon this material globe, and by a holy abstraction from all things that pinion it to mortality, withdraw itself and retire into a divine solitude. If thou, therefore, wert in a state of perfection, thou wouldest be able, at the first call from God, to resign up all interest here below; to quit all claim, and to dispose of thyself and all worldly enjoyments, according to His pleasure, without any reluctancy; 'and come and follow Me.' And this, I think, was the true scope of our Saviour's answer; which proved a real demonstration, as it appears in the sequel of the story, that this confident Pharisee had not yet attained to those mortified affections, which are requisite in all the candidates for true blessedness; but only cheated his own soul with a bare external appearance of religion, which was not truly seated in his heart: and I doubt not but many are ready upon as slight grounds, and with as much confidence, to take up his query, "What lack I yet?"

We shall, therefore, in the first place, according to what we promised, inquire into some of those false pretences which men are apt to make to happiness, and show, in four particulars, how religion is mistaken.

CHAPTER II.

An account of men's mistakes about religion in four particulars. 1. A partial obedience to some particular precepts. The false spirit of religion spends itself in some particulars, is confined, is overruled by some prevailing lust. Men of this spirit may, by some book-skill, and a zeal about the externals of religion, lose the sense of their own guiltiness, and of their deficiencies in the essentials of godliness, and fancy themselves nearly related to God. Where the true spirit of religion is, it informs and actuates the whole man; it will not be confined, but will be absolute within us, and not suffer any corrupt interest to grow by it.

THE first is, *A partial obedience to some particular precepts of God's law.* That arrogant Pharisee who could lift up a bold face to heaven, and thank God he was no extortioner, nor unjust, nor guilty of any publican sins, found it easy to persuade himself that God justified him, as much as he did himself.

It was a vulgar rule given by the Jewish doctors, which I fear too many live by, 'That men should single out some one commandment out of God's law, and therein especially exercise themselves, that so they might make God their friend by that, lest in others they should too much displease Him¹.' Thus men are content δέκαζεν—to pay God their *decimæ*, and *septimæ* too of their lives, if need be, so that they may, without fear of sacrilege, or purloining, as they suppose, from Him, enjoy all the rest to themselves; but they are not willing to consecrate their whole lives to Him: they are afraid lest religion should encroach too much upon them, and too busily invade their own rights and liberties, as their selfish spirit calls them.

There are such as, perhaps, think themselves willing that God should have His due, providing that He also let them enjoy their own without any let or molestation;

¹ Vid. pp. 315, 316.

but they are very jealous lest He should encroach too much upon them, and are careful to maintain a *meum* and *tuum* with heaven itself, and to set bounds to God's prerogative over them, lest it should swell too much, and grow too mighty for them to maintain their own privileges under it. They would fain understand themselves to be free-born under the dominion of God Himself, and, therefore, ought not to be compelled to yield obedience to any such laws of His as their own private, seditious lusts and passions will not suffer them to give their consent unto.

There are such as persuade themselves they are well affected to God, and willing to obey His commandments, but yet think they must not be uncivil to the world; or so base and cowardly as not to maintain their own credit and reputation, with a due revenge upon those that seem to impair it; or so much forget themselves, as not to comply with the guise and fashion of this world, so far as it may make for their own emolument or preferment. Such as these, that are no fast friends to religion, can easily find some postern door to slip out by into this world; and, while they either do some constant homage to heaven, in the exercise and performance of some duties of religion, or abstain from such vices as the common opinions of men brand with infamy, or can fancy themselves to be marked out with some of those characters which they have learned, from books or pulpit discourses, to be the notes of God's children and justified persons, they grow big with self-conceit, and can easily find out some handsome piece of sophistry and cunning topic to delude themselves by, in indulging some beloved lust or other: they can sometimes beat down the price of other men's religion, to enhance the value of their own; or, it may be, by a burning and fiery zeal against the opinions and deportments of others that are not of their own sect, they

may lose the sense of all their own guiltiness. The disciples themselves had almost forgotten the mild and gentle spirit of religion, when, in an overhasty heat, they called for fire down from heaven upon those whom they deemed their Master's enemies.

Sometimes, a partial spirit in religion, that spends itself only in some particulars, mistakes the fair complexions of good nature for the true face of virtue; and a good bodily temperament will serve it, as a flattering glass, to bestow beauty upon a deformed and misshapen mind, that it may seem virtuous. But it is not a true spirit of religion, whatsoever those wanton wits may call it, that is thus particular and confined. No: that is of a subtile and working nature; it will be searching through the whole man, and leave nothing uninformed by itself; as it is with the soul that runs through all the portions of matter, and every member of the body. Sin and grace cannot lodge together; they cannot divide, and share out between them, two several dominions in one soul.

What is commonly said of truth in general, we may say more especially of true goodness—*magna est, et prevalebit*: it will lodge in the souls of men like that mighty, though gentle, heat which is entertained in the heart, that always dispenseth warm blood and spirits to all the members in the body; it will not suffer any other interest to grow by it; it will be so absolute as to swallow up all our carnal freedom, and crush down all our fleshly liberty; as Aaron's serpent did eat up all the serpents of the Egyptian magicians, so will it devour all that viperous brood of iniquity, which our magical self-will, by her witchcraft and enchantments, begets within us: like a strong and vehement flame within us, it will not only singe the hair, or scorch and blister the skin, but it will go on to consume this whole body of death: it is compared, by our Saviour, to leaven that will ferment the

whole mass in which it is wrapped up; it will enter into us like the refiner's fire, and the fuller's soap; like the Angel of God's presence that He promised to send along with the Israelites in their journey to Canaan, it will not pardon our iniquities, nor indulge any darling lust whatsoever: it will narrowly pry into all our actions, and be spying out all those back ways and doors whereby sin and vice may enter.

That religion that runs out only in particularities, and is overpowered by the prevailing power of any lust, is only a dead carcase, and not, indeed, that true, living, religion which comes from heaven, and which will not suffer itself to be confined; that will not indent with us, or article upon our terms and conditions, but, Samson-like, will break all those bonds, with which our fleshly and harlot-like wills would tie it, and become every way absolute within us. And so I pass to the second thing wherein men are apt to delude themselves in taking an estimate of their own religion.

CHAPTER III.

The second mistake about religion, viz. A mere compliance of the outward man with the law of God. True religion seats itself in the centre of men's souls, and first brings the inward man into obedience to the law of God: the superficial religion intermeddles chiefly with the circumference and outside of men; or rests in an outward abstaining from some sins. Of speculative, and the most close and spiritual, wickedness within. How apt men are to sink all religion into opinions and external forms.

2. *A mere compliance of the outward man with the law of God.* There is an ὁ ἔξω, and an ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, that philosophy hath acknowledged, as well as our Christian divinity: and when religion seats itself in the

centre of men's souls, it acts there most strongly upon the vital powers of it, and first brings the inward man into a true and cheerful obedience to the law of God, before all the seditious and rebellious motives of the external or animal man be quite subdued. But a superficial religion many times intermeddles only with the circumference and outside of men: it lodges only in the suburbs, and storms the outworks, but enters not the main fort of men's souls, which is strongly defended by inward pride, self-will, particular and mundane loves, fretting and self-consuming envy, popularity and vain-glory, and such other mental vices as, when they are beaten out of the visible behaviours and conversations of men by Divine threats or promises, which may be too potent to be controlled, retreat and secure themselves here, as in a strong castle. There may be many who dare not pursue revenge, and yet are not willing to forgive injuries; who dare not murder their enemy, and yet cannot love him; who dare not seek for preferment by bribery, and yet are not mortified to these and many other mundane and base-born affections: they are not willing that the Divine prerogative should extend itself beyond the outward man, and that religion should be too busy with their inward thoughts and passions: if they may not, by proud boasting, set off their own sorry commodities upon the public stage, and there read out their own panegyrics, yet they will inwardly applaud themselves, and commit wanton dalliance with their own parts and perfections; and, not feeling the mighty power of any higher good, they will endeavour to preserve an unhallowed autæsthesy and feeling sense of themselves; and, by a sullen melancholy stoicism, when religion would deprive and bereave them of the sinful glory and pleasures of this outward world, they then retire, and shrink themselves up, into a centre of their own: they collect and contract themselves into them-

selves. Thus, when this low life of men's souls is chased out of the external vices and vanities of this world, by the chastisements of their own consciences, or many times by bodily oppressions, it presently retires into itself, and by a self-feeling begins more to grasp and dearly embrace itself. When these external loves begin to be starved and cooled, yet men may then fall into love with, and courting of, themselves by arrogancy, self-confidence and dependence, self-applause and gratulations, admiration of their own perfections; and so feed that dying life of theirs with this speculative wantonness, that it may as strongly express itself within them, as before it did without themselves. Men may, by inward braving of themselves, sacrilegiously steal God's glory from Him, and erect a self-supremacy within, exerting itself in self-will and particular loves, and so become co-rivals with God for the crown of blessedness and self-sufficiency, as I doubt many of the Stoics endeavoured, with a giant-like ambition, to do.

But, alas! I doubt we generally arrive not to this pitch of religion, to deny the world, and all the pomp and glory of this largely extended train of vanity; but we easily content ourselves with some external forms of religion. We are too apt to look at a garish dress and attire of religion, or to be enamoured rather with some more specious and seemingly spiritual forms, than with the true spirit and power of godliness and religion itself. We are more taken commonly with the several new fashions that the luxuriant fancies of men are apt to contrive for it, than with the real power and simplicity thereof: and, while we think ourselves to be growing in our knowledge, and moving on towards a state of perfection, we do but turn up and down from one kind of form to another: we are as apt still to draw it down into as low, worldly, and mundane rites and ordinances, as ever it was before our Saviour made that glorious reformation therein, which

took away these material crutches made up of carnal observances, upon which earthly minds so much lean, and are fain to underprop their religion with, which else would tumble down and fall to nothing: except we can cast it into such a certain set of duties and system of opinions, that we may see it altogether from one end to another, we are afraid lest it should become too abstruse a thing, and vanish away from us.

I would not be misunderstood to speak against those duties and ordinances which are necessary means, appointed by God, to promote us in the ways of piety: but I fear we are too apt to sink all our religion into these, and so to embody it, that we may, as it were, touch and feel it, because we are so little acquainted with the high and spiritual nature of it, which is too subtile for gross and carnal minds to converse with. I fear our vulgar sort of Christians are wont so to look upon such kinds of models of divinity and religious performances, as were intended to help our dull minds to a more lively sense of God and true goodness, as those things that claim the whole of their religion: and, therefore, are too apt to think themselves absolved from it, except at some solemn times of more especial addresses to God; and that this wedding-garment of holy thoughts and divine affections is not for every day's wearing, but only then to be put on when we come to the marriage-feast and festivals of heaven: as if religion were fast locked and bound up in some sacred solemnities, and so incarcerated and incorporated into some divine mysteries, as the superstitious heathen of old thought, that it might not stir abroad, and wander too far out of these hallowed cloisters, and grow too busy with us in our secular employments. We have learned to distinguish too subtilely, I doubt, in our lives and conversations *inter sacrum et profanum*—our religious approaches to God and our worldly affairs. I know our conversation

and demeanour in this world neither is, nor can well be, all of a piece, and that there will be several degrees of sanctity in the lives of the best men, as there were once in the land of Canaan: but yet I think a good man should always find himself upon holy ground, and never depart so far into the affairs of this life, as to be without either the call or compass of religion: he should always think where-soever he is, *etiam ibi Dii sunt*—that God and the blessed angels are there, with whom he should converse in a way of purity. We must not think that religion serves to paint our faces, to reform our looks, or only to inform our heads, or instruct and tune our tongues; no, nor only to tie our hands, and make our outward man more demure, and bring our bodies and bodily actions into a better decorum: but its main business is to purge and reform our hearts, and all the illicit actions and motions thereof. And so I come to a third particular wherein we are apt to misjudge ourselves in matters of religion.

CHAPTER IV.

The third mistake about religion, viz. A constrained and forced obedience to God's commandments. The religion of many (some of whom would seem most abhorrent from superstition) is nothing else but superstition properly so called. False religionists, having no inward sense of the Divine goodness, cannot truly love God; yet their sour and dreadful apprehensions of God compel them to serve Him. A slavish spirit in religion may be very prodigal in such kind of serving God as doth not pinch their corruptions; but in the great and weightier matters of religion, in such things as prejudice their beloved lusts, it is very needy and sparing. This servile spirit has low and mean thoughts of God, but a high opinion of its outward services, as conceiving that by such cheap things God is gratified and becomes indebted to it. The different effects of love, and slavish fear, in the truly, and in the falsely, religious.

3. **A**NOTHER particular wherein men mistake religion, is, *A constrained and forced obedience to God's*

commandments. That which many men (amongst whom some would seem to be most abhorrent from superstition) call their religion, is, indeed, nothing else but a *δεισιδαιμονία*¹, that I may use the word in its ancient and proper sense, as it imports ‘such an apprehension of God as renders Him grievous to men, and so destroys all free and cheerful converse with Him, and begets, instead thereof, a forced and dry devotion, void of inward life and love.’ Those servile spirits, which are not acquainted with God and His goodness, may be so haunted by the frightful thoughts of a Deity, as to scare and terrify them into some worship and observance of Him. They are apt to look upon Him as one clothed with austerity, or, as the Epicurean poet hath too truly painted out their thoughts, as a *sævus dominus*, that is, in the language of the unprofitable servant in the gospel, ‘a hard master;’ and, therefore, they think something must be done to please Him, and to mitigate His severity towards them: and though they cannot truly love Him, having no inward sense of His loveliness, yet they cannot but serve Him so far as these rigorous apprehensions lie upon them; though, notwithstanding, such as these are very apt to persuade themselves that they may pacify Him, and purchase His favour with some cheap services, as if heaven itself could become guilty of bribery, and an immutable justice be flattered into partiality and respect of persons. Because they are not acquainted with God, and know Him not as He is in Himself, therefore they are ready to paint Him forth to themselves in their own shape: and, because they themselves are full of peevishness and self-will, arbitrarily imposing and prescribing to others without sufficient evidence of reason, and are easily enticed by flatteries, they are apt to represent the Divinity also to themselves in the same form, and think they view the true portraiture

¹ See the Tract on Superstition.

and draught of their own genius in it; and, therefore, that they might please this angry deity of their own making, they care not sometimes to be lavish in such a kind of service of Him as doth not much pinch their own corruptions; nay, and it may be too, will seem to part with them sometimes, and give them a weeping farewell, if God, and their own awakened consciences, seem to frown upon them; though all their obedience arise from nothing else, but the compulsions and necessities which their own sour and dreadful apprehensions of God lay upon them: and, therefore, in those things which more nearly touch their own beloved lusts, they will be as scant and sparing as may be; here they will be as strict with God as may be, that He may have no more than His due, as they think—like that unprofitable servant in the gospel, who, because his master was ‘an austere man, reaping where he had not sown, and gathering where he had not scattered¹,’ was content and willing he should have his own again, but would not suffer him to have any more.

This servile spirit in religion is always illiberal and needy in the *magnalia legis*—the great and weightier matters of religion—and here weighs out obedience by drachms and scruples: it never finds itself more shrivelled and shrunk up, than when it is to converse with God; like those creatures that are generated of slime and mud, the more the summer sun shines upon them, and the nearer it comes to them, the more is all their vital strength dried up and spent away: their dreadful thoughts of God, like a cold eastern wind, blast all their blossoming affections, and nip them in the bud: these exhaust their native vigour, and make them weak and sluggish in all their motions toward God. Their religion is rather a prison, or a piece of penance to them, than any voluntary and free compliance of their souls with the Divine will: and yet, because

¹ Matt. xxv. 24.

they bear the burden and heat of the day, they think, when the evening comes, they ought to be more liberally rewarded; such slavish spirits being ever apt inwardly to conceive that heaven receives some emolument or other by their hard labours, and so becomes indebted to them, because they see no true gain and comfort accruing from them to their own souls; and so, because they do God's work and not their own, they think they may reasonably expect a fair compensation, as having been profitable to Him. And this, I doubt, was the first and vulgar foundation of merit; though now the world is ashamed to own it.

But, alas! such an ungodlike religion as this can never be owned by God: the bondwoman and her son must be cast out. The spirit of true religion is of a more free, noble, ingenuous, and generous nature, arising out of the warm beams of the Divine love which first hatched it and brought it forth, and, therefore, is it afterwards perpetually bathing itself in that sweetest love that first begot it, and is always refreshed and nourished by it. This 'love casteth out fear, fear which hath torment in it¹,' and is, therefore, more apt to chase away souls once wounded with it from God, than to allure them to God. Such fear of God always carries in it a secret antipathy against Him, as being *λυπηρόν καὶ βλαβερόν*, as Plutarch speaks,—'one that is so troublesome, that there is no quiet or peaceable living with him.' Whereas love, by a strong sympathy, draws the souls of men, when it hath once laid hold upon them by its powerful insinuation, into the nearest conjunction that may be with the Divinity: it thaws all those frozen affections which a slavish fear had congealed and locked up, and makes the soul most cheerful, free, and nobly resolved in all its motions after God. It was well observed of old by Pythagoras, 'we are never so well as

¹ 1 John iv. 18.

when we approach to God¹; when, in a way of religion, we make our addresses to God, then are our souls most cheerful. True religion and an inward acquaintance with God, discovers nothing in Him but pure and sincere goodness, nothing that might breed the least distaste or disaffection, or carry in it any semblance of displeasingness; and, therefore, the souls of good men are never pinching and sparing in their affections: then the torrent is most full and swells highest, when it empties itself into this unbounded ocean of the Divine Being. This makes all the commandments of God light and easy, and far from being grievous. There needs no law to compel a mind, actuated by the true spirit of Divine love, to serve God or to comply with His will². It is the choice of such a soul to endeavour to conform itself to Him, and draw from Him, as much as may be, an imitation of that goodness and perfection which it finds in Him. Such a Christian does not, therefore, obey His commands only because it is God's will he should do so, but because he sees the law of God to be truly perfect, as David speaks³: his nature being reconciled to God, finds it all 'holy, just, and good⁴' as St. Paul speaks; and such a thing as his soul loves, 'sweeter than the honey or the honeycomb;' and he makes it 'his meat and drink to do the will of God,' as our Lord and Saviour did. And so I pass to the fourth and last particular, wherein religion is sometimes mistaken.

¹ Ἔστεφανωμένος (sc. ὁ δεισιδαίμων)
ὠχρίᾳ, θύει καὶ φοβεῖται, εὐχεται φωνῇ
παλλομένη, καὶ χερσὶν ἐπιθυμῶν τρεμούσαις
καὶ ὅλως ἀποδείκνυσιν τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον
φλυαρὸν, εἰπόντος, Ὅτι βέλτιστοι γινώμεθα
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς βαδίζοντες.—Plut. *De Su-*

perst. 169 E.

² Quis legem det amantibus? Major
lex amor est sibi. Boeth. *de Consol. Phi-*
los. Lib. III. Metr. 12, 47.

³ Psal. xix. 7.

⁴ Rom. vii. 12.

CHAPTER V.

The fourth and last mistake about religion, When a mere mechanical and artificial religion is taken for that which is a true impression of heaven upon the souls of men, and which moves like a new nature. How religion is, by some, made a piece of art, and how there may be specious and plausible imitations of the internals of religion as well as of the externals. The method and power of fancy in contriving such artificial imitations. How apt men are in these to deceive both themselves and others. The difference between those that are governed in their religion by fancy, and those that are actuated by the Divine Spirit and in whom religion is a living form. That true religion is no art, but a new nature. Religion discovers itself best in a serene and clear temper of mind, in deep humility, meekness, self-denial, universal love of God and all true goodness.

THE fourth and last particular wherein men misjudge themselves, is, *When a mere mechanical and artificial religion is taken for that which is a true impression of heaven upon the souls of men, and which moves like an inward nature.* True religion will not stoop to rules of art, nor be confined within the narrow compass thereof: no; where it is, we may cry out, with the Greek philosopher, ἐστὶ τις θεὸς ἔνδον¹. God hath there kindled, as it were, His own life, which will move and act only according to the laws of heaven. But there are some mechanical Christians that can frame and fashion out religion so cunningly in their own souls, by that book-skill they have got of it, that it may many times deceive themselves, as if it were a true living thing. We often hear that mere pretenders to religion may go as far, in all the external acts of it, as those that are best acquainted with it: I doubt not, also, but many times there may be artificial imitations drawn of that which only lives in the souls of good men, by the powerful and wily magic of exalted fancies; as we read of some artificers, that have made images of living creatures,

¹ Ἄλλ' ὁ θεὸς ἔνδον ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἑμέτερος δαίμων ἐστὶ.—Arrian, *Comment. in Epictet.*
Lib. I. cap. iv.

wherein they have not only drawn forth the outward shape, but seem almost to have copied out the life also in them. Men may make an imitation, as well of those things which we call the *internals* of religion, as of the *externals*. There may be a semblance of inward joy in God, of love to Him and His precepts, of dependence upon Him, and a filial reverence of Him, which, by the contrivance and power of fancy, may be represented in a masque upon the stage of the animal part of a man's soul. Those Christians that fetch all their religion from pious books and discourses, hearing of such and such signs of grace, and evidences of salvation, and being taught to believe they must get those, that so they may go to heaven; may presently begin to set themselves to work, and, in an apish imitation, cause their animal powers and passions to represent all these; and fancy, being well acquainted with all those several affections in the soul, that at any time express themselves towards outward things, may, by the power it hath over the passions, call them all forth in the same mode and fashion, and then conjoin with them some thoughts of God and divine things, which may serve, thus put together, for a handsome artifice of religion, wherein these mechanics may much applaud themselves.

I doubt not but there may be some who, to gain credit with themselves, and that glorious name of being the children of God, though they know nothing more of it but that it is a title that sounds well, would use their best skill to appear such to themselves, so qualified and moulded as they are told they must be. And, as many times credit and reputation among men may make them polish the ruggedness of their outward man, so, to gain their own good opinion, and a reputation with their own consciences which look more inwardly, they may also endeavour to make their inward man look sometimes more

smooth and comely: and it is no hard matter for such chameleon-like Christians to turn, even their insides, into whatsoever hue and colour shall best please them, and then, Narcissus-like, to fall in love with themselves: a strong and nimble fancy having such command over the animal spirits, that it can send them forth, in full troops, which way soever it pleaseth, and, by their aid, call forth and raise any kind of passion it listeth; and, when it listeth, allay it again, as the poets say Æolus can do with the winds. As they say of the force of imagination, that *vis imaginativa signat fœtum*; so imagination may stamp any idea that it finds within itself upon the passions, and turn them, as it pleases, to what seal it will set upon them, and mould them into any likeness; and a man, looking down and taking a view of the plot, as it is acted upon the stage of the animal powers, may like and approve it as a true platform of religion. Thus may they easily deceive themselves, and think their religion to be some mighty thing within them, that runs quite through them, and makes all these transformations within them; whereas, the rise and motion of it may be all in the animal and sensitive powers of the soul; and a wise observer of it may see whence it comes and whither it goes: it being, indeed, a thing which is ‘from the earth, earthy,’ and not like that true spirit of regeneration which comes from heaven, and begets a divine life in the souls of good men, and is not under the command of any such charms as these are, neither will it move according to those laws, and times, and measures, that we please to set to it; but we shall find it manifesting its mighty supremacy over the highest powers of our souls. Whereas, we may truly say of all mechanics in religion, and our mimic Christians, that they are not so much actuated and informed by their religion, as they inform that; the power of their own imagination deriving that force to it which bears it up, and

guides all its motions and operations. And, therefore, they themselves having the power over it, can new mould it as themselves please, according to any new pattern which shall please them better than the former: they can furnish this domestic scene of theirs with any kind of matter which the history of other men's religion may afford them; and, if need be, act over all the experiences of that sect of men to which they most addict themselves, so to the life, that they may seem to themselves as well experienced Christians as any others; and so, it may be, soar so aloft in self-conceit, as if they had already made their nests amongst the stars, and had viewed their own mansion in heaven. What was observed by the stoic concerning the vulgar sort of men—ὁ βίος ὑπόληψις—may as truly be said of this sort of Christians—their life is nothing else but a strong energy of fancy and opinion.

But besides, lest their religion might too grossly discover itself to be nothing else but a piece of art, there may be sometimes such extraordinary motions stirred up within them, which may prevent all their own thoughts, that they may seem to be a true operation of the Divine life; when, yet, all this is nothing else but the energy of their own self-love, touched with some fleshly apprehensions of Divine things, and excited by them. There are some things in our Christian religion that, when a carnal and unhallowed mind takes the chair, and gets the expounding of them, may seem very delicious to the fleshly appetites of men; some doctrines and notions of free grace and justification; the magnificent titles of sons of God and heirs of heaven; ever-flowing streams of joy and pleasure, in which blessed souls shall swim to all eternity; a glorious paradise in the world to come, always springing up with well-scented and fragrant beauties; a New Jerusalem, paved with gold, and bespangled with stars, comprehending in its vast circuit such numberless varieties,

that a busy curiosity may spend itself about to all eternity. I doubt not but that sometimes the most fleshly and earthly men, that fly their ambition to the pomp of this world, may be so ravished with the conceits of such things as these, that they may seem to be made partakers of 'the powers of the world to come'; I doubt not but that they may be as much exalted with them, as the souls of crazed and distracted persons seem to be sometimes, when their fancies play with those quick and nimble spirits, which a distempered frame of body, and unnatural heat in their heads, beget within them. Thus may these blazing comets rise up above the moon, and climb higher than the sun; which yet, because they have no solid consistency of their own, and are of a base and earthly alloy, will soon vanish and fall down again, being only borne up by an external force. They may seem to themselves to have attained higher than those noble Christians, that are gently moved by the natural force of true goodness; they may seem to be *pleniores Deo* than those that are really informed and actuated by the Divine Spirit, and do move on steadily and constantly in the way towards heaven; as the seed that was sown in the thorny ground, grew up and lengthened out its blade faster than that which was sown in the good and fruitful soil. And as the motions of our sense, fancy, and passions, while our souls are in this mortal condition, sunk down deeply into the body, are many times more vigorous, and make stronger impressions upon us, than those of the higher powers of the soul, which are more subtile and remote from these mixed and animal perceptions; that devotion which is there seated may seem to have more energy and life in it than that which gently, and with a more delicate kind of touch, spreads itself upon the understanding, and from thence mildly derives itself

¹ Heb. vi. 5.

through our wills and affections. But howsoever the former may be more boisterous for a time, yet this is of a more consistent, spermatical, and thriving nature: for that, proceeding indeed from nothing else but a sensual and fleshly apprehension of God and true happiness, is but of a flitting and fading nature; and as the sensible powers and faculties grow more languid, or the sun of Divine light shines more brightly upon us, these earthly devotions, like our culinary fires, will abate their heat and fervour. But a true, celestial, warmth will never be extinguished, because it is of an immortal nature; and being once seated vitally in the souls of men, it will regulate and order all the motions of it in a due manner, as the natural heat radicated in the hearts of living creatures hath the dominion and economy of the whole body under it, and sends forth warm blood, and spirits, and vital nourishment, to every part and member of it. True religion is no piece of artifice; it is no boiling up of our imaginative powers, nor the glowing heats of passion; though these are too often mistaken for it, when, in our jugglings in religion, we cast a mist before our own eyes: but it is a new nature, informing the souls of men; it is a godlike frame of spirit, discovering itself, most of all, in serene and clear minds, in deep humility, meekness, self-denial, universal love of God and all true goodness, without partiality and without hypocrisy; whereby we are taught to know God, and knowing Him to love Him, and conform ourselves, as much as may be, to all that perfection which shines forth in Him.

THE
EXCELLENCY AND NOBLENESSE
OF
TRUE RELIGION,

1. IN ITS RISE AND ORIGINAL. 2. IN ITS NATURE AND ESSENCE.
3. IN ITS PROPERTIES AND OPERATIONS. 4. IN ITS
PROGRESS. 5. IN ITS TERM AND END.
-

To the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight.
—Ps. xvi. 3.

Εὐγένεια δὲ, ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τήρησις, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἑξομίωσις, ἣν ἐργάζεται
λόγος καὶ ἀρετὴ, καὶ καθαρὸς πόθος.—GREG. NAZIANZ. *Orat.* VIII. § 6.

Εὐγένειαν δὲ λέγω, οὐχ ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν. ἀπαγε.—ἀλλ' ἣν εὐσέβεια χαρακτηρίζει
καὶ τρόπος, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν ἀνοδος ὁθεν γεγόναμεν.—IDEM *in Orat.* XXV. § 3.

Nescit religio nostra personas accipere: nec conditiones hominum, sed animos,
inspicit singulorum. Servum et nobilem de moribus pronunciat. Sola apud Deum
libertas est, non servire peccatis. Summa apud Deum est nobilitas clarum esse vir-
tutibus.—PAULINI EPIST. *ad Celantiam* (vid. HIERONYM. *Opera*).

THE
EXCELLENCY AND NOBLENESS
OF
TRUE RELIGION.

The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from hell beneath.—
Prov. xv. 24.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the whole book of the Proverbs we find Solomon, one of the eldest sons of Wisdom, always standing up and calling her blessed: his heart was both enlarged and filled with the pure influences of her beams, and, therefore, was perpetually adoring that sun which gave him light. ‘Wisdom is justified of all her children¹,’ though the offspring of darkness and the children of folly see no beauty nor comeliness in her, that they should desire her, as they said of Christ². That mind which is not touched with an inward sense of Divine wisdom, cannot estimate the true worth of it³. But when Wisdom once displays her own excellences and glories in a purified soul, she is entertained there with the greatest love and delight, and receives her own image, reflected back to herself in sweetest returns of love and praise. We have a clear manifestation of this sacred sympathy in Solomon, whom we may not unfitly call *sapientiae organum*—an instrument Wisdom herself had tuned on which to play her divine lessons: his words were every where full of divine sweetness⁴, matched with strength and beauty, πολὺν νοῦν ἔχοντες

¹ Luke vii. 35.

² Isa. liii. 2.

τομένοις; Plot. *Enn.* III. γ. 6.

³ Τίς (γὰρ) ἂν σύνεσις γένοιτο μὴ ἐφαπ-

⁴ דְּבָרַיִם חֲכָמִין Eccles. xii. 10.

ἐνδον or, as himself phraseth it, ‘like apples of gold in pictures of silver’¹. The mind of a proverb is to utter wisdom in a mystery—as the apostle sometimes speaks—and to wrap up Divine truth in a kind of enigmatical way, though in vulgar expressions. This method of delivering Divine doctrine (not to mention the writings of the ancient philosophers) we find frequently pursued in the holy Scripture, thereby both opening and hiding, at once, the truth which is offered to us. A proverb or parable being once unfolded, by reason of its affinity with the fancy, the more sweetly insinuates itself into that, and is from thence, with the greater advantage, transmitted to the understanding. In this state, we are not able to behold truth in its own native beauty and lustre; but, while we are veiled with mortality, truth must veil itself too, that it may the more freely converse with us. St Austin hath well assigned the reason why we are so much delighted with metaphors, allegories, &c. because they are so much proportioned to our senses, with which our reason hath contracted an intimacy and familiarity². And therefore God, to accommodate His truth to our weak capacities, does, as it were, embody it in earthly expressions; according to that ancient maxim of the Cabbalists, *Lumen supernum nunquam descendit sine indumento*³; agreeable to which is that of Dionysius not seldom quoted by the schoolmen: *Impossibile est nobis aliter lucere ra-*

¹ Prov. xxv. 11.

² Ad ipsum autem ignem amoris nutriendum et flatandum quodammodo, quo tanquam pondere sursum vel introrsum referamur ad requiem, ista omnia pertinent quæ nobis figurate insinuantur; plus enim movent et accendunt amorem, quam si nuda sine ullis sacramentorum similitudinibus ponerentur. Cujus rei causam difficile est dicere. Sed tamen ita se habet, ut aliquid per allegoricam significationem intimatum plus moveat,

plus delectet, plus honoretur, quam si verbis propriis diceretur apertissime. Credo quod ipse animæ motus quamdiu rebus adhuc terrenis implicatur, pigrius inflammatur: si vero feratur ad similitudines corporales, et inde referatur ad spiritualia, quæ illis similitudinibus figurantur, ipso quasi transitu vegetatur, et tanquam in facula ignis agitatus accenditur, et ardentiore delectione rapitur ad quietem. Tom. II. p. 203A, ed. Par. 1836.

³ Vid. Not. I. p. 174.

*dium divinum, nisi varietate sacrorum velaminum circumvelatum*¹.

Thus much by way of preface or introduction to these words, being one of Solomon's excellent proverbs, *viz.* 'The way of life is above to the wise².' Without any mincing or mangling of the words, or running out into any critical curiosities about them, I shall, from these words, take occasion to set forth the nobleness and generous spirit of true religion, which I suppose to be meant here by 'the way of life.' The word *למעלה* here rendered 'above,' may signify that which is divine and heavenly, high and excellent, as the word *άνω* does in the New Testament—*της άνω κλήσεως*³; *τα άνω φρονεῖτε*⁴. St Austin supposeth the things of religion to be meant by the *τα άνω*, 'superna,' for this reason, *quod merito excellentiæ longe superant res terrenas*. And in this sense I shall consider it, my purpose being from hence to discourse of the excellent and noble spirit of true religion, whether it be taken *in abstracto*—as it is in itself; or *in concreto*—as it becomes an inward form and soul to the minds and spirits of good men; and this in opposition to that low and base-born spirit of irreligion, which is perpetually sinking from God, till it couches to the very centre of misery, 'the lowermost hell⁵.'

In discoursing upon this argument, I shall observe this method; *viz.* I shall consider the excellency and nobleness of true religion,

1. In its rise and original.
2. In its nature and essence.
3. In its properties and operations.
4. In its progress.
5. In its term and end.

¹ Οὐδὲ δυνατόν ἐτέρως ἡμῖν ἐπιλάμψαι τὴν θεαρχικὴν ἀκτῖνα, μὴ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν ἱερῶν παραπετασμάτων ἀναγωγικῶς περικεκαλυμμένην. Dionys. Areop. *de Cœlest. Hierar.* cap. 1.

² Prov. xv. 24.

³ Phil. iii. 14.

⁴ Col. iii. 2.

⁵ מטה מן הַשָּׁמַיִם

CHAPTER I.

1. *The nobleness of religion in regard of its original and fountain: it comes from heaven and moves towards heaven again. God the first excellency and primitive perfection. All perfections and excellences in any kind are to be measured by their approach to, and participation of, the first perfection. Religion the greatest participation of God: none capable of this Divine communication but the highest of created beings: and, consequently, religion the greatest excellency. A two-fold fountain in God whence religion flows, viz. 1. His nature.*
2. *His will. Of truth, natural and revealed. Of an outward and an inward revelation of God's will.*

WE begin with the first, viz. *True religion is a noble thing in its rise and original, and in regard of its descent.* True religion derives its pedigree from heaven—is βλάστημα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ—it comes from heaven, and constantly moves toward heaven again: it is a beam from God, as ‘every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning,’ as St James speaks¹. God is the first truth and primitive goodness: true religion is a vigorous efflux and emanation of both upon the spirits of men, and, therefore, is called ‘a participation of the Divine nature².’ Indeed, God hath copied out Himself in all created being, having no other pattern to frame any thing by, than His own essence; so that all created being is *umbratilis similitudo entis increati*, and is, by some stamp or other of God upon it, at least remotely allied to Him: but true religion is such a communication of the Divinity, as none but the highest of created beings are capable of. On the other side, sin and wickedness is of the basest and lowest original, as being nothing else but a perfect degeneration from God, and those eternal rules of goodness which are derived from Him. Religion is a heaven-born thing, the seed of God in the spirits of

¹ James i. 17.² 2 Pet. i. 4.

men, whereby they are formed to a similitude and likeness of Himself. A true Christian is every way of a most noble extraction, of a heavenly and divine pedigree, being born *ἄνωθεν* 'from above,' as St John expresseth it¹. The line of all earthly nobility, if it were followed to the beginning, would lead to Adam, where all the lines of descent meet in one; and the root of all extractions would be found planted in nothing else but Adamah, 'red earth': but a Christian derives his line from Christ, who is the only-begotten Son of God, 'the shining forth of His glory, and the character of His person,' as He is styled³. We may truly say of Christ and Christians, as Zebah and Zalmunna said of Gideon's brethren, 'As he is, so are they (according to their capacity,) each one resembling the children of a king⁴.' Titles of worldly honour in heaven's heraldry are only *tituli nominales*; but titles of divine dignity signify some real thing, some real and divine communications to the spirits and minds of men. All perfections and excellences, in any kind, are to be measured by their approach to that primitive Perfection of all, God Himself; and, therefore, participation of the Divine nature cannot but entitle a Christian to the highest degree of dignity: 'Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God⁵.'

Thus much for a more general discovery of the nobleness of religion, as to its fountain and original: we may further, and more particularly, take notice of this in reference to that twofold fountain in God, from whence all true religion flows and issues forth, *viz.* 1. *His immutable nature.* 2. *His will.*

I *The immutable nature of God.* From thence arise all those eternal rules of truth and goodness, which are

¹ John iii. 31.

² Gen. ii. 7.

³ Heb. i. 3.

⁴ Judges viii. 18.

⁵ 1 John iii. 1.

the foundation of all religion, and which God, at the first creation, folded up in the soul of man. These we may call the truths of natural inscription; understanding, hereby, either those fundamental principles of truth which reason, by a naked intuition, may behold in God, or those necessary corollaries and deductions that may be drawn from thence. I cannot think it as proper to say, that God ought infinitely to be loved because He commands it, as because He is, indeed, an infinite and unchangeable goodness. God hath stamped a copy of His own archetypal loveliness upon the soul, that man, by reflecting into himself, might behold there the glory of God—*intra se videre Deum*—see within his soul all those ideas of truth which concern the nature and essence of God, by reason of its own resemblance to God; and, so, beget within himself the most free and generous motions of love to God. Reason in man being *lumen de lumine*—a light flowing from the Fountain and Father of lights—and being, as Cicero phraseth it, *participata similitudo rationis æternæ*¹: (as the law of nature—the νόμος γραπτός—the law written in man's heart is *participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura*':) it was to enable man to work out of himself all those notions of God, which are the true groundwork of love and obedience to God, and conformity to Him: and in moulding the inward man into the greatest conformity

¹ A phrase wrongly ascribed to Cicero both here and in page 62. The expression is borrowed from Thom. Aquinas. Vide Not. i. page 62.

² Inter cætera autem rationalis creatura excellentiori quodam modo divinæ providentiæ subjacet, in quantum et ipsa fit providentiæ particeps, sibi ipsi et aliis providens. Unde et in ipsa participatur ratio æterna, per quam habet naturalem inclinationem ad debitum actum et finem: et talis participatio legis æternæ rationali creaturæ *lex naturalis* dicitur. Unde cum Psalmista dixisset, Psal. iv. 6: *Sacrificate*

sacrificium justitiæ, quasi quibusdam quærentibus quæ sunt justitiæ opera, subjungit: *Multi dicunt: Quis ostendit nobis bona?* Cui quæstioni respondens, dicit: *Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine*: quasi lumen rationis naturalis, quo discernimus quid sit bonum et quid malum, quod pertinet ad naturalem legem, nihil aliud sit quam impressio luminis divini in nobis. Unde patet quod lex naturalis nihil aliud est quam participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura. Thom. Aquin. II. Sum. Theol. I. Quæst. XCI. 2.

to the nature of God was the perfection and efficacy of the religion of nature. But since man's fall from God, the inward virtue and vigour of reason is much abated, the soul having suffered a *πτερορρύησις*, as Plato speaks—a *defluvium pennarum*¹: those principles of divine truth, which were first engraven upon man's heart with the finger of God, are now, as the characters of some ancient monuments, less clear and legible than at first. And, therefore, besides the truth of natural inscription,

2. God hath provided the truth of Divine revelation, which issues forth from His own free will, and clearly discovers the way of our return to God, from Whom we are fallen. And this truth, with the effects and productions of it in the minds of men, the Scripture is wont to set forth under the name of *grace*, as proceeding merely from the free bounty and overflowings of the Divine love. Of this revealed will is that of the apostle to be understood,—*τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν*,—‘The things of God knoweth no man²;’ ‘*οὐδεὶς*,’ none, neither angel nor man, could know the mind of God, could unlock the breast of God, or search out the counsels of His will. But God, out of the infinite riches of His compassions toward mankind, is pleased to unbosom His secrets, and most clearly to manifest ‘the way into the holiest of all³,’ and ‘bring to light life and immortality⁴,’ and, in these last ages, to send His Son, who lay in His bosom from all eternity, to

¹ ἡ δὲ πτερορρύησασα φέρεται, ἕως ἀν στερεοῦ τινὸς ἀντιλᾶβηται. Plat. *Phædr.* p. 246 c.

ὅταν δὲ...λήθης τε καὶ κακίας πλησθεῖσα βαρυνθῇ, βαρυνθεῖσα δὲ πτερορρύησῃ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν πέσῃ, κ. τ. λ. *Id.* p. 248 c.

ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ θεόθεν φυγὴ καὶ ἡ πτερορρύησις τῶν κουφίζοντων ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ ἀνω πτερῶν εἰς τὸν τῶν θνητῶν ἡνεγκε τόπον, οἷς τὰ κακὰ συνεισέρχεται, οὕτως καὶ ἡ τῆς θνητῆς προσπαθείας ἀποβολή, καὶ

ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν, ὅλον πτερῶν τιῶν ἐκφυσις πρὸς τὸν τῶν καλῶν καθαρὸν τόπον εἰς τὴν θείαν εὐζωίαν, ἡμᾶς ἀνάξει. Hierocles in *Aurea Carmina*, p. 188, ed. Needham.

πῶς ἡ τοῦτου χεὶρ συγκατέχωσε τῷ φυτῷ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν, συντρεχούσης πτερορρύησεως, τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὴν φυτεῖαν ὁρμῇ. Greg. Nyss. *de Anima et Resurrectione*, Tom. II. p. 668, ed. Par. 1615.

² 1 Cor. ii. 11.

³ Heb. ix. 3.

⁴ 2 Tim. i. 10.

teach us His will, and declare His mind to us. When we 'look unto the earth, then behold darkness and dimness of anguish¹,' that I may use those words of the prophet Isaiah. But when we look towards heaven, then behold light breaking forth upon us, like the eyelids of the morning, and spreading its wings over the horizon of mankind, sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, 'to guide our feet into the way of peace².'

But, besides this outward revelation of God's will to men, there is also an inward impression of it on their minds and spirits, which is, in a more special manner, attributed to God. We cannot see Divine things but in a Divine light: God only, who is the true light, and in whom there is no darkness at all, can so shine out of Himself upon our glassy understandings, as to beget in them a picture of Himself, His own will and pleasure, and turn the soul, as the phrase is, like wax or 'clay to the seal³' of His own light and love. He that made our souls in His own image and likeness, can easily find a way into them. The word that God speaks, having found a way into the soul, imprints itself there, as with the point of a diamond, and becomes λόγος ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαθητῆτος ψυχῇ, that I may borrow Plato's expression⁴. Men may teach the grammar and rhetoric, but God teaches the divinity. Thus it is God alone that acquaints the soul with the truths of revelation: and He it is also that does strengthen and raise the soul to better apprehensions even of natural truth; 'God being that in the intellectual world, which the sun is in the sensible,'—ὁπερ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὁ ἥλιος, τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ὁ Θεός—as some of the ancient fathers love to speak, and the ancient philosophers too, who meant God by their *intellectus agens*,

¹ Isa. viii. 22.² Luke i. 79.³ חֶסֶד מִלֵּךְ Job xxxviii. 14.⁴ Probably a loose and inaccuratequotation from Plat. *Phædr.* 276 A. ἄλλον ὁρῶμεν λόγον.....ὅς μετ' ἐπιστήμης γράφεται ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαθητῆτος ψυχῇ, κ. τ. λ.

whose proper work they supposed to be, not so much to enlighten the object, as the faculty¹.

CHAPTER II.

2. *The nobleness of religion in respect of its nature, briefly discovered in some particulars. How a man actuated by religion, 1. Lives above the world; 2. Converses with himself, and knows how to love, value, and reverence himself, in the best sense; 3. Lives above himself, not being content to enjoy himself, except he may enjoy God too, and himself in God. How he denies himself for God. To deny a man's self, is not to deny right reason, for that were to deny God, instead of denying himself for God. Self-love the only principle that actuates wicked men. The happy privileges of a soul united to God.*

2. WE have done with the first head, and come now to discourse, with the like brevity, on another, (our purpose being to insist most upon the third particular, *viz. The nobleness of religion in its properties*, after we have handled the second) which is *The excellency and nobleness of religion in regard of its nature*, whether it be taken *in abstracto* or *in concreto*; which we shall treat of promiscuously, without any rigid tying of ourselves to exact rules of art: and so we shall glance at it in these following notions, rising as it were step by step.

1. *A good man, that is actuated by religion, lives above the world and all mundane delights and excellences.* The soul is too vigorous and puissant a thing, when it is once restored to the possession of its own being, than to be bounded within the narrow sphere of mortality, or to be straitened within the narrow prison of sensual and corporeal delights; but it will break forth with the greatest

¹ "Ἡλιον δὲ διὰ συμβόλου τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν καλεῖ" (sc. Moses) ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῶν λογισμῶς, τοῦτο ἐν κόσμῳ ἥλιος. *Phil. Jud.*

Vol. iv. p. 118. The comparison between ἥλιος and νοῦς is common in Platonist writers.

vehemency, and ascend upwards towards immortality: and, when it converses more intimately with religion, it can scarce look back upon its own converses, though in a lawful way, with earthly things, without being touched with a holy shamefacedness and modest blushing; and, as Porphyry speaks of Plotinus: 'it seems to be ashamed that it should be in the body¹.' It is true religion only that teaches and enables men to die to this world and to all earthly things, and to rise above that vaporous sphere of sensual and earthly pleasures, which darken the mind, and hinder it from enjoying the brightness of divine light: the proper motion of religion is still upwards to its first original. Whereas, on the contrary, the souls of wicked men ὑποβρύχια συμπεριφέρονται, as Plato somewhere speaks, —'being moistened with the exudations of their sensual parts, become heavy and sink down into earthly things, and couch, as near as may be, to the centre².' Wicked men bury their souls in their bodies: all their projects and designs are bounded within the compass of this earth which they tread upon. The fleshly mind regards nothing but flesh, and never rises above the outward matter, but always creeps up and down, like shadows, upon the surface of the earth: and if it begins, at any time, to make any faint essays upwards, it presently finds itself laden with a weight of sensuality which draws it down again. It was the opinion of the Academics, that the souls of wicked men, after their death, could not, of a long season, depart from the graves and sepulchres where their mates were buried; but there wandered up and down in a desolate manner, as not being able to leave those bodies to which they were so much wedded in this life³.

¹ Ἐφ' ἧς μὲν ἀσχυνομένη ὅτι ἐν σώματι εἶη. Porph. Vit. Plot. ad init.

² ἀδυνατοῦσαι (δὲ) ὑποβρύχια συμπεριφέρονται. Plat. Phæd. 248 A.

³ Ἐὰν δέ γε, οἶμαι, μεμασμένη καὶ ἀκά-

θαρτος τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλάττηται, ἄτε τῷ σώματι ἀεὶ ξυνοῦσα καὶ τοῦτο θεραπεύουσα καὶ ἐρώσα καὶ γεγοητευμένη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν, ὥστε μὴδὲν ἄλλο δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀληθές ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ σωμα-

2. *A good man, one that is actuated by religion, lives in converse with his own reason; he lives at the height of his own being.* This a great philosopher makes the property of a good man: 'He knows how to converse with himself, and truly to love and value himself':—he measures not himself, like the epicure, by his inferior and earthly part, but by an immortal essence, and that of Him which is from above; and so does 'climb up to the height of that immortal principle which is within him².' The Stoics thought no man a fit auditor of their ethics, till he were dispossessed of that opinion, that man was nothing but *συμπλοκή ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος*, as professing to teach men how to live only *κατὰ λόγον*, as they speak. Perhaps their divinity was in some things too rigid; but I am sure a good man acts the best of this their doctrine in the best sense, and knows better how to reverence himself, without any self-flattery or admiration, than ever any Stoic did. He principally looks upon himself as being what he is, rather by his soul than by his body³: he values himself by his soul, that being which hath the greatest affinity

τοιοῖδές, οὗ τις ἂν ᾤψαιτο καὶ ἴδοι καὶ πίοι καὶ φάγοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια χρῆσαιτο, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ὅμμασι σκοτῶδες καὶ αἰεῖδές, νοσητὸν δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ αἰρετὸν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰθισμένη μισεῖν τε καὶ τρέμειν καὶ φεύγειν, οὕτω δὴ ἔχουσιν οἷοι ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν εἰλικρινῇ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι; Οὐδ' ὅπως οἰοῦν, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ διελημμένην γε οἶμαι ὑπὸ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς, ὃ αὐτῇ ἡ ὁμιλία τε καὶ ξυνουσία τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ξυνεῖναι καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν μελέτην ἐνεποίησε ξύμφυτον. Πάνυ γε. Ἐμβριθὲς δὲ γε, ὦ φίλε, τοῦτο οἰεσθαι χρὴ εἶναι καὶ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες καὶ ὁρατὸν· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἔχουσα ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ βαρύνεται τε καὶ ἔλκεται πάλιν εἰς τὸν ὁρατὸν τόπον, φόβῳ τοῦ δειδοῦς τε καὶ Ἄιδου, ὥσπερ λέγεται, περὶ τὰ μνήματά τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους κυλινομένην, περὶ αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ ὥφθη ἅττα ψυχῶν σκιαιοδῆ φαντάσματα, οἷα παρέχονται αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ εἰδωλα, αἱ μὴ καθαρῶς ἀπολυθεῖσαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὁρα-

τοῦ μετέχουσιν, διὸ καὶ ὁρῶνται. Εἰκόδες γε, ὦ Σώκρατες. Εἰκόδες μέντοι, ὦ Κέβης· καὶ οὐ τί γε τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταύτας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν φαύλων, αἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναγκάζονται πλανᾶσθαι δίκην τίνουσιν τῆς προτέρας τροφῆς, κακῆς οὐσης. καὶ μέχρι γε τούτου πλανῶνται, ἕως ἂν τῇ τοῦ ξυνεπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς ἐπιθυμίᾳ πάλιν ἐνδεθῶσιν εἰς σῶμα. Ἐνδοῦνται δὲ, ὥσπερ εἰκόδες, εἰς τοιαῦτα ἦθη, ὅποιοι ἄντ' ἂν καὶ μεμελετηκῇαι τύχῳσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ. Plat. Phæd. 81 B—E.

¹ Μόνος γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μερικῶν ζῶων ὁ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχων ἑαυτῷ συγγίνεσθαι δύναται καὶ στέργειν ἑαυτόν. Procl. in Plat. Tim. 173 C.

² (Δεῖ) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀρχὴν ἀναβιβηκέναι. Plot. Enn. VI. 9, 3.

³ κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν ζωὴν οὐσιωμένους. Simplic. in Epict. Pref. Cf. p. 21.

with God; and, so, does not seek himself in the fading vanities of this life, nor in those poor and low delights of his senses, as wicked men do; but as the philosopher doth well express it, ὅση δύναμις φεύγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος βούλεται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν συννεύειν¹, and when the soul thus retires into itself, and views its own worth and excellency, it presently finds a chaste and virgin love stirred up within itself towards itself, and is from within the more excited and obliged as Simplicius speaks, ‘to mind the preserving of its own dignity and glory².’ To conclude this particular. A good man endeavours to walk by eternal and unchangeable rules of reason: reason, in a good man, sits in the throne, and governs all the powers of his soul in a sweet harmony and agreement with itself: whereas wicked men live only ζῶν δοξαστικῇν, being led up and down by the foolish fires of their own sensual apprehensions. In wicked men, there is a democracy of wild lusts and passions, which violently hurry the soul up and down with restless motions. All sin and wickedness is στάσις καὶ ὕβρις τῆς ψυχῆς—‘a sedition stirred up in the soul by the sensitive powers against reason.’ It was one of the great evils that Solomon saw under the sun; ‘Servants on horseback, and princes going as servants upon the ground³.’ We may find the moral of it in all wicked men, whose souls are only as servants to wait upon their senses. In all such men, the whole course of nature is turned upside down, and the cardinal points of motion in this little world are changed to contrary positions: but the motions of a good man are methodical, regular, and concentrical to

¹ Οὐτε οὖν πρὸς τὸν καθαρτικῶς δινηθέντα ζῆν· ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ὅση δύναμις φεύγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος βούλεται καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν συννεύειν. Simpl. in *Epictet. Praef.*

² ...καὶ πάντες οἱ λόγοι πρὸς ἓνα τελ-

νοῦσι σκοπὸν, τὴν λογικὴν ψυχὴν διεγείρει πρὸς τε τὴν φυλάκην τοῦ οἰκείου δειώματος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν χρῆσιν τῶν οἰκείων ἐνεργειῶν. Simpl. in *Epictet. Praef.*

³ Eccles. x. 7.

reason. It is a fond imagination that religion should extinguish reason; whereas religion makes it more illustrious and vigorous; and they that live most in the exercise of religion, shall find their reason most enlarged. I might add, that reason, in relation to the capacitating of man for converse with God, was thought, by some, to be the formal difference of man. Plutarch, after a large debate whether brutes had not reason in them as well as man, concludes it negatively upon this ground—‘because they had no knowledge and sense of the Deity¹.’ In Cicero’s account, this capableness of religion seemed to be nothing different from rationality, and, therefore, he doubts not to give this for the most proper characteristic of reason, that it is *vinculum Dei et hominis*. And, so, with them (not to name others of the same apprehensions) *animal rationale* and *animal capax religionis* seemed to be of the like importance; reason, as enabling and fitting man to converse with God, by knowing Him and loving Him, being a character most unquestionably differencing man from brute creatures.

3. *A good man, one that is informed by true religion, lives above himself, and is raised to an intimate converse with the Divinity.* He moves in a larger sphere than his own being, and cannot be content to enjoy himself, except he may enjoy God also, and himself in God.

This we shall consider two ways.

1. In the self-denial of good men: they are content and ready to deny themselves for God. I mean not that they should deny their own reason, as some would have it; for that were to deny a beam of Divine light, and so to deny God, instead of denying ourselves for Him. It is better resolved by some philosophers in this point, that *ἑπεσθαι λόγῳ*—‘to follow reason’—is *ἑπεσθαι θεῷ*—‘to

¹ Ἀλλὰ ὅρα, Γρύλλε, μὴ δευνὸν ἢ καὶ βλαβερὸν ἀπολιπεῖν λόγον οἷς οὐκ ἐγγίνεται θεοῦ νόσις. Plutarch, *Gryllus*, sub fin.

follow God;’ and, again, Λόγω δὲ ὀρθῶ πείθεσθαι καὶ θεῷ, ταυτὸν ἐστὶ¹. But by self-denial I mean, the soul’s quitting all its own interest in itself, and an entire resignation of itself to Him, as to all points of service and duty: and thus the soul loves itself in God, and lives in the possession, not so much of its own being, as of the Divinity; desiring only to be great in God, to glory in His light, and spread itself in His fulness; to be filled always by Him, and to empty itself again into Him; to receive all from Him, and to expend all for Him; and so to live, not as its own, but as God’s. The highest ambition of a good man is to serve the will of God: he takes no pleasure in himself, nor in any thing within himself, further than he sees a stamp of God upon it. Whereas wicked men are imprisoned within the narrow circumference of their own beings, and perpetually frozen into a cold self-love, which binds up all the innate vigour of their souls, that it cannot break forth or express itself in any noble way. The soul in which religion rules, says, as St Paul did, ‘I live; and yet not I, but Christ liveth in me².’ On the contrary, a wicked man swells in his own thoughts, and pleaseth himself more or less with the imagination of a self-sufficiency. The Stoics, seeing they could not raise themselves up to God, endeavoured to bring down God to their own model, imagining the Deity to be nothing else but some greater kind of animal, and a wise man to be almost one of his peers³. And this is more or less the genius of wicked men; they will be something in themselves, they wrap up themselves in their own being, move up and down in a sphere of self-love, live a professed independency of God,

¹ Hierocl. in *Aur. Carm.* p. 128. (Needham.) Similarly we read (*Ibid.* p. 90.) Ταύτας τῆς κρίσεως ἀρχὰς κυριωτάτας ἀποδεχόμεθα, τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης νόμον, τὸν ἐν ἡμῶν παρανομούμενον ὀρθὸν λόγον, καὶ, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἐνοικον

θεόν, πλημμελούμενον.

² Gal. ii. 20.

³ Sapiens cum Diis ex pari vivit, Deorum socius, non supplex. Sen. in *Ep.* 52 et 31.

and maintain a *meum et tuum* between God and themselves. It is the character only of a good man to be able to deny and disown himself, and to make a full surrender of himself unto God; forgetting himself, and minding nothing but the will of his Creator; triumphing in nothing more than in his own nothingness, and in the allness of the Divinity. But indeed this, his being nothing, is the only way to be all things; this, his having nothing, the truest way of possessing all things.

2. As a good man lives above himself in a way of self-denial, so he lives also above himself as he lives in the enjoyment of God: and this is the very soul and essence of true religion, to unite the soul in the nearest intimacy and conjunction with God, who is *πηγή ζωῆς*, *πηγή νοῦ*, *ρίζα ψυχῆς*, as Plotinus speaks¹. Then, indeed, the soul lives most nobly, when it feels itself to ‘live, and move, and have its being in God²;’ which though the law of nature makes the common condition of all created being, yet is it only true religion that can give us a more feeling and comfortable sense of it. God is not present to wicked men, when His Almighty essence supports them and maintains them in being; ‘but He is present to him that can touch Him,’ hath an inward feeling knowledge of God, and is intimately united to Him; ‘but to him that cannot thus touch Him He is not present³.’

Religion is life and spirit, which, flowing out from God, who is that *Αὐτοζωή* that hath life in Himself, returns to Him again as into its own original, carrying the souls of good men up with it. The spirit of religion is always ascending upwards, and, spreading itself through the whole essence of the soul, loosens it from a self-

¹ Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ χορείᾳ καθορᾷ πηγὴν μὲν ζωῆς, πηγὴν δὲ νοῦ, ἀρχὴν ὄντος, ἀγαθοῦ αἰτίαν, ρίζαν ψυχῆς. Plot. Enn. vi. 9, 9.

² Acts xvii. 28.

³ ἀλλ’ ἔστι τῷ δυναμένῳ θίγειν παρὸν, τῷ δὲ ἀδυνατοῦντι οὐ πάρεστι. Plot. Enn. vi. 9, 7.

confinement and narrowness, and so renders it more capacious of divine enjoyment. God envies not His people any good; but, being infinitely bountiful, is pleased to impart Himself to them in this life, so far as they are capable of His communications: they stay not for all their happiness till they come to heaven. Religion always carries its reward along with it, and when it acts most vigorously upon the mind and spirit of man, it then, most of all, fills it with an inward sense of Divine sweetness. To conclude. To walk with God, is, in Scripture, made the character of a good man, and it is the highest perfection and privilege of created nature to converse with the Divinity. Whereas, on the contrary, wicked men converse with nothing but their lusts and the vanities of this fading life, which here flatter them, for a while, with unhallowed delights, and a mere shadow of contentment; and when these are gone, they find both substance and shadow to be lost eternally. But true goodness brings in a constant revenue of solid and substantial satisfaction to the spirit of a good man, delighting always to sit by those eternal springs that feed and maintain it: the spirit of a good man, as it is well expressed by the philosopher, ἀκινήτως ἐνίδρυται ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος, and is always drinking in fountain-goodness, and fills itself more and more, till it is filled with all the fulness of God¹.

¹ Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγαθοτήτων παρὰχθέντα, ἀποστάντα τοῦ εἶναι αὐτοαγαθὰ

καὶ ἀκινήτως ἐνιδρῦσθαι ἐν τῇ ὑπάρξει τῆς θείας ἀγαθότητος, κατὰ μέθεξιν ἔχει τὸ ἀγαθόν. Simpl. in Epictet. cap. 1. § 1.

CHAPTER III.

3. *The nobleness of religion in regard of its properties, &c. of which this is one, viz. Religion enlarges all the faculties of the soul, and begets a true ingenuousness, liberty, and amplitude, the most free and generous spirit in the minds of good men. The nearer any being comes to God, the more large and free; the further it slides from God, the more straitened. Sin is the sinking of man's soul from God into sensual selfishness. An account when the most generous freedom of the soul is to be taken in its just proportions. How mechanical and formal Christians make an art of religion, set it such bounds as may not exceed the scant measure of their principles; and then fit their own notions as so many examples to it. A good man finds not his religion without him, but as a living principle within him. God's immutable and eternal goodness the unchangeable rule of His will. Peevish, self-willed, and imperious men shape out such notions of God as are agreeable to this pattern of themselves. The truly religious have better apprehensions of God.*

HAVING discoursed of the nobleness of religion in its original and nature, we come now to consider the excellency of religion in its properties, its proper effects, and vital operations. In treating of this third particular we shall, as we have formerly done, without tying ourselves precisely to any strict rules of art and method, confound the notions of religion *in abstracto* and *in concreto* together, handling them promiscuously. As religion is a noble thing, 1. In respect of its *original*, 2. In respect of its *nature*; so also 3. In respect of its *properties and effects*.

1. The *first* property and effect of true religion whereby it expresseth its own nobleness is this; *That it widens and enlarges all the faculties of the soul, and begets a true ingenuousness, liberty, and amplitude, the most free and generous spirit, in the minds of good men.* Those in whom religion rules, are בני חורים—there is a true generous spirit within them, which shows the nobleness of their

extraction. The Jews have a good maxim to this purpose: 'None truly noble, but he that applies himself to religion, and a faithful observance of the divine law¹.' Cicero could see so much in his natural philosophy as made him say, *Scientia naturæ ampliatur animus, et ad divina attollit*. But this is most true of religion, that, in a higher sense, it does work the soul into a true and divine amplitude. There is a living soul of religion in good men which, spreading itself through all their faculties, spirits all the wheels of motion, and enables them to dilate and extend themselves more fully upon God and all divine things, without being pinched or straitened within themselves. Whereas wicked men are of most narrow and confined spirits; they are so contracted by the pinching particularities of earthly and created things, so imprisoned in a dark dungeon of sensuality and selfishness, so straitened through their carnal designs and ends, that they cannot stretch themselves, nor look beyond the horizon of time and sense.

The nearer any being comes to God, who is that infinite fulness that fills all in all, the more vast, and large, and unbounded it is; as the further it slides from Him, the more it is straitened and confined; as Plato hath long since concluded concerning the condition of sensual men, that they live 'like a shellfish²,'—and can never move up and down but in their own prison, which they ever carry about with them. Were I to define sin, I would call it, *The sinking of a man's soul from God into a sensual selfishness*. All the freedom that wicked men have, is but like that of banished men—to wander up and down in the wilderness of this world from one den and cave to another.

The more high and noble any being is, the deeper ra-

¹ אין לך בן חורין אלא מי שעוסק בתלמוד תורה: Massec. Avoth. cap. vi. § 2.

² ὀστράκον τρέπον, Plat. Phædr. 250 c.

dication have all its innate virtues and properties within it, and are by so much the more universal in their issues and actings upon other things: and such an inward, living principle of virtue and activity, further heightened, and united, and informed with light and truth, we may call liberty. Of this truly noble and divine liberty, religion is the mother and nurse, leading the soul to God, and so impregnating that inward, vital principle of activity and vigour that is embosomed in it, that it is able, without any inward disturbance and resistance from any controlling lusts, to exercise itself, and act with the greatest complacency, in the most full and ample manner, upon that first, universal, and unbounded essence which is God Himself. The most generous freedom can never be taken in its full and just dimensions and proportion, but then, when all the powers of the soul exercise and spend themselves, in the most large and ample manner, upon the infinite and essential goodness, as upon their own most proper object. If we should ask a good man, when he finds himself best at ease, when he finds himself most free; his answer would be, when he is under the most powerful constraints of Divine love. There is a sort of mechanical Christians in the world, who, not finding religion acting like a living form within them, satisfy themselves only to make an art of it, and rather inform and actuate it, than to be informed by it; and setting it such bounds and limits as may not exceed the short and scant measures of their own homeborn principles, then they endeavour to fit the notions of their own minds as so many examples to it: and, it being a circle of their own making, they can either amplify or contract it, accordingly as they can force their own minds and dispositions to agree and suit with it. But true religion, indeed, is no art, but an inward nature that contains all the laws and measures of its motion within itself. A good man finds

not his religion without him, but as a living principle within him; and all his faculties are still endeavouring to unite themselves more and more in the nearest intimacy with it, as with their proper perfection. There is that amiableness in religion, that strong sympathy between the soul and it, that it needs carry no testimonials or commendations along with it. If it could be supposed that God should plant a religion in the soul, that had no affinity or alliance with it, it would grow there but as a strange slip. But God, when He gives His laws to men, does not, by virtue of His absolute dominion, dictate anything at random, and in such an arbitrary way, as some imagine; but He measures all by His own eternal goodness. Had God Himself been anything else than the first and greatest good of man, then to have loved Him with the full strength of all our faculties should not have been 'the first and greatest commandment¹,' as our Saviour tells us it is. Some are apt to look upon God as some peevish and self-willed being, because themselves are such: and, seeing that their own absolute and naked wills are for the most part the rules of all their actions, and the impositions which they lay upon others, they think that heaven's monarchy is such an arbitrary thing too, as being governed by nothing else but by an Almighty absolute will. But the soul that is most intimately acquainted with the Divine will, would more certainly resolve us, that God's unchangeable goodness (which makes the divinity to be a uniform thing, and to settle together upon its own centre, as I may speak with reverence) is also the unchangeable rule of His will; neither can He any more swerve from it, than He can swerve from Himself. Nor does He charge any duty upon man, without consulting first of all with His goodness: which being the original and adequate object of a good man's will and affections, it must needs

¹ Matt. xxii. 38.

be, that all the issues and effluxes of it be entertained with an answerable complacency and cheerfulness. This is the hinge upon which all true religion turns, the proper centre about which it moves; which, taking a fast and sure hold of an innate and correspondent principle in the soul of man, raiseth it up above the confines of mortality, and, in the day of its mighty power, makes it become a free-will offering unto God.

CHAPTER IV.

The second property discovering the nobleness of religion, viz. That it restores man to a just power and dominion over himself, and enables him to overcome his self-will and passions. Of self-will, and the many evils that flow from it. That religion does nowhere discover its power and prowess so much, as in subduing this dangerous and potent enemy. The highest and noblest victories are those over our self-will and passions. Of self-denial, and the having power over our wills; the happiness and the privileges of such a state. How that magnanimity and puissance, which religion begets in holy souls, differ from and excel that gallantry and puissance, which the great Nimrods of this world boast of.

2. **T**HE second property or effect of religion, whereby it discovers its own nobleness, (and it is somewhat akin to the former particular, and will help further to illustrate and enforce it,) is this, *That it restores a good man to a just power and dominion over himself, and his own will, and enables him to overcome himself, his own self-will and passions, and to command himself and all his powers for God.* It is only religion that restores that αὐτεξούσιον to which the Stoical philosophy so impotently pretended: it is this only that enthrones man's deposed reason, and establishes within him a just empire over all those blind powers and passions, which so impetuously rend a man from the possession and enjoyment of himself. Those turbulent and unruly, uncertain and unconstant

motions of passion and self-will, that dwell in degenerate minds, divide them perpetually from themselves, and are always moulding several factions and tumultuous combinations within them against the dominion of reason. And the only way to unite man firmly to himself is by uniting him to God, and establishing in him a firm amity and agreement with the first and primitive Being.

There is nothing in the world so boisterous as a man's own self-will, which is never guided by any fixed or steady rules, but is perpetually hurried to and fro by a blind *impetus* of pride and passions issuing from within itself. This is the true source and spring of all that envy, malice, bitterness of spirit, malecontentedness and impatience, of all those black and dark passions, those inordinate desires and lusts, that reign in the hearts and lives of wicked men. A man's own self-will throws him out of all true enjoyment of his own being: therefore, it was our Saviour's counsel to His disciples, 'In patience possess ye your souls!'. We may say of that self-will which is lodged in the heart of a wicked man, as the Jews speak of the *יצר הרע*—*figmentum malum*—so often mentioned in their writings, that it is *שר המות*—the prince of death and darkness, which is at continual enmity with heaven; and *זרם הנחש*—the filthiness and poison of the serpent. This is the seed of the evil spirit, which is perpetually at enmity with the seed of God and the heaven-born nature: its design and scope is, with a giant-like pride, to climb up into the throne of the Almighty, and to establish an unbounded tyranny in contradiction to the will of God, which is nothing else but the issue and efflux of His eternal and unbounded goodness. This is the very heart of the old Adam that is within men. This is the hellish spirit of self-will: it would solely prescribe laws to all things; it would fain be the source and fountain of all affairs and events; it would judge all things at its own

tribunal. They, in whose spirits this principle rules, would have their own fancies and opinions, their perverse and boisterous wills to be the just square and measure of all good and evil; these are the plumb-lines they apply to all things, to find out their rectitude or obliquity. He that will not submit himself to, nor comply with, the eternal and uncreated will, but, instead of it, endeavours to set up his own will, makes himself the most real idol in the world, and exalts himself against all that is called God, and ought to be worshipped. To worship a graven image, or to make cakes and burn incense to the queen of heaven, is not a worse idolatry than it is for a man to set up self-will, to devote himself to the serving of it, and to give up himself to a compliance with his own will, as contrary to the divine and eternal will. When God made the world, He did not make it merely for the exercise of His Almighty power, and then throw it out of His hands, and leave it alone, to subsist by itself, as a thing that had no further relation to Him: but He derived Himself through the whole creation, so gathering and knitting up all the several pieces of it again; that, as the first production and continued subsistence of all things are from Himself, so the ultimate resolution and tendency of all things might be to Him. Now that which first endeavoured after a divorce between God and His creation, and to make a conquest of it, was that diabolical arrogancy and self-will, that crept up and wound itself, serpent-like, into apostate minds and spirits. This is the true strain of that hellish nature, to live independently of God, and to derive the principles from another beginning, and carry on the line of all motions and operations to another end, than God Himself, by whom, and to whom, and for whom, all things subsist.

From what hath been said concerning this powerful and dangerous enemy, that wars against our souls, and

against the Divine will, may the excellency and noble spirit of true religion appear, in that it tames the impetuosity and turbulency of this self-will. Then, indeed, does religion perform the highest and bravest conquests; then does it display the greatness of its strength, and the excellency of its power, when it overcomes this great Ari-manius, that hath so firmly seated himself in the very centre of the soul. ‘Who is the man of courage and valour? It is he that subdues his concupiscence, his own will¹:’ is a Jewish maxim attributed to Ben Zoma, and a most undoubted truth. This was the grand lesson that our great Lord and Master came to teach us, *viz.* To deny our own wills; neither was there any thing that He endeavoured more to promote by His own example, as He tells us of Himself, ‘I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me²;’ and, again: ‘Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God, yea thy law is within my heart³:’ and in His greatest agonies, with a clear and cheerful submission to the Divine will, He often repeats it; ‘Not my will, but thine be done⁴:’ and so He hath taught us to pray, and so to live. This, indeed, is the true life and spirit of religion; this is religion in its meridian altitude, its just dimensions. A true Christian that hath power over his own will, may live nobly and happily, and enjoy a clear heaven within the serenity of his own mind perpetually. When the sea of this world is most rough and tempestuous about him, then can he ride safely at anchor within the haven, by a sweet compliance of his will with God’s will. He can look about him, and, with an even and indifferent mind, behold the world either smile or frown upon him; neither will he abate the least of his contentment, for all the ill and unkind usage

¹ אִיזְהוּ גִבּוֹר • הַכּוֹבֵשׁ אֶת יָצְרוֹ :

Massec. *Avoth.* cap. iv. § 1.

² John vi. 38.

³ Psal. xl. 7, 8. Heb. x. 7.

⁴ Luke xxii. 42. Mark xiv. 36.

he meets withal in this life. He that hath got the mastery over his own will, feels no violence from without, finds no contests within; and, like a strong man keeping his house, he preserves all his goods in safety: and when God calls for him out of this state of mortality, he finds in himself a power to lay down his own life; neither is it so much taken from him, as quietly and freely surrendered up by him. This is the highest piece of prowess, the noblest achievement, by which a man becomes lord over himself, and the master of his own thoughts, motions and purposes. This is the royal prerogative, the high dignity conferred upon good men by our Lord and Saviour, whereby they, overcoming this both His and their enemy, their self-will and passions, are enabled to sit down with Him in His throne, as He, overcoming in another way, 'is set down with His Father in His throne;' as the phrase is¹.

Religion begets the most heroic, free, and generous motions in the minds of good men. There is nowhere so much of a truly magnanimous and raised spirit, as in those who are best acquainted with the power of religion. Other men are slaves and captives to one vanity or other: but the truly religious is above them all, and able to command himself and all his powers for God. That bravery and gallantness, which seem to be in the great Nimrods of this world, are nothing else but the swelling of their own unbounded pride and vain-glory. It hath been observed of the greatest monarchs of the world, that, in the midst of their triumphs, they themselves have been led captives to one vice or another. All the gallantry and puissance of which the bravest spirits of the world boast, is but a poor, confined thing, and extends itself only to some particular cases and circumstances: but the valour and puissance of a soul impregnated by religion hath, in a sort, a

¹ Rev. iii. 21.

universal extent, as St Paul speaks of himself: 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me¹:' it is not determined to this or that particular object, or time, or place, but πάντα—all things whatsoever belong to a creature—fall under the level thereof. Religion is by St Paul described to be πνεῦμα δυνάμεως—'the spirit of power'—in opposition to the spirit of fear², as all sin is by Simplicius well described to be ἀδυναμία—'impotency and weakness³.' Sin, by its deadly infusions into the soul of man, wastes and eats out the innate vigour of the soul, and casts it into such a deep lethargy, as that it is not able to recover itself: but religion, like that *balsamum vitæ*, being once conveyed into the soul, awakens and enlivens it, and makes it renew its strength like an eagle, and mount strongly upwards towards heaven; and so, uniting the soul to God, the centre of life and strength, it renders it undaunted and invincible. Who can tell the inward life and vigour that the soul may be filled with, when once it is in conjunction with an Almighty essence? There is a latent and hidden virtue in the soul of man, which then begins to discover itself, when the Divine Spirit spreads forth its influences upon it. The more spiritual any thing is, and the higher and nobler it is in its being, the more active and vigorous it is; as the more any thing falls and sinks into matter, the more dull, and sluggish, and unwieldy it is. The Platonists were wont to call all things that participated most of matter ὄντως μὴ ὄντα. Now, nothing doth more purify, more sublimates and exalt the soul, than religion, when the soul suffers God to sit within it 'as a refiner and purifier of silver,' and when it 'abides the day of his coming; for he is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap⁴.' Thus the soul,

¹ Phil. iv. 13.

² 2 Tim. i. 7.

³ Πᾶσα γὰρ κακία διὰ δδυναμίαν συμ-

βαίνει, εἴτερ ἡ δύναμις ἀγαθόν τι ἔστω.

Simpl. in *Epictet.* cap. i. § 1.

⁴ Mal. iii. 2, 3.

being purified and spiritualized, and changed more and more into the glorious image of God, is able to do all things, 'out of weakness is made strong,' gives proof of its Divine vigour and activity, and shows itself to be a noble and puissant spirit, such as God did at first create it.

CHAPTER V.

The third property or effect discovering the nobleness of religion, viz. That it directs and enables a man to propound to himself the best end, viz. The glory of God, and his own becoming like unto God. Low and particular ends and interests both debase and straiten a man's spirit : the universal, highest, and last end both ennoble and enlarges it. A man is such as the end is he aims at. The great power the end hath to mould and fashion man into its likeness. Religion obliges a man, not to seek himself, nor to drive a trade for himself ; but to seek the glory of God, to live wholly to Him ; and guides him steadily and uniformly to the one chief good and last end. Men are prone to flatter themselves with a pretended aiming at the glory of God. A more full and distinct explication of what is meant by a man's directing all his actions to the glory of God. What it is truly and really to glorify God. God's seeking His glory in respect of us is the flowing forth of His goodness upon us : our seeking the glory of God is our endeavouring to partake more of God, and to resemble Him, as much as we can, in true holiness and every divine virtue. That we are not nicely to distinguish between the glory of God and our own salvation. That salvation is nothing else, for the main, but a true participation of the Divine nature. To love God above ourselves, is not to love Him above the salvation of our souls ; but above our particular beings and above our sinful affections, &c. The difference between things that are good relatively, and those that are good absolutely and essentially : that, in our conformity to these, God is most glorified, and we are made most happy.

3. **T**HE third property or effect whereby religion discovers its own excellency, is this ; *That it directs and enables a man to propound to himself the best end and*

scope of life, viz. *The glory of God, the highest Being, and his own assimilation, or becoming like unto God.*

That Christian in whom religion rules powerfully, is not so low in his ambitions as to pursue any of the things of this world as his ultimate end: his soul is too big for earthly designs and interests; but, understanding himself to come from God, he is continually returning to Him again. It is not worthy of the mind of man to pursue any perfection lower than its own, or to aim at any end more ignoble than itself. There is nothing that more straitens and confines the freeborn soul than the particularity, indigency, and penury of that end which it pursues: when it complies most of all with this lower world, as is well observed by an excellent philosopher;—‘the true nobleness and freedom of it is then most disputable,’ and the title it holds to true liberty becomes most litigious’. It never more slides and degenerates from itself, than when it becomes enthralled to some particular interest: as, on the other side, it never acts more freely or fully, than when it extends itself upon the most universal end. Every thing is so much the more noble, *quo longiores habet fines*, as was well observed by Cicero. As low ends debase a man’s spirit, supplant and rob it of its birthright; so the highest and last end raises and ennobles it, and enlarges it into a more universal and comprehensive capacity of enjoying that one unbounded goodness, which is God Himself: it makes it spread and dilate itself in the infinite sphere of the Divine Being and blessedness; it makes it live in the fulness of Him that fills all in all.

Every thing is most properly such as the end is which is aimed at: the mind of man is always shaping itself into a conformity, as much as may be, to that which is his end; and the nearer it draws to it in the achievement thereof,

¹ καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁρεξις αὐτῆς, ἣ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἔχουσα. Simpl. in *Epictet. cap. i. § 1.*

the greater likeness it bears to it. There is a plastic virtue, a secret energy, issuing forth from that which the mind propounds to itself as its end, to mould and fashion it according to its own model. The soul is always stamped with the same characters as are engraven upon the end it aims at; and, while it converses with it, and sets itself before it, 'it is turned as wax to the seal¹,' to use that phrase in Job. Man's soul conceives all its thoughts and imaginations before his end, as Laban's ewes did their young, before the rods in the watering-troughs². He that pursues any worldly interest or earthly thing as his end, becomes himself also *γαῶδης*—'earthly:' and the more the soul directs itself to God, the more it becomes *θεοειδής*—'godlike,' deriving a print of that glory and beauty upon itself with which it converseth, as it is excellently set forth by the apostle: 'But we all, with open face, beholding, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory³.' That spirit of ambition and popularity, that so violently transports the minds of men into a pursuit of vain-glory, makes them as vain as that popular air they live upon: the spirit of this world, that draws forth a man's designs after worldly interests, makes him as unstable, inconstant, tumultuous, and perplexed a thing as the world is. On the contrary, the spirit of true religion, steering and directing the mind and life to God, makes it a uniform, stable, and quiet thing, as God Himself is: it is only true goodness in the soul of man, guiding it steadily and uniformly towards God, directing it and all its actions to the one last end and chief good, that can give it a true consistency and composedness within itself.

All self-seeking and self-love do but imprison the soul, and confine it to its own home: the mind of a good man is too noble, too big for such a particular life; he hath

¹ Job xxxviii. 14.

² Gen. xxx. 38, 39.

³ 2 Cor. iii. 18.

learned to despise his own being, in comparison of that uncreated beauty and goodness, which is so infinitely transcendent to himself or any created thing; he reckons upon his choice and best affections and designs, as too choice and precious a treasure to be spent upon such a poor sorry thing as himself, or upon any thing else but God Himself.

This was the life of Christ, and is, in some degree, the life of every one that partakes of the Spirit of Christ. Such Christians seek not their own glory, but the glory of Him that sent them into this world: they know they were brought forth into this world, not to set up or drive a trade for themselves, but to serve the will and pleasure of Him that made them, and to finish that work He hath appointed them. It were not worth the while to have been born or to live, had it been only for such a penurious end as ourselves are: it is most godlike, and best suits with the spirit of religion, for a Christian to live wholly to God, to live the life of God, 'having his own life hid with Christ in God¹;' and thus, in a sober sense, he becomes deified. This indeed is such a *Θέωσις*—'deification'—as is not transacted merely upon the stage of fancy, by arrogance and presumption, but in the highest powers of the soul, by a living and quickening spirit of true religion there, uniting God and the soul together in unity of affections, will, and end.

I should now pass from this to another particular; but, because many are apt to misapprehend the notion of God's glory, and flatter themselves with their pretended and imaginary aiming at the glory of God, I think it may be of good use, a little further and more distinctly, to unfold the design that a religious mind pursues, in directing itself and all its actions to God. We are, therefore, to consider, that this doth not consist in some trans-

¹ Col. iii. 3.

ient thoughts of God and His glory, as the end we propound to ourselves in any undertakings: a man does not direct all his actions to the glory of God by forming a conception in his mind, or stirring up a strong imagination upon any action, that that must be for the glory of God: it is not the thinking of God's glory that is glorifying of Him. As all other parts of religion may be apishly acted over by fancy and imagination, so also may the internal parts of religion many times be acted over with much seeming grace by our fancy and passions; these often love to be drawing the pictures of religion, and use their best arts to render them more beautiful and pleasing. But though true practical religion derives its force and beauty through all the lower powers of a man's soul, yet hath it not its rise nor throne there: as religion consists not in a form of words which signify nothing, so neither doth it consist in a set of fancies or internal apprehensions. Our Saviour hath best taught what it is to live to God's glory, or to glorify God, *viz.* To be fruitful in all holiness, and to live so as that our lives may shine with His grace spreading itself through our whole man¹.

We rather glorify God by entertaining the impressions of His glory upon us, than by communicating any kind of glory to Him. Then does a good man become the tabernacle of God, wherein the divine Shechinah does rest, and which the Divine glory fills, when the frame of his mind and life is wholly according to that idea and pattern which he receives from the mount². We best glorify Him when we grow most like to Him: and we then act most for His glory, when a true spirit of sanctity, justice, meekness, &c. runs through all our actions; when we so live in the world as becomes those that converse with the great Mind and Wisdom of the whole world; with

¹ 'Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit.'—John xv. 8.

² As it is said of the material tabernacle, Exod. xxv. 40.

that Almighty Spirit that made, supports, and governs all things; with that Being from whence all good flows, and in which there is no spot, stain, or shadow of evil; and so, being captivated and overcome by the sense of the Divine loveliness and goodness, we endeavour to be like Him, and conform ourselves, as much as may be, to Him.

When God seeks His own glory, He does not so much endeavour after anything without Himself. He did not bring this stately fabric of the universe into being, that He might, for such a monument of His mighty power and beneficence, gain some panegyrics or applause from a little of that fading breath which He had made. Neither was that gracious contrivance of restoring lapsed men to Himself a plot to get Himself some eternal hallelujahs, as if He had so ardently thirsted after the lays of glorified spirits, or desired a choir of souls to sing forth His praises. Neither was it to let the world see how magnificent He was. No: it is His own internal glory that He most loves, and the communication thereof which He seeks: as Plato sometimes speaks of the Divine love, it arises not out of indigency, as created love does, but out of fulness and redundancy: it is an overflowing fountain, and that love which descends upon created being is a free efflux from the Almighty source of love: and it is well-pleasing to Him that those creatures which He hath made should partake of it. Though God cannot seek His own glory so as if He might acquire any addition to Himself, yet He may seek it so as to communicate it out of Himself. It was a good maxim of Plato—*τῷ θεῷ οὐδεὶς φθόρος*¹ which is better stated by St James, ‘God giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not².’ And by that

¹ Λέγωμεν δὴ, δι’ ἡντινα αἰτίαν γένησιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῷδε ὁ ξυνιστὰς ξυνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόρος. Plat. *Timæus*, 29 E. The idea is adopted by Plotinus: ἐν-

θέντας δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῇ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀν παθούσης, δούσης δὲ ἐτέρῳ, ὅτι μὴ θέμις φθόρον ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. *Enn.* ii. 9. 17.

² James i. 5.

glory of His, which He loves to impart to His creatures, I understand those stamps and impressions of wisdom, justice, patience, mercy, love, peace, joy, and other divine gifts, which He bestows freely upon the minds of men. And thus God triumphs in His own glory, and takes pleasure in the communication of it.

As God's seeking His own glory in respect of us, is most properly the flowing forth of His goodness upon us: so our seeking the glory of God is most properly our endeavouring after a participation of His goodness, and an earnest incessant pursuing after Divine perfection. When God becomes so great in our eyes, and all created things so little, that we reckon upon nothing as worthy of our aims or ambitions, but a serious participation of the Divine nature, and the exercise of Divine virtues, love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, and the like; when the soul, beholding the infinite beauty and loveliness of the Divinity, and then looking down and beholding all created perfection mantled over with darkness, is ravished into love and admiration of that never-setting brightness, and endeavours after the greatest resemblance of God in justice, love, and goodness; when, conversing with Him *ἐν ἡσυχῳ ἐπαφῇ*—by a secret feeling of the virtue, sweetness, and power of His goodness, we endeavour to assimilate ourselves to Him: then we may be said to glorify Him indeed¹. God seeks no glory but His own; and we have none of our own to give Him. God in all things seeks Himself and His own glory, as finding nothing better than Himself; and when we love Him above all things, and endeavour to be most like Him, we declare plainly that we count nothing better than He is.

I doubt we are too nice logicians sometimes, in distinguishing between the glory of God and our own salvation. We cannot, in a true sense, seek our own salvation more

¹ *ἐνέργεια δὲ καὶ γεννᾷ θεοῦς, ἐν ἡσυχῳ τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο ἐπαφῇ.* Plot. *Enn.* vi. 9, 9.

than the glory of God, which triumphs most, and discovers itself most effectually, in the salvation of souls; for, indeed, this salvation is nothing else but a true participation of the Divine nature. Heaven is not a thing without us, nor is happiness anything distinct from a true conjunction of the mind with God in a secret feeling of His goodness, and reciprocation of affection to Him, wherein the Divine glory most unfolds itself. And there is nothing that a soul, touched with any serious sense of God, can more earnestly thirst after, or seek with more strength of affection than this. Then shall we be happy, when God comes to be all in all in us. To love God above ourselves is not, indeed, so properly to love Him above the salvation of our souls, as if these were distinct things; but it is to love Him above all our own sinful affections, and above our particular beings, and to conform ourselves to Him. And as that which is good relatively, and in order to us¹, is so much the better, by how much the more it is commensurate and conformed to us: so, on the other side, that which is good absolutely and essentially, requires that our minds and affections should, as far as may be, be commensurate and conformed to it: and herein is God most glorified, and we made happy. As we cannot truly love the first and highest good while we serve a design upon it, and subordinate it to ourselves: so neither is our own salvation consistent with any such sordid, pinching, and particular love. We cannot be completely blessed, till the *idea boni*, or the *ipsum bonum*, which is God, exercise its sovereignty over all the faculties of our souls, rendering them as like to itself as may consist with their proper capacity.

[See more of this in the Discourse of the Existence and Nature of God, Chap. iv.]

¹ See the Discourse of the Existence and Nature of God, Chap. ix.

CHAPTER VI.

The fourth property or effect discovering the excellency of religion, viz.

That it begets the greatest serenity and composedness of mind, and brings the truest contentment, the purest and most satisfying joy and pleasure to every holy soul. God, as being that uniform chief good, and the one last end, does attract and fix the soul. Wicked men distracted through a multiplicity of objects and ends. How the restless appetite of our wills after some supreme good leads to the knowledge, as of a Deity, so of the unity of a Deity. How the joys and delights of good men differ from, and far excel, those of the wicked. The constancy and tranquillity of the spirits of good men in reference to external troubles. All perturbations of the mind arise from an inward, rather than an outward, cause. The method of the Stoics for attaining ἀραξία and true rest examined, and the insufficiency of it discovered. A further illustration of what has been said concerning the peaceful and happy state of good men, from the contrary state of the wicked.

4. **T**HE fourth property and effect of true religion, wherein it expresth its own nobleness is this: *That it begets the greatest serenity, constancy, and composedness of mind, and brings the truest contentment, the most satisfying joy and pleasure, the purest and most divine sweetness and pleasure to the spirits of good men.* Every good man, in whom religion rules, is at peace and unity with himself, is as a city compacted together. Grace doth more and more reduce all the faculties of the soul into a perfect subjection and subordination to itself. The union and conjunction of the soul with God, that primitive Unity, is that which is the alone original and fountain of all peace, and the centre of rest: as the further any being slides from God, the more it breaks into discords within itself, as not having any centre within itself, which might collect and unite all the faculties thereof to itself, and so knit them up together in a sweet confederacy amongst themselves. God only is such an Almighty goodness as can attract all the powers in man's soul to

itself, as being an object transcendently adequate to the largest capacities of any created being, and so unite man perfectly to Himself, in the true enjoyment of one uniform and simple good.

It must be one last end and supreme good that can fix man's mind, which otherwise will be tossed up and down in perpetual uncertainties, and become as many several things, as those poor particularities are which it meets with. A wicked man's life is so distracted by a multiplicity of ends and objects, that it never is, nor can be, consistent with itself, nor continue in any composed, settled frame: it is the most intricate, irregular, and confused thing in the world, no one part of it agreeing with another, because the whole is not firmly knit together, by the power of some one last end running through all. Whereas the life of a good man is under the sweet command of one supreme goodness and last end. This alone is that living form and soul which, running through all the powers of the mind and actions of life, collects all together into one fair and beautiful system, making all that variety conspire into perfect unity; whereas else, all would fall asunder like the members of a dead body, when once the soul is gone, all the little particles flitting each from the rest. It was a good maxim of Pythagoras, quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Oportet etiam hominem unum fieri*¹. A divided mind and a multiform life speak the greatest disparagement that may be: it is only the intermediation of one last end, that can reconcile a man perfectly to himself and his own happiness. This is the best temper and composedness of the soul, ὅταν εἰς ἓν καὶ εἰς μίαν ὁμολογίαν ἐνωθῇ, as Plotinus speaks,—when by a conjunction with one chief good and last end it is drawn up in a unity and consent with itself; when all the facul-

¹ μυστικῶς οὖν ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ Πυθα- ἀνθρώπου δεῖν.—Clem. Alex. Strom. iv.
γόνιον ἐλέγετο, ἕνα γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν c. 23.

ties of the soul, with their several issues and motions, though never so many in themselves, like so many lines, meet together, in one and the same centre¹. It is not one and the same goodness that always actuates the faculties of a wicked man; but as many several images and pictures of goodness as a quick and working fancy can represent to him; which so divide his affections, that he is no one thing within himself, but tossed hither and thither by the most independent principles and imaginations that may be. But a good man hath singled out the supreme goodness, which, by an omnipotent sweetness, draws all his affections after it, and so makes them all, with the greatest complacency, conspire together in the pursuit and embraces of it. Were there not some infinite and self-sufficient goodness, and that perfectly one—ἀρχικὴ μόνας—as Simplicius doth phrase it, man would be a most miserably distracted creature. As the restless appetite within man, after some infinite and sovereign good (without the enjoyment of which it could never be satisfied), does commend unto us the notion of a Deity; so the perpetual distractions and divisions that would arise in the soul upon a plurality of deities, may seem no less to evince the unity of that Deity. Were not this chief good perfectly one, were there any other equal to it, man's soul would hang *in æquilibrio*, equally poised, equally desiring the enjoyment of both, but moving to neither; like a piece of iron between two loadstones of equal virtue. But when religion enters into the soul, it charms all its restless rage and violent appetite, by discovering to it the universal fountain-fulness of one supreme Almighty goodness; and, leading it out of itself into a conjunction therewith, it lulls it into the most undisturbed rest and quiet-

¹ Καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια δέ, ὅταν εἰς ἓν συνταχθῇ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ κάλλος, ὅταν ἡ τοῦ ἐνδὸς τὰ μέρη κατὰσχη φύσις, καὶ ἀρετὴ δὲ ψυχῆς

ὅταν εἰς ἓν καὶ εἰς μίαν ὁμολογίαν ἐνωθῇ.
—Plot. *Enn.* VI. 9, 1.

ness in the lap of divine enjoyment; where it meets with full contentment, and rests adequately satisfied in the fruition of the infinite, uniform, and essential goodness and loveliness, the true *Αυτόκαλον*, that is not *πῇ μὲν καλόν*, *πῇ δὲ οὐ καλόν*, ἀλλ' ὅλον δι' ὅλου καλόν, as a noble philosopher doth well express it¹.

The peace which a religious soul is possessed of, is such a 'peace as passeth all understanding:' the joy that it meets with in the ways of holiness is 'unspeakable and full of glory.' The delights and sweetnesss, that accompany a religious life, are of a purer and more excellent nature than the pleasures of worldly men. The spirit of a good man is too pure and refined a thing than to delight itself in the thick mire of earthly and sensual pleasures, in which carnal men roll and tumble themselves with so much greediness: *Non admittit ad volatum accipitrem suum in terra pulverulenta*, as the Arabic proverb hath it². It speaks the degeneration of any soul whatsoever, that it should desire to incorporate itself with any of the gross, dreggy, sensual delights here below. But a soul, purified by religion from all earthly dregs, delights to mingle itself only with things that are most divine and spiritual. There is nothing that can beget any pleasure or sweetness, but in some harmonical faculty which hath some kindred and acquaintance with it. As it is in the senses, so in every other faculty, there is a natural kind of science whereby it can single out its own proper

¹ Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καλόν, ἀπολελυμένον τούτων ἀπάντων, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι εἰκὼν καλοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτόκαλον ὑπάρχον, λόγος καθ' αἶψαν ἔστιν· οὐ πῇ μὲν καλόν, πῇ δὲ οὐ καλόν, ἀλλ' ὅλον δι' ὅλου καλόν.—Simpl. in *Epict.* cap. xxxi.

² I believe the following, from the collection of Meidani, is the proverb alluded to.

لَا تَرَسِلِ الْبَابِي فِي الصَّبَابِ

'Ne mittas falconem in lacertas' (vid. Freytag. *Arabum Proverbia*, Tom. II. pag. 579, No. 601). صَبَاب is the plural

of صَب 'lacertæ species.' There is also

صَبَاب 'Nebula operiens terram tanquam fumus.' The sole difference is in one of the vowels—but the vowels are usually omitted in MSS.

object from every thing else, and is better able to define it to itself than the most exact artist in the world can; and when once it hath found it out, it presently feels itself so perfectly fitted and matched by it, that it dissolves into secret joy and pleasure in the entertainment of it. True delight and joy is begotten by the conjunction of some discerning faculty with its proper object. The proper objects for a mind and spirit are divine and immaterial things, with which it hath the greatest affinity, and therefore triumphs most in its converse with them; as it is well observed by Seneca¹; and when it converseth most with these high and noble objects, it behaves itself most gracefully, and lives most becoming itself; and it lives also most deliciously, nor can it any where else be better provided for, or, indeed, fare so well. A good man disdains to be beholden to the wit, or art, or industry of any creature to find him out, and bring him in a constant revenue and maintenance for his joy and pleasure: the language of his heart is that of the Psalmist; ‘Lord, lift Thou up the light of Thy countenance upon me².’ Religion always carries a sufficient provision of joy and sweetness along with it to maintain itself withal: ‘The ways of wisdom are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace³.’ Religion is no sullen stoicism or oppressing melancholy; it is no inthralling tyranny exercised over those noble and vivacious affections of love and delight, as those men that were never acquainted with the life of it may imagine; but it is full of a vigorous and masculine delight and joy, and such as advances and ennobles the soul, and does not weaken or dispirit the life and power of it, as sensual and earthly joys do, when the soul, unacquainted with religion, is enforced to give entertainment to these gross and

¹ Hoc habet (sc. animus) argumentum divinitatis suæ, quod illum divina delectant, nec ut alienis interest, sed ut suis.

—Sen. *Præfat. ad Nat. Quæst.*

² Psal. iv. 7.

³ Prov. iii. 17.

earthly things, for the want of enjoyment of some better good. The spirit of a good man may justly behave itself with a noble disdain to all terrene pleasures, because it knows where to mend its fare: it is the same Almighty and eternal goodness which is the happiness of God, and of all good men. The truly religious soul affects nothing primarily and fundamentally but God Himself: his contentment, even in the midst of his worldly employments, is in the sun of the divine favour that shines upon him: this is as the manna that lies upon the top of all outward blessings, which his spirit gathers up and feeds upon with delight. Religion consists not in a toilsome drudgery about some bodily exercises and external performances; nor is it only the spending of ourselves in such attendances upon God, and services to Him, as are only accommodated to this life, though every employment for God is both amiable and honourable: but there is something of our religion that interests us in a present possession of that 'joy which is unspeakable and full of glory:' which leads us into the porch of heaven, and to the confines of eternity. It sometimes carries up the soul into a mount of transfiguration, or to the top of Pisgah, where it may take a prospect of the promised land, and gives it a map or scheme of its future inheritance: it gives it sometimes some anticipations of blessedness, some foretastes of those joys, those rivers of pleasure which run at God's right hand for evermore.

I might further add, as a *mantissa* to this present argument, the tranquillity and composedness of a good man's spirit in reference to all external molestations. Religion, having made a thorough pacification of the soul within itself, renders it impregnable to all outward assaults; so that it is at rest, and lives securely in the midst of all those boisterous storms and tempests, which make such violent impressions upon the spirits of wicked men.

Here, the Stoics have stated the case aright, that all perturbations of the mind arise not properly from an outward but an inward cause: it is not an outward evil, but an inward imagination, bred in the womb of the soul itself, that molests and grieves it. The more the soul is restored to itself, and lives at the height of its own being, the more easily may it disdain and despise any design or combination against it by the most blustering giants in the world. A Christian that enjoys himself in God, will not be beholden to the world's fair and gentle usage, for the composedness of his mind; no: he enjoys that peace and tranquillity within himself, which no creature can bestow upon him, or take from him.

But the Stoics were not so happy in their notions about the way to true rest and composedness of spirit. It is not (by their leave) the soul's collecting and gathering up itself within the circumference of its own essence; nor is it a rigid restraining and keeping in its own issues and motions within the confines of its own natural endowments, which is able to confer upon it that *ἀταραξία*, and composedness of mind, which they so much idolize, as the supreme and only bliss of man, and render it free from all kind of perturbations: for, by what we find in Seneca and others, it appears that the Stoics, seeking an autarchy within themselves, and being loath to be beholden to God for their happiness, but that each of them might be as God, self-sufficient, and happy in the enjoyment of himself, endeavoured, by their sour doctrine and a rigid discipline over their souls, their severities against passions and all those restless motions in the soul after some higher good, to attain a complete *ἀταραξία*, and a full contentment within themselves. But herein, they missed the true method of finding rest to themselves, it being the union of the soul with God, that uniform, simple, and unbounded good, which is the sole original of all true,

inward peace. Neither were it a happiness worth the having, for a mind, like a hermit sequestered from all things else, by a recession into itself, to spend an eternity in self-converse, and the enjoyment of such a diminutive, superficial, nothing as itself is, and must necessarily be to itself. It is only peculiar to God to be happy in Himself alone; and God, who has been more liberal in His provisions for man, hath created in man such a spring of restless motion, that, with the greatest impatience, forceth him out of himself, and violently tosseth him to and fro, till he come to fix himself upon some solid and self-subsistent goodness. Could a man find himself withdrawn from all terrene and material things, and perfectly retired into himself; were the whole world so quiet and calm about him, as not to offer to make the least attempt upon the composedness and constancy of his mind; might he be so well entertained at his own home, as to find no frowns, no sour looks from his own conscience; might he have that security from heaven, that God would not disquiet his fancied tranquillity, by imbittering his thoughts with any dreadful apprehensions; yet he should find something within him that would not let him be at rest, but would rend him from himself, and toss him from his own foundation and consistency. There is an insatiable appetite in the soul of man, like a greedy lion hunting after his prey, that would render him impatient of his own pinching penury, and could never satisfy itself with such a thin and spare diet as he finds at home. There are two principal faculties in the soul which, like two daughters of the horseleech, are always crying, Give, give: these are those hungry vultures which, if they cannot find their prey abroad, return and gnaw the soul itself: 'where the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.' By this, we may see how unavailable to the attaining of true rest and peace that conceit of the Stoics

was, who supposed the only way and method hereto was this, to confine the soul thus monastically to its own home. We read in the gospel of such a question of our Saviour's: 'What went ye out into the wilderness to see¹?' we may invert it: 'What do you return within to see? A soul confined within the private and narrow cell of its own particular being?' Such a soul deprives itself of all that Almighty, and essential glory and goodness which shines round about it, which spreads itself through the whole universe—I say, it deprives itself of all this, for the enjoying of such a poor, petty, and diminutive thing as itself is, which yet it can never enjoy truly in such a retiredness.

We have seen the peaceful and happy state of the truly religious: but it is otherwise with wicked and irreligious men. 'There is no peace to the wicked; but they are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt²;' as it is expressed by the prophet Isaiah. The mind of a wicked man is like the sea, when it roars and rages through the striving of several contrary winds upon it. Furious lusts and wild passions within, as they war against heaven and the more noble and divine part of the soul, so do they war amongst themselves, maintaining perpetual contests, and contending which shall be the greatest: *scelera dissident*. These, indeed, are the Cadmus-brood rising out of the serpent's teeth, ready armed one against another; whence it is that the soul of a wicked man becomes a very uninhabitable and incommodious place to itself, full of disquietude and trouble, through the many contests and civil commotions maintained within it. The minds of wicked men are like those disconsolate and desolate spirits which our Saviour speaks of, which, being cast out of their habitation, wander up and down through dry and desert places, seeking

¹ Matt. xi. 7.² Isai. lvii. 20, 21.

rest but finding none¹. The soul that finds not some solid and self-sufficient good to centre itself upon, is a boisterous and restless thing; and, being without God, it wanders up and down the world, destitute, afflicted, tormented with vehement hunger and thirst after some satisfying good; and, as any one shall bring it tidings, 'Lo here, or, Lo there is good,' it presently goes out towards it, and, with a swift and speedy flight, hastens after it. The sense of an inward indigency doth stimulate and enforce it to seek its contentment without itself, and so it wanders up and down from one creature to another; and thus becomes distracted by a multiplicity of objects. And while it cannot find some one and only object upon which, as being perfectly adequate to its capacities, it may wholly bestow itself; while it is tossed with restless and vehement motions of desire and love, through a world of painted beauties, false, glozing excellencies; courting all, but matching nowhere; violently hurried everywhere, but finding nowhere *objectum par amori*; while it converseth only with these pinching particularities here below, and is not yet acquainted with the universal goodness; it is certainly far from true rest and satisfaction, from a fixed, composed temper of spirit; but being distracted by multiplicity of objects and ends, there can never be any firm and stable peace or friendship at home, amongst all its powers and faculties; nor can there be a firm amity and friendship abroad betwixt wicked men themselves, as Aristotle concludes in his Ethics, because all vice is so multiform and inconsistent a thing; and so there can be no true concatenation of affections and ends between them. Whereas, in all good men, virtue and goodness is one form and soul to them all, that unites them together; and there is the one, simple, and uniform good, that guides and governs them all. They are not as a ship,

¹ Matt. xii. 43.

tossed in the tumultuous ocean of this world, without any compass at all to steer by; but they direct their course by the certain guidance of the one last end, as the true pole-star of all their motion. But while the soul lies benighted in a thick ignorance, as it is with wicked men, and beholds not some stable and eternal good towards which it may move; though it may, by the strength of that principle of activeness within itself, spend itself perpetually with swift and giddy motions; yet will it be always contesting with secret disturbances, and cannot act but with many reluctancies, as not finding an object equal to the force and strength of its vast affections to act upon.

By what hath been said, may appear the vast difference between the ways of sin and of holiness. Inward distractions and disturbances, 'tribulation and anguish upon every soul that doth evil: but to every man that worketh good, glory, honour, and peace¹,' inward composedness and tranquillity of spirit, pure and divine joys, far excelling all sensual pleasures; in a word, true contentment of spirit, and full satisfaction in God, whom the pious soul loves above all things, and longs still after a nearer enjoyment of Him. I shall conclude this particular with that with which Plotinus concludes his book—That the life of holy and divine men is *βίος ἀνήδονος τῶν τῆδε, ψυχὴ μόνου πρὸς μόνον*—'a life not touched with these vanishing delights of time, but a flight of the soul alone to God².'

¹ Rom. ii. 9, 10.

² *Enn.* vi. 9, 11.

CHAPTER VII.

The fifth property or effect discovering the excellency of religion, viz. That it advanceth the soul to a holy boldness and humble familiarity with God, and to a comfortable confidence concerning the love of God toward it, and its own salvation. Fearfulness, consternation of mind, and frightful passions, are consequent upon sin and guilt. These, together with the most dismal deportments of trembling and amazement, are agreeable to the nature of the devil, who delights to be served in this manner by his worshippers. Love, joy, and hope, are most agreeable to the nature of God, and most pleasing to Him. The right apprehensions of God are such as are apt to beget love to God, delight and confidence in Him. A true Christian is more for a solid and well-grounded peace, than for high raptures and feelings of joy. How a Christian should endeavour after the assurance of his salvation. That he should not importunately expect or desire some extraordinary manifestations of God to him, but rather look after the manifestation of the life of God within him, the foundation or beginning of heaven and salvation in his own soul. That self-resignation, and the subduing of our own wills, are greatly available to obtain assurance. The vanity and absurdity of that opinion, viz. That in a perfect resignation of our wills to God's will, a man should be content with his own damnation, and to be the subject of eternal wrath in hell, if it should so please God.

5. **T**HE *fifth* property or effect, whereby true religion discovers its own nobleness and excellency, is this; *That it advanceth the soul to a holy boldness and humble familiarity with God, as also a well-grounded hope, and comfortable confidence, concerning the love of God toward it, and its own salvation.* The truly religious soul maintains a humble and sweet familiarity with God; and, with great alacrity of spirit, without any consternation and servility of spirit, is enabled to look upon the glory and majesty of the Most High: but sin and wickedness is pregnant with fearfulness and horror. That trembling and consternation of mind which possesses wicked men, is nothing else but the offspring of darkness, an Ἐμπονσα begotten in corrupt and irreligious hearts. While men

‘walk in darkness,’ and ‘are of the night,’ as the apostle speaks, then only is it that they are vexed with those ugly and ghastly *μορμόνες* that terrify and torment them. But when once the day breaks, and true religion opens herself upon the soul, like the eyelids of the morning, then all those shadows and frightful apparitions flee away. As all light, and love, and joy, descend from above, from the Father of Lights; so all darkness, and fearfulness, and despair, are from below: they arise from corrupt and earthly minds, and are like those gross vapours arising from this earthly globe, that, not being able to get up towards heaven, spread themselves about the circumference of that body where they were first begotten, infesting it with darkness, and generating into thunder and lightning, clouds and tempests. But the higher a Christian ascends *ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου*—above this dark dungeon of the body; the more that religion prevails within him, the more then shall he find himself, as it were, in a clear heaven, in a region that is calm and serene; and the more will those black and dark affections of fear and despair vanish away, and those clear and bright affections of love, and joy, and hope, break forth in their strength and lustre.

The devil, who is the prince of darkness and the great tyrant, delights to be served with ghastly affections, and the most dismal deportments of trembling and astonishment; as having nothing at all of amiableness or excellency in him to commend himself to his worshippers. Slavery and servility (that *γλωττόκομον τῆς ψυχῆς*, as Longinus truly calls it) is the badge and livery of the devil’s religion¹: hence those *φρικτὰ μυστήρια*² of the

¹ Ὡς περ οὖν (εἰ γε, φησὶ, τοῦτο πιστὸν ἀκούω) τὰ γλωττόκομα, ἐν οἷς οἱ Πυγμαῖοι καλούμενοι τρέφονται, οὐ μόνον κωλύει τῶν ἐγκεκλεισμένων τὰς αὐξήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναίρει διὰ τὸν περικεῖμενον τοῖς σώμασι δεσ-

μόν· οὕτως ἅπασαν δουλείαν, κἂν ᾗ δικαιοτάτη, ψυχῆς γλωττόκομον καὶ κοινὸν δὴ τις ἀποφύναίτο δεσμωτήριον.—Dionys. Long. *De Sublim.* § XLIV. 5.

² The words for false gods and idols,

heathens, performed with much trembling and horror. But God, who is the supreme goodness, and both essential love and loveliness, takes most pleasure in those sweet and delightful affections of the soul, *viz.* love, joy, and hope, which are most correspondent to His own nature. The ancient superstition of the heathens was always very nice and curious, in honouring every one of their gods with sacrifices and rites most agreeable to their natures: I am sure there is no incense, no offering which we can present to God, so sweet, so acceptable to Him as our love, and delight, and confidence in Him; and when He comes into the souls of men, He makes these His throne, His place of rest, as finding the greatest agreeableness therein to His own essence. • A good man, that finds himself made partaker of the Divine nature, and transformed into the image of God, infinitely takes pleasure in God, as being ‘altogether lovely,’ according to that in Canticles, *Totus ipse est desideria*¹; and his ‘meditation of God is sweet unto him².’ St John, that lay in the bosom of Christ, who came from the bosom of the Father, and perfectly understood His eternal essence, hath given us the fullest description that he could make of Him, when he tells us that ‘God is love; and he that dwelleth in God, dwelleth in love³’; and, reposing himself in the bosom of an Almighty goodness, where he finds nothing but love and loveliness, he now displays all the strength and beauty of those his choicest and most precious affections of love, and joy, and confidence: his soul is now at ease, and rests in peace, neither is there anything to make afraid: he is got beyond all those powers of darkness which give such continual alarms in this lower world, and are always troubling the earth: he is got above

עצבים and אימים import trouble and terror, and frightful passions in their worshippers.—*Original edition.*

¹ כָּלֹ מִחֲמֵדִים Cant. v. 16.

² Psal. civ. 34.

³ 1 John iv. 16.

all fears and despairs: he is in a bright, clear region, above clouds and tempests—*infra se despicit nubes*. There is no frightful terribleness in the supreme Majesty. That we apprehend God at any time in such a dismayed manner, must not at all be made an argument of His nature, but of our sinfulness and weakness. The sun in the heavens always was, and always will be, a globe of light and brightness, howsoever a purblind eye is rather dazzled than enlightened by it. There is an inward sense in man's soul, which, were it once awakened and excited with an inward taste and relish of the Divinity, could better define God to him than all the world else. It is the sincere Christian that so tastes and sees how good and sweet the Lord is, as none else does: 'The God of hope fills him with all joy and peace in believing,' so that he 'abounds in hope¹,' as the apostle speaks. He quietly reposes himself in God; 'his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord²;' he is more for a solid peace, and settled calm of spirit, than for high raptures and feelings of joy, or extraordinary manifestations of God to him; he does not passionately desire, nor importunately expect such things; he rather looks after the manifestations of the goodness and power of God within him, in subduing all in his soul that is unlike and contrary to God, and forming him into His image and likeness.

Though I think it worthy of a Christian to endeavour after the assurance of his own salvation; yet, perhaps, it might be the safest way to moderate his curiosity of prying into God's book of life, and to stay a while until he sees himself within the confines of salvation itself. Should a man hear a voice from heaven, or see a vision from the Almighty, to testify unto him the love of God towards him; yet, methinks, it were more desirable to find a revelation of all from within, arising up from the

¹ Rom. xv. 13.

² Psal. cxii. 7.

bottom and centre of a man's own soul, in the real and internal impressions of a godlike nature upon his own spirit; and thus to find the foundation and beginning of heaven and happiness within himself: it were more desirable to see the crucifying of our own will, the mortifying of the mere animal life, and to see a Divine life rising up in the room of it, as a sure pledge and inchoation of immortality and happiness, the very essence of which consists in a perfect conformity, and cheerful compliance of all the powers of our souls, with the will of God.

The best way of gaining a well-grounded assurance of the Divine love is this—for a man to overcome himself and his own will: 'To him that overcometh shall be given that white stone, and in it the new name written, which no man knoweth but he that receiveth it'.¹ He that beholds the Sun of Righteousness arising in the horizon of his soul with healing in its wings, and chasing away all that misty darkness of his own self-will and passions; such a one desires not now the star-light to know whether it be day or not, nor cares he to pry into heaven's secrets, and to search into the hidden rolls of eternity, there to see the whole plot of his salvation; for he views it transacted upon the inward stage of his own soul, and, reflecting upon himself, he may behold a heaven opened from within, and a throne set up in his soul, and an Almighty Saviour sitting upon it, and reigning within him: he now finds the kingdom of heaven within him, and sees that it is not a thing merely reserved for him without him, being already made partaker of the sweetness and efficacy of it. What the Jews say of the Spirit of Prophecy, may not unfitly be applied to the Holy Ghost, the true Comforter, dwelling in the minds of good men, as a sure earnest of their eternal inheritance; 'The Spirit resides not but upon a man of fortitude'²—one that gives proof

¹ Revel. ii. 17.

² אין הנבואה שורה אלא על גבור: Vid. *Discourse on Prophecy*, cap. 8.

of this fortitude in subduing his own self-will and his affections. We read of Elisha, that he was fain to call for a musical instrument, and one to play before him, to allay the heat of his passions, before he could converse with the prophetic spirit. The Holy Spirit is too pure and gentle a thing to dwell in a mind muddled and disturbed by those impure dregs, those thick fogs and mists that arise from our self-will and passions: our prevailing over these is the best way to cherish the Holy Spirit, by which we may be sealed unto the day of redemption.

To conclude this particular. It is a venturous and rugged guess and conceit which some men have, that in a perfect resignation of our wills to the Divine will, a man should be content with his own damnation, and to be the subject of eternal wrath in hell, if it should so please God: which is as impossible as it is for him that infinitely thirsts after a true participation of the Divine nature, and most earnestly endeavours after a most inward union with God in spirit, by a denial of himself and his own will, to swell up in self-love, pride, and arrogancy against God; the one whereof is the most substantial heaven, the other the most real hell; whereas, indeed, by conquering ourselves, we are translated from death to life, and the kingdom of God and Heaven is already come into us.

CHAPTER VIII.

The sixth property or effect discovering the excellency of religion, viz. That it spiritualizes material things, and carries up the souls of good men from sensible and earthly things, to things intellectual and divine. There are lesser and fuller representations of God in the creatures. To converse with God in the creation, and to pass out of the sensible world into the intellectual, is most effectually taught by religion. Wicked men converse not with God, as shining out in the creatures; they converse with them in a sensual and unspiritual manner. Religion does spiritualize the creation to good men: it teaches them to look at any perfections or excellencies in themselves and others, not so much as theirs or others, but as so many beams flowing from one and the same fountain of light; to love them all in God, and God in all—the universal goodness in a particular being. A good man enjoys and delights in whatsoever good he sees elsewhere, as if it were his own: he does not fondly love and esteem either himself or others. The divine temper and strain of the ancient philosophy.

6. **T**HE sixth property or effect, wherein religion discovers its own excellency, is this, *That it spiritualizes material things, and so carries up the souls of good men from earthly things to things divine, from this sensible world to the intellectual.*

God made the universe and all the creatures contained therein, as so many glasses wherein He might reflect His own glory: He hath copied forth Himself in the creation; and, in this outward world, we may read the lovely characters of the Divine goodness, power, and wisdom. In some creatures, there are darker representations of God; there are the prints and footsteps of God; but in others, there are clearer and fuller representations of the Divinity, the face and image of God; according to that known saying of the schoolmen, *Remotiores similitudines creaturæ ad Deum dicuntur vestigium; propinquiores vero imago.* But how to find God here, and feelingly to converse with Him, and, being affected with the sense of

the Divine glory shining out upon the creation, how to pass out of the sensible world into the intellectual, is not so effectually taught by that philosophy which professed it most, as by true religion: that which knits and unites God and the soul together, can best teach it how to ascend and descend upon those golden links that unite, as it were, the world to God. That Divine wisdom that contrived and beautified this glorious structure, can best explain her own art, and carry up the soul back again, in these reflected beams, to Him who is the fountain of them. Though good men, all of them, are not acquainted with all those philosophical notions touching the relation between created and the uncreated being; yet may they easily find every creature pointing out to that Being, whose image and superscription it bears, and climb up from those darker resemblances of the Divine wisdom and goodness, shining out in different degrees upon several creatures, ὥσπερ ἀναβάθμοις τισί, as the ancients speak¹, till they sweetly repose themselves in the bosom of the Divinity: and, while they are thus conversing with this lower world, and are viewing ‘the invisible things of God in the things that are made²,’ in this visible and outward creation they find God, many times, secretly flowing into their souls, and leading them silently out of the court of the temple into the holy place. But it is otherwise with wicked men. They dwell perpetually upon the dark side of the creatures, and converse with these things only in a gross, sensual, earthly, and unspiritual manner: they are so encompassed with the thick and foggy mist of their own corruptions, that they cannot see God there, where He is most visible: ‘the light shineth in darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not³:’ their souls are so deeply

¹ Διδάσκουσι μὲν οὖν ἀναλογίαι τε καὶ ἀφαιρέσεις, καὶ γνώσεις τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ τινες.—Plot. *Enn.* vi. 7, 36.

² Rom. i. 20.

³ John i. 5.

sunk into that house of clay which they carry about with them, that were there nothing of body or bulky matter before them, they could find nothing to exercise themselves about.

But religion, where it is in truth and in power, renews the very spirit of our minds, and doth, in a manner, spiritualize this outward creation to us, and doth, in a more excellent way, perform that which the Peripatetics are wont to affirm of their *intellectus agens*, in purging bodily and material things from the feculency and dregs of matter, and separating them from those circumstantiating and straitening conditions of time and place, and the like; and teaches the soul to look at those perfections which it finds here below, not so much as the perfections of this or that body, as they adorn this or that particular being, but as they are so many rays issuing forth from that first and essential perfection, in which they all meet, and embrace one another in the most close friendship. Every particular good is a blossom of the first goodness; every created excellency is a beam descending from the Father of Lights: and, should we separate all these particularities from God, all affection spent upon them would be unchaste, and their embraces adulterous. We should love all things in God, and God in all things, because He is all in all, the beginning and original of being, the perfect idea of their goodness, and the end of their motion. It is nothing but a thick mist of pride and self-love that hinders men's eyes from beholding that sun which both enlightens them and all things else; but when true religion begins once to dawn upon men's souls, and, with its shining light, chases away their black night of ignorance; then they behold themselves and all things else enlightened, though in a different way, by one and the same sun, and all the powers of their souls fall down before God, and ascribe all glory to Him. Now it is that a good man

is no more solicitous 'whether this or that good thing be mine, or whether my perfections exceed the measure of this or that particular creature;' for whatsoever good he beholds anywhere, he enjoys and delights in it as much as if it were his own, and whatever he beholds in himself, he looks not upon it as his property, but as a common good; for all these beams come from one and the same fountain and ocean of light, in whom he loves them all with a universal love: when his affections run along the stream of any created excellencies, whether his own or any one's else, yet they stay not here, but run on till they fall into the ocean: they do not settle into a fond love and admiration, either of his own or any other's excellencies, but he regards them as so many pure effluxes and emanations from God, and, in a particular being, loves the universal goodness. *Si sciretur a me veritas, sciretur etiam me illud non esse, aut illud non esse meum, nec a me.*

Thus may a good man walk up and down the world as in a garden of spices, and suck a divine sweetness out of every flower. There is a twofold meaning in every creature, as the Jews speak of their law—a literal and a mystical—and the one is but the ground of the other; and, as they say of divers pieces of their law, so a good man says of everything that his senses offer to him—'it speaks to his lower part, but it points out something above to his mind and spirit¹. It is the drowsy and muddy spirit of superstition which, being lulled asleep in the lap of worldly delights, is fain to set some idol at its elbow, something that may jog it, and put it in mind of God. Whereas, true religion never finds itself out of the infinite sphere of the Divinity, and wherever it finds beauty, harmony, goodness, love, ingenuousness, wisdom, holiness, justice, and the like, it is ready to say, here, and there is God: wheresoever any such perfections shine out,

a holy mind climbs up by these sunbeams, and raises itself up to God.

And seeing God hath never thrown the world from Himself, but runs through all created essence, containing the archetypal ideas of all things in Himself, and from thence deriving and imparting several prints of beauty and excellency all the world over; a soul that is truly *θεοειδής*, 'godlike'—a mind that is enlightened from the same fountain, and hath its inward senses affected with the sweet relishes of divine goodness, cannot but everywhere behold itself in the midst of that glorious, unbounded Being who is indivisibly everywhere. A good man finds every place he treads upon holy ground; to him the world is God's temple; he is ready to say with Jacob, 'How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God¹.'

To conclude. It was a degenerate and unworthy spirit in that philosophy which first separated and made such distances between metaphysical truths and the truths of nature; whereas, the first and most ancient wisdom amongst the heathens was indeed a philosophical divinity, or a divine philosophy, which continued for divers ages; but, as men grew worse, their queasy stomachs began to loathe it: which made the truly wise Socrates complain of the sophists of that age, who began now to corrupt and debase it; whereas heretofore the spirit of philosophy was more generous and divine, and did more purify and ennoble the souls of men, commending intellectual things to them, and taking them off from settling upon sensible and material things here below, and still exciting them to endeavour after the nearest resemblance to God, the supreme goodness and loveliness, and an intimate conjunction with Him; which, according to the strain of that philosophy, was the true happiness of immortal souls.

¹ Gen. xxviii. 17.

CHAPTER IX.

The seventh and last property or effect discovering the excellency of religion, viz. That it raiseth the minds of good men to a due observance of, and attendance upon Divine Providence, and enables them to serve the will of God, and to acquiesce in it. For a man to serve Providence and the will of God entirely, to work with God, and to bring himself, and all his actions, into a compliance with God's will, His ends and designs, is an argument of the truest nobleness of spirit; it is the most excellent and divine life; and it is most for man's advantage. How the consideration of Divine Providence is the way to inward quietness and establishment of spirit. How wicked men carry themselves unbecomingly through their impatience and fretfulness under the disposals of Providence. The beauty and harmony of the various methods of Providence.

7. **T**HE seventh and last property or effect wherein true religion expresseth its own nobleness and excellency, is this, *That it raiseth the minds of good men to a due observance of, and attendance upon, Divine Providence, and enables them to serve the will of God, and to acquiesce in it.* Wheresoever God hath a tongue to speak, there they have ears to hear; and, being attentive to God in the soft and still motions of Providence, they are ready to obey His call, and to say with Isaiah, 'Behold, here am I; send me¹.' They endeavour to copy forth that lesson which Christ hath set Christians, seriously considering how that they came into this world by God's appointment, not to do their own wills, but the will of Him that sent them.

As this consideration quiets the spirit of a good man, who is no idle spectator of Providence, and keeps him in a calm and sober temper, in the midst of all storms and tempests; so, it makes him most freely to engage himself in the service of Providence, without any inward reluctance or disturbance. He cannot be content that Provi-

¹ Isai. vi. 8.

dence should make use of him, as it doth even of those things that understand it least; but it is his holy ambition to serve it. It is nothing but hellish pride and self-love that makes men serve themselves, and so set up themselves as idols against God: but it is, indeed, an argument of true nobleness of spirit for a man to view himself, not in the narrow point of his own being, but in the unbounded essence of the First Cause, so as to be ὅλως τῶν κρείττόνων¹, and to live only as an instrument in the hands of God, who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will. *Optarem id me esse Deo quod est mihi manus mea*, was the expression of a holy soul.

To a good man, to serve the will of God, is in the truest and best sense to serve himself, who knows himself to be nothing without or in opposition to God: *Quo minus quid sibi arrogat homo, eo evadit nobilior, clarior, divinior*. This is the most divine life that can be, for a man to act in the world upon eternal designs, and to be so wholly devoted to the will of God, as to serve it most faithfully and entirely. This, indeed, bestows a kind of immortality upon these flitting and transient acts of ours, which, in themselves, are but the offspring of a moment. A pillar or a verse is a poor, sorry, monument of any exploit, which yet may well enough become the highest of the world's bravery. But good men, while they work with God, and endeavour to bring themselves, and all their actions, to a unity with God, His ends and designs, enrol themselves in eternity. This is the proper character of holy souls: their wills are so fully resolved into the Divine will, that they in all things subscribe to it without any murmurings or debates: they rest well satisfied with, and take complacency in, any passages of Divine dispensation, as being ordered and disposed by a mind and

¹ Simpl. in *Epict. Præf.* Cf. p. 21.

wisdom above, according to the highest rules of goodness¹.

The best way for a man rightly to enjoy himself, is, to maintain a universal, ready, and cheerful compliance with the divine and uncreated will in all things; as knowing that nothing can issue and flow forth from the Fountain of goodness but that which is good: and, therefore, a good man is never offended with any piece of Divine dispensation, nor hath he any reluctancy against that will, that dictates and determines all things by an eternal rule of goodness; as knowing that there is an unbounded and Almighty love, that, without any disdain or envy, freely communicates itself to everything He made; that feeds even the young ravens that call upon Him; that makes His sun to shine, and His rain to fall, both upon the just and unjust; that always infolds those in His everlasting arms, who are made partakers of His own image, perpetually nourishing and cherishing them with the fresh and vital influences of His grace: as knowing also, that there is an all-seeing eye, an unbounded mind and understanding, that derives itself through the whole universe, and, sitting in all the wheels of motion, guides them all, and powerfully governs the most eccentric motions of creatures, and carries them all most harmoniously in their several orbs to one last end. Who then shall give law to God? ‘Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world?’ Where is he that would climb up into that בית דין של המעלה—the great consistory in heaven, and, sitting in consultation with the Almighty, instruct the infinite and incomprehensible Wisdom? Shall vain man be wiser than his Maker? This

¹ Τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας ἵσθαι ὅτι τὸ κυριώτατον ἐκείνῳ ἐστίν, ὁρθῶς ὑπολήψεις περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ὡς ὄντων καὶ διοικούντων τὰ ὅλα καλῶς καὶ δικαίως· καὶ σαυτὸν εἰς τοῦτο κατατεταχέναι, τὸ πεί-

θεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰκεν πᾶσι τοῖς γνωμένοις, καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἔκοντα, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρίστης γνώμης ἐπιτελουμένοις. — Epictet. *Enchir.* cap. xxxi.

² 1 Cor. i. 20.

is the hellish temper of wicked men: they examine and judge of all things by the line and measure of their own self-will, their own opinions and designs; and, measuring all things by a crooked rule, they think nothing to be straight; and, therefore, they fall out with God, and with restless impatience fret and vex themselves: and this fretfulness and impatency in wicked men, argues a breach in the just and due constitution of their minds and spirits.

But a good man, whose soul is restored to that frame and constitution in which it should be, has better apprehensions of the ways and works of God, and is better affected under the various disposals of Providence. Indeed, to a superficial observer of Divine Providence, many things there are that seem to be nothing else but digressions from the main end of all, and to come to pass by a fortuitous concourse of circumstances; that come in so abruptly, and without any concatenation, or dependence one upon another, as if they were without any mind or understanding to guide them. But a wise man that looks from the beginning to the end of things, beholds them all in their due place and method, acting that part which the supreme Mind and Wisdom, that governs all things, hath appointed them; and carrying on one and the same eternal design, while they move according to their own proper inclinations and measures, and aim at their own particular ends. It were not worth the while to live in a world *κενῷ Θεοῦ καὶ προνοίας*—‘devoid of God and Providence,’—as it was well observed by the Stoic¹: and to be subservient unto Providence, is the holy ambition and great endeavour of a good man, who is so perfectly overpowered with the love of the universal and infinite goodness, that he would not serve any particular good whatsoever; no, not himself, so as to set up in the

¹ Vid. *Not.* I. p. 54.

world and trade for himself, as the men of this world do, who are 'lovers of their own selves, and lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God¹.'

CHAPTER X.

4. *The excellency of religion in regard of its progress, as it is perpetually carrying on the soul towards perfection. Every nature hath its proper centre to which it hastens. Sin and wickedness is within the attractive power of hell, and hastens thither: grace and holiness is within the central force of heaven, and moves thither. It is not the speculation of heaven, as a thing to come, that satisfies the desires of religious souls, but the real possession of it, even in this life. Men are apt to seek after assurance of heaven as a thing to come, rather than after heaven itself, and the inward possession of it here. How the assurance of heaven rises from the growth of holiness, and the powerful progress of religion in our souls. That we are not hastily to believe that we are Christ's, or that Christ is in us. That the works which Christ does in holy souls testify of Him, and best evidence Christ's spiritual appearance in them.*

WE have considered the excellency of true religion,
 1. In regard of its descent and original; 2. In regard of its nature; 3. In regard of its properties and effects. We proceed now to a fourth particular, and shall show,

4. That religion is a generous and noble thing in regard of its progress: it is perpetually carrying on that mind, in which it is once seated, toward perfection. Though the first appearance of it, upon the souls of good men, may be but as the wings of the morning spreading themselves upon the mountains, yet is it still rising higher and higher upon them, chasing away all the filthy mists and vapours of sin and wickedness before it, till it arrives at its meridian altitude². There is the strength and force

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 2, 4.

² 'The path of the just is as the shin-

ing light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'—Prov. iv. 18.

of the Divinity in it; and though, when it first enters into the minds of men, it may seem to be 'sown in weakness,' yet will it raise itself in power. As Christ was in His bodily appearance, still increasing in wisdom, and knowledge, and favour with God and man, until He was perfected in glory; so is He also in His spiritual appearance in the souls of men; and, accordingly, the New Testament does more than once distinguish between Christ in His several ages and degrees of growth in the souls of all true Christians. Good men are always 'walking on from strength to strength, till at last they see God in Zion.' Religion, though it hath its infancy, yet hath it no old age: while it is in its minority, it is always *in motu*; but when it comes to its maturity and full age, it will always be *in quiete*—it is then 'always the same, and its years fail not, but it shall endure for ever.' Holy and religious souls, being once touched with an inward sense of Divine beauty and goodness, by a strong impress upon them are moved swiftly after God, and, as the apostle expresses himself, 'forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, they press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus;' that so they may 'attain to the resurrection of the dead!'

Where a spirit of religion is, there is the central force of heaven itself, quickening and enlivening those that are informed by it, in their motions toward heaven. As, on the other side, all unhallowed and defiled minds are within the attractive power of hell, and are continually hastening their course thither, being strongly pressed down by the weight of their wickedness. 'Αὐτὸς ἕχει κινήσεις ἢ φύσεις, as Plutarch hath well observed—'Every nature, in this world, hath some proper centre to which it is always hastening.' Sin and wickedness do not hover a little over the bot-

¹ Phil. iii. 11, 13, 14.

tomless pit of hell, and only flutter about it; but it is continually sinking lower and lower into it. Neither does true grace make some feeble assays toward heaven, but, by a mighty energy within itself, it is always soaring up higher and higher into heaven. A good Christian does not only court his happiness, and cast now and then a smile upon it, or satisfy himself merely to be contracted to it; but, with the greatest ardours of love and desire, he pursues the solemnity of the just nuptials, that he may be wedded to it, and made one with it. It is not an airy speculation of heaven as a thing (though never so undoubtedly) to come, that can satisfy his hungry desires, but the real possession of it even in this life¹. Such a happiness would be less in the esteem of good men, that were only good to be enjoyed at the end of this life, when all other enjoyments fail him.

I wish there be not, among some, such a light and poor esteem of heaven, as makes them more to seek after assurance of heaven only in the idea of it as a thing to come, than after heaven itself; which, indeed, we can never well be assured of, until we find it rising up within ourselves, and glorifying our own souls. When true assurance comes, heaven itself will appear upon the horizon of our souls, like a morning light, chasing away all our dark and gloomy doubtings before it. We shall not need then to light up our candles to seek for it in corners; no: it will display its own lustre and brightness so before us, that we may see it in its own light, and ourselves the true possessors of it. We may be too nice and vain in seeking for signs and tokens of Christ's spiritual appearances in the souls of men, as well as the Scribes and Pharisees were in seeking for them at His first appearance in the world. When He comes into us, let us expect till the works that He shall do within us may testify of Him;

¹ So we read John vi. 54, "*hath eternal life*;" and 1 John v. 11, 13.

and be not over credulous, till we find that He doth those works there which none other could do. As for a true, well-grounded, assurance, say not so much, 'Who shall ascend up into heaven,' to fetch it down from thence? or, 'who shall descend into the deep,' to fetch it up from beneath? for in the growth of true, internal, goodness, and in the progress of true religion it will freely unfold itself within us. Stay till the grain of mustard-seed itself breaks forth from among the clods that buried it; till, through the descent of the heavenly dew, it sprouts up, and discovers itself openly. This holy assurance is, indeed, the budding and blossoming of felicity in our own souls; it is the inward sense and feeling of the true life, spirit, sweetness, and beauty of grace, powerfully expressing its own energy within us.

Briefly: true religion, in the progress of it, transforms those minds in which it reigns, from glory to glory: it goes on and prospers in bringing all enemies in subjection under their feet, in reconciling the minds of men fully to God; and it instates them in a firm possession of the supreme good. This is the seed of God within holy souls, which is always warring against the seed of the serpent, till it prevail over it, through the divine strength and influence. Though hell may open her mouth wide and without measure, yet a true Christian, in whom the seed of God remaineth, is in a good and safe condition: he finds himself borne up by an Almighty arm, and carried upwards as upon eagle's wings; and the evil one hath no power over him; or, as St John expresseth it, 'the evil one toucheth him not¹.'

¹ ὁ πονηρὸς οὐχ ἄπτεται αὐτοῦ. 1 John v. 18.

CHAPTER XI.

5. *The excellency of religion in regard of its term and end, viz. Perfect blessedness. How unable we are, in this state, to comprehend and describe the full and perfect state of happiness and glory to come. The more godlike a Christian is, the better may he understand that state. Holiness and happiness not two distinct things, but two several notions of one and the same thing. Heaven cannot so well be defined by any thing without us, as by something within us. The great nearness and affinity between sin and hell. The conclusion of this treatise, containing a serious exhortation to a diligent minding of religion, with a discovery of the vanity of those pretences which keep men off from minding religion.*

5. **WE** come now to the *fifth* and last particular, viz. *The excellency of religion in the term and end of it, which is nothing else but blessedness itself in its full maturity.* Which yet I may not here undertake to explain, for it is altogether ἄρρητόν τι, nor can it descend so low as to accommodate itself to any human style. Accordingly, St John tells us, ‘it does not yet appear what we shall be;’ and yet, that he may give us some glimpse of it, he directs us to God, and tells us, ‘we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is¹.’ Indeed, the best way to get a discovery of it, is to endeavour, as much as may be, to be godlike, to live in a feeling converse with God, and in a powerful exercise and expression of all godlike dispositions: so shall our inner man be best enabled ‘to know the breadth and length, the depth and height, of that love and goodness which yet passeth all knowledge².’ There is a state of perfection in the life to come, so far transcendent to any in this life, as that we are not able, from hence, to take the just proportions of it, or to form a full and comprehensive notion of it. We are unable to comprehend the vastness and fulness of that happiness, to which the most purified souls may be raised,

¹ ὁμοιοὶ αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα. 1 John iii. 2.

² Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 18, 19.

or to apprehend how far the mighty power and strength of the Divinity, deriving itself into created being, may communicate a more transcendent life and blessedness to it. We know not what latent powers our souls may here contain within themselves, which then may begin to open and dilate themselves, to let in the full streams of the Divine goodness, when they come nearly and intimately to converse with it; or how blessedness may act upon those faculties of our minds which we now have. We know not what illapses and irradiations there may be from God upon souls in glory, that may raise them into a state of perfection, surpassing all our imaginations.

As for corporeal happiness, there cannot be anything further added to the pleasure of our bodies or animal part, than a restoring of it from disturbing passion and pain, to its just and natural constitution; and, therefore, some philosophers have well disputed against the opinion of the Epicureans, who make happiness to consist in bodily pleasure, ὅτι πολλαπλάσιον ἔχει τὸ λυπηρὸν προηγούμενον¹ and when the molestation is gone, and the just constitution of nature recovered, pleasure ceaseth. But the highest pleasure of minds and spirits does not only consist in the relieving of them from any antecedent pains or grief, or in a relaxation from some former molesting passion: neither is their happiness a mere Stoical ἀταραξία as the happiness of the Deity is not a mere negative thing, rendering it free from all disturbance or molestation, so that it may eternally rest quiet within itself: it does not so much consist *in quiete*, as *in actu et vigore*. A mind and spirit is too full of activity and energy, is too quick and potent a thing, to enjoy a full and complete happiness in a mere cessation; this were to make happiness a heavy, spiritless, thing. The philosopher hath well observed, that there is infinite power and strength in divine joy,

¹ Vid. not. 1, p. 453.

pleasure, and happiness, commensurate with that Almighty Being and Goodness, who is the eternal source of it'.

As created beings, that are capable of conversing with God, stand nearer to God, or further off from Him; and as they partake more or less of His likeness, so they partake more or less of that happiness which flows forth from Him, and God communicates Himself in different degrees to them. There may be as many degrees of sanctity and perfection, as there are of states and conditions of creatures: and that is properly sanctity, which guides and orders all the faculties and actions of any creature, in a way suitable and correspondent to that rank and state in which God hath placed it: and, while it doth so, it admits no sin or defilement to itself, though yet it may be elevated and advanced higher; and, accordingly, true positive sanctity comes to be advanced higher and higher, as any creature comes more to partake of the life of God, and to be brought into a nearer conjunction with God: and so, the sanctity and happiness of innocency itself might have been perfected.

Thus we see how true religion carries up the souls of good men above the black regions of hell and death. This, indeed, is the great ἀποκατάστασις of souls: it is religion itself, or a real participation of God and His holiness, which is their true restitution and advancement. All that happiness which good men shall be made partakers of, as it cannot be borne up upon any other foundation than true goodness, and a godlike nature within them, so neither is it distinct from it. Sin and hell are so twined and twisted up together, that if the power of sin be once dissolved, the bonds of death and hell will

¹ Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀγαθῷ συν-
έστω ἡ ἀληθινὴ ἡδονή, ὅπου ἂν ἡδονῆς αἰσ-
θῆται σκιαγραφίας, μὴ κρίνουσα αὐτὴν ὅποια
τις ἐστὶ, πότερον ἀληθὴς καὶ τῷ ἀληθινῷ
ἀγαθῷ συγγενὴς, ἢ ἀπατηλὴ καὶ σκιά ἀγα-

θοῦ ψευδῶνυμος, ἐπιτρέχει ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀγα-
θόν, οὐκ ἐφιστάνουσα ὅτι πολλαπλά-
σιον ἔχει τὸ λυπηρόν· προηγούμε-
νόν τε πάντως· οὐ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.—Simpl.
in Epictet. cap. I. § 1.

also fall asunder. Sin and hell are of the same kind, of the same lineage and descent: as, on the other side, true holiness or religion, and true happiness, are but two several notions of one thing, rather than distinct in themselves. Religion delivers us from hell, by instating us in a possession of true life and bliss. Hell is rather a nature than a place: and heaven cannot be so truly defined by any thing without us, as by something that is within us.

Thus have we done with those particulars, wherein we considered the excellency and nobleness of religion, which is here expressed by 'The way of life,' and elsewhere is styled by Solomon 'A tree of life': true religion being an inward principle of life, of a divine life, the best life, that which is life, most properly so called: accordingly, in the holy Scripture, a life of religion is styled life, as a life of sin and wickedness is styled death. In the ancient academical philosophy it was much disputed, whether that corporeal and animal life, which was always drawing down the soul into terrene and material things, was not more properly to be styled death than life. What sense hereof the Pythagoreans had, may appear by this practice of theirs: they were wont to set up *κενοτάφια*—empty coffins, in the places of those that had forsaken their school, and degenerated from their philosophy and good precepts, as being apostates from life itself, and dead to virtue and a good life, which is the true life, and, therefore, fit only to be reckoned among the dead².

¹ עץ חיים—ארה חיים Prov. iii. 18 ;

xv. 24.

² ...μνημα δὲ αὐτοῖς ὡς νεκροῖς ἐχώννυτο ὑπὸ τῶν ὀμακῶν.—Iamblich. *Pythag. Vit.* cap. 17, p. 154 (ed. Kiessling).

...τάφον αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθῆναι, ὡς δῆτα ἀποικομένου ἐκ τοῦ μετ' ἀνθρώπων βίου τοῦ ποτὲ ἐτέρου γενομένου.—*Ibid.* cap. 34, p. 482.

Οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι κενοτάφια ψκοδόμουν τοῖς μετὰ τὸ προτραπῆναι ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, παλινδρομήσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν βίον.—

Origen. *Cont. Cels.* Lib. II. c. 12.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν Πυθαγορείων σεμνὸν διδασκαλείον κενοτάφια τῶν ἀποστάντων τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας κατεσκεύαζε, λογιζόμενον νεκροὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι.—*Ibid.* Lib. III. c. 51.

Φασὶ γοῦν Ἰππαρχον τὸν Πυθαγόριον, αἰτίαν ἔχοντα γράψασθαι τὰ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου σαφῶς, ἐξελαθῆναι τῆς διατριβῆς, καὶ στήλην ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι οἷα νέκρω.—Clem. Alex. *Strom.* Lib. v. c. 9.

Cf. Scheffer. *Philos. Ital.* cap. xii.

For a conclusion of this discourse. The use which we shall make of all shall be this—to awaken and exhort every one to a serious minding of religion; as Solomon doth earnestly exhort every one to seek after true wisdom, which is the same with religion and holiness, as sin is with folly: ‘Get wisdom, get understanding¹’; and ‘Get wisdom, and with all thy getting get understanding. Wisdom is the principal thing².’ This is the sum of all, ‘the conclusion of the whole matter, Fear God, and keep His commandments; for this is the whole duty,’ business, and concernment ‘of man³.’ Let us not trifle away our time and opportunities which God hath given us, wherein we may lay hold upon life and immortality, in doing nothing, or else pursuing hell and death. Let us awake out of our vain dreams: wisdom calls upon us, and offers us the hidden treasures of life and blessedness: let us not perpetually deliver ourselves over to laziness and slumbering. Say not, ‘There is a lion in the way;’ say not, though religion be good, yet it is unattainable: no—but let us unite all our powers in a serious, resolved, pursuance of it, and depend upon the assistance of heaven, which never fails those that soberly seek for it. It is, indeed, the levity of men’s spirits, their heedlessness and regardlessness of their own lives, that betrays them to sin and death. It is the general practice of men *αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὸν βίον*—*extempore vivere*—as the satirist speaks: they ordinarily ponder and deliberate upon everything more than how it becomes them to live; they so live as if their bodies had swallowed up their souls; their lives are but a kind of lottery; the principles by which they are guided are nothing else but a confused multitude of fancies rudely jumbled together. Such is the life of most men: it is but a mere casual thing acted over at peradventure, without any fair and calm debates held

¹ Prov. iv. 5.² Ibid. ver. 7.³ Eccles. xii. 13.

either with religion, or with reason, which in itself, as it is not distorted and depraved by corrupt men, is a true friend to religion, and directs men to God, and to things good and just, pure, lovely, and praiseworthy; and the directions of this inward guide we are not to neglect. Unreasonableness, or the smothering and extinguishing the candle of the Lord within us, is no piece of religion, nor advantageous to it: that, certainly, will not raise men up to God, which sinks them below men. There had never been such an apostasy from religion, nor had such a mystery of iniquity, full of deceivableness and imposture, been revealed and wrought so powerfully in the souls of some men, had there not first come an apostasy from sober reason, had there not first been a falling away and departure from natural truth.

It is to be feared our nice speculations about a τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν in theology, have tended more to exercise men's wits than to reform their lives, and that they have too much descended into their practice, and have tended rather to take men off from minding religion, than to quicken them up to a diligent seeking after it. Though the powers of nature may now be weakened, and though we cannot produce a living form of religion in our own souls; yet we are not surely so resolved into a sluggish passiveness, as that we cannot, or were not, in any kind or manner of way, to seek after it. Certainly, a man may as well read the Scriptures as study a piece of Aristotle, or of natural philosophy, or mathematics. He that can observe anything comely and commendable, or unworthy and base, in another man, may also reflect upon himself, and see how 'face answereth to face', as Solomon speaks. If men would seriously commune with their hearts, their own consciences would tell them plainly, that they might avoid and omit more evil than they do, and that they might do

more good than they do: and that they do not put forth that power which God hath given them, nor faithfully use those talents, nor improve the advantages and means afforded them.

I fear the ground of most men's misery will prove to be a second fall, and a lapse upon a lapse. I doubt God will not allow that proverb, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge¹,' as not in respect of temporal misery, much less will He allow it in respect of eternal. It will not be so much because our first parents incurred God's displeasure, as because we have neglected what might have been done by us afterwards, in order to the seeking of God's face and favour, while He might be found.

Up then, and be doing, and the Lord will be with us. He will not leave us nor forsake us, if we seriously set ourselves about the work. Let us endeavour to acquaint ourselves with our own lives, and the true rules of life, with this which Solomon here calls 'the way of life:' let us inform our minds, as much as may be, in the excellency and loveliness of practical religion; that, beholding it in its own beauty and amiableness, we may the more sincerely close with it. As there would need nothing else to deter and affright men from sin, but its own ugliness and deformity, were it presented to a naked view and seen as it is; so, nothing would more effectually commend religion to the minds of men, than the displaying and unfolding the excellencies of its nature, than the true native beauty and inward lustre of religion itself: οὐθ' ἔσπερος, οὐθ' ἑῷος οὕτω θαυμαστός².—neither the evening, nor the morning, star could so sensibly commend itself to our bodily eyes, and delight them with its shining

¹ Ezek. xviii. 2.

² Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀρετὴ μὲν ἐστὶ τέλεια, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἕτερον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰκις κρατίστη

τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ δικαιοσύνη· καὶ οὐθ' ἔσπερος, οὐθ' ἑῷος οὕτω θαυμαστός. Aristot. *Eth. Nicom.* Lib. v. c. 1.

beauties, as true religion (which is an undefiled beam of the uncreated light) would to a mind capable of conversing with it. Religion, which is the true wisdom, is, as the author of the book of Wisdom speaks of wisdom, 'a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness: she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of the stars; being compared with the light, she is found before it¹.'

Religion is no such austere, sour, and rigid thing, as to affright men away from it: no: but those that are acquainted with the power of it, find it to be altogether sweet and amiable. A holy soul sees so much of the glory of religion, in the lively impressions which it bears upon itself, as both woos and wins it. We may truly say, concerning religion, to such souls, as St Paul spake to the Corinthians, 'Needs it any epistles of commendation to you?' Needs it anything to court your affections? 'Ye are indeed its epistle, written, not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God².'

Religion is not like the prophet's roll, sweet as honey, when it was in his mouth, but as bitter as gall in his belly. Religion is no sullen Stoicism, no sour Pharisaism: it does not consist in a few melancholy passions, in some dejected looks or depressions of mind; but it consists in freedom, love, peace, life, and power; the more it comes to be digested into our lives, the more sweet and lovely we shall find it to be. Those spots and wrinkles which corrupt minds think they see in the face of religion, are, indeed, nowhere else but in their own deformed and misshapen apprehensions. It is no wonder when a defiled fancy comes to be the glass, if you have an unlovely reflection. Let us therefore labour to purge our own souls

¹ Wisd. vii. 25, &c.

² 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.

from all worldly pollutions; let us breathe after the aid and assistance of the Divine Spirit, that it may irradiate and enlighten our minds, that we may be able to see divine things in a divine light: let us endeavour to live more in a real practice of those rules of religious and holy living, commended to us by our ever-blessed Lord and Saviour: so we shall know religion better, and knowing it, love it; and, loving it, be still more and more ambitiously pursuing after it, till we come to a full attainment of it, and, therein, of our own perfection and everlasting bliss.



A

CHRISTIAN'S

CONFLICTS AND CONQUESTS;

OR

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

THE DEVIL'S ACTIVE ENMITY AND CONTINUAL HOSTILITY
AGAINST MAN.—THE WARFARE OF A CHRISTIAN LIFE.—
THE CERTAINTY OF SUCCESS AND VICTORY IN THIS
SPIRITUAL WARFARE.—THE EVIL AND HOR-
RIDNESS OF MAGICAL ARTS AND RITES,
DIABOLICAL CONTRACTS, &c.

Τέκνον, εἰ προσέρχῃ δουλεῖν Κυρίῳ Θεῷ, ἐτοίμασον τὴν ψυχὴν σου εἰς πειρασμόν.
Sap. Sirach. Cap. II. I.

Τῷ φοβουμένῳ Κύριον οὐκ ἀπαντήσῃ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐν πειρασμῷ καὶ πάλιν ἐξελεῖται.
Ibid. Cap. XXXVI. I.

Excubandum est itaque, fratres dilectissimi, atque omnibus viribus elaborandum, ut inimico sævienti, et jacula sua in omnes corporis partes, quibus percuti et vulnerari possumus, dirigenti, sollicita et plena vigilantia repugnemus—Quamobrem, fratres dilectissimi, contra omnes diaboli fallaces insidias, vel apertas minas, stare debet instructus animus et armatus, tam paratus semper ad repugnandum quam est ad impugnandum semper paratus inimicus.—CYPRIANUS *de Zelo et Livore*, sub init.



A

CHRISTIAN'S CONFLICTS AND CONQUESTS,

REPRESENTED IN A DISCOURSE UPON

JAMES IV. 7.

Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.

CHAPTER I.

The introduction, summarily treating of the perpetual enmity between God, the principle of good—and the principle of evil, the devil: as also between whatsoever is from God, and that which is from the devil. That wicked men, by destroying what there is from God within them, and divesting themselves of all that which hath any alliance to God or true goodness, and transforming themselves into the diabolical image, fit themselves for correspondence and converse with the devil. The fears and horrors which infest both the apostate spirits and wicked men. The weakness of the devil's kingdom: Christ's success against it.

IT hath been an ancient tradition received by the Gentile philosophers, that there are two main principles, that spend and spread their influence through the whole universe: the one they called *the principle of good*, the other they called *the principle of evil*: and that these two maintain a continual contest and an enmity the one with the other. *The principle of goodness*, which is nothing else but God Himself, who derived Himself in clear and lovely stamps and impressions of beauty and goodness through the whole creation, endeavours still to assimilate and unite it to Himself. And, on the other side, *the principle of evil*, the prince of darkness, having once stained the original beauty and glory of the Divine work-

manship, is continually striving to mould and shape it more and more into his own likeness. And as there is such a perpetual and active enmity between God and the evil spirit: so, whatsoever is from God is perpetually opposing and warring against that which arises from the devil. The Divine Goodness hath put enmity between whatsoever is born of Him, or flows forth from Himself, and the seed of the serpent. As at the beginning He divided between the night and the day, between light and darkness, so that they can never intermingle or comply one with another, or be reconciled one to the other; so neither can those beams of Divine light and love, which descend from God upon the souls of men, be ever reconciled to those foul and filthy mists of sin and darkness, which ascend out of the bottomless pit of hell and death. That spirit is not from God, 'who is the Father of lights, and in whom there is no darkness,' as the apostle speaks, which endeavours to compound with hell, and to accommodate between God and the devil. God Himself hath set the bounds to darkness and the shadow of death. Divine truth and goodness cannot contract themselves with any thing that is from hell, or espouse themselves to any child of darkness: as it was set forth in the emblem under the old law, where none of the holy seed might marry with the people of any strange God. Though that rule, 'Touch not, taste not, handle not,' be abolished in the symbolical rites, yet hath it an immutable mystery in it, not subject to the laws or changes of time.

He that will entertain any correspondence with the devil, or receive upon his soul his image or the number of his name, must first divest and strip himself of all that which hath any alliance to God or true goodness within him: he must transform his mind into the true likeness and similitude of those foul fiends of darkness, and abandon all relation to the highest and supremest good. And

yet, though some men endeavour to do this, and to smother all those impressions of light and reason, which God hath folded up in every man's being, and destroy all that which is from God within them, that so they may reconcile themselves to sin and hell; yet can they never make any just peace with them: 'There is no peace to the wicked, but they are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt¹.' Those evil spirits are always turbulent and restless; and though they maintain, continually, a war with God and His kingdom, yet are they always making disquietings and disturbances in their own kingdom; and the more they contest with God, and are deprived of Him, the more full are they of horror and tumultuous commotions within. Nothing can stand firm and sure, nothing can have any true and quiet establishment, that hath not the everlasting arms of true goodness under it to support it. And as those that deliver over themselves most to the devil's pleasure, and devote themselves to his service, cannot do it without a secret, inward, antipathy against him, or dreadful thoughts of him; so neither can those impure spirits stand before the Divine glory; but, being filled with trembling and horror, continually endeavour to hide themselves from it, and flee away before it as the darkness flies away before the light. And according as God hath, in any places, in any ages of the world, made any manifestations of Himself to men, so have those evil spirits been vanquished, and forced to quit their former territories; as is especially very observable in the ceasing of all the Grecian oracles soon after the gospel was promulged in those parts, when those desolate spirits, with horrid and dismal groans, resigned up their habitations, as Plutarch hath recorded of them².

¹ Isai. lvii. 20, 21.

² Ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, οὔτε πνεύματος ὄντος οὔτε κλύδωνος, ἐκ

πρύμνης βλέποντα τὸν θαμoῦν πρὸς τὴν γῆν εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι, Ὁ μέγας Παν τέθνηκεν· οὐ φθῆναι δὲ παυσάμενον

Our Saviour hath found, by good experience, how weak a thing the devil's kingdom is, when He 'spoiled all the principalities and powers of darkness, and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in (or, by) it', that is, His cross, as the apostle speaks: and if we will resolutely follow 'the Captain of our salvation,' and fight under His banner, 'as good soldiers of Jesus Christ,' we have full security given us for the same success: 'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.'

CHAPTER II.

The first observable, That the devil is continually busy with us. The devil considered under a double notion. 1. As an apostate spirit which fell from God. The great danger of the devil's activity, not only when he presents himself in some corporeal shape, but when he is unseen and appears not. The weakness and folly of those who are afraid of him, only when he appears embodied. That the good Spirit of God is active for the good of souls. How regardless men are of the gentle motions of the Divine Spirit; and how unwatchful and secure under the suggestions of the evil spirit. How we may discover the devil in his stratagems, and under his several disguises and appearances.

IN these words, 'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you,' we shall take notice, *first*, of what is evidently implied, *viz. That the devil is continually busy with us.* This may be considered under a double notion.

1. By the devil, we are to understand that apostate spirit which fell from God, and is always designing to hale down others from God also. The old dragon, mentioned in the Revelation, with his tail drew down the third part of the stars of heaven and cast them to the

earth¹. As true goodness is not content to be happy alone; so neither can sin and wickedness be content to be miserable alone. The evil spirit told God Himself what his employment was, *viz.* 'To go to and fro in the earth, and to walk up and down in it²:' he is always walking up and down 'through dry places,' (where no divine influences fall to water it) as our Saviour speaks, 'seeking rest³,' though always restless. The philosophy of the ancients hath observed, that every man that comes into this world hath a good and an evil genius attending upon him. It were, perhaps, a vain curiosity to inquire whether the number of evil spirits exceed the number of men: but this is too, too certain, that we never want the secret and latent attendance of them. The devil is not only a word or a name made to affright or scare timorous men with; neither are we then only in danger of him, when he presents himself to us in some corporeal form: it is nothing else but a superstitious weakness to be afraid of him only then when he appears embodied, and to neglect that unseen and insensible influence, which his continual converse with us, as an unbodied spirit, may have upon us. Those evil spirits are not yet cast out of the world into outer darkness, though it be prepared for them: the bottomless pit hath not yet shut its mouth upon them. They fell from God, not so much by a local descent, as by a mental apostasy and dissimilitude to God: and they are now *in libera custodia*, having all this habitable world for their rendezvous, and are styled, by the apostle, 'spiritual wickednesses in high places⁴.' Wheresoever there are any in a disposition to sin against God, wheresoever there are any capable of a temptation or diabolical impression, here and there are they. A man needs not dig into the chambers of death, or search among the shadows of darkness to find them: he needs not go down into hell

¹ Rev. xii. 4.² Job i. 7.³ Matt. xii. 43.⁴ Eph. vi. 12.

to seek them, or use any magical charms to raise them up from thence: no; those wicked and impure spirits are always wandering up and down amongst us, seeking whom they may devour. As there is a good spirit conversant in the world, inviting and alluring men to virtue and goodness; so there is an evil spirit, perpetually tempting and enticing men to sin and vice. Unclothed and unbodied natures may converse with us by secret illapses, while we are not aware of them. I doubt not but there are many more Divine impressions made upon the minds of men, both good and bad, from the good Spirit of God, than are ordinarily observed: there are many soft and silent impulses, gentle motions, like our Saviour's 'putting in his hand by the hole of the door¹,' as it is in the Canticles—soliciting and exciting men to religion and holiness; which they many times regard not, and take little notice of.

There are such secret messages often brought from heaven to the souls of men, by an unknown and unseen hand, as the Psalmist speaks; 'Once, yea, twice have I heard it, that power belongeth unto God².' And as there are such Divine irradiations sliding into the souls of men from God: so there are, no question, many and frequent suggestions to the fancies and imaginations of men, arising from the evil spirit; and a watchful observer of his own heart and life shall often hear the voice of wisdom, and the voice of folly, speaking to him: he that hath his eyes opened, may see both the visions of God falling upon him, and discern the false and foolish fires of Satan, that would draw away his mind from God. This is our unhappiness, that the devil is so near us, and we see him not: he is conversant with us, and yet we are not aware of him. Those are the most desperate designs, and likeliest to take effect, that are carried on by an unseen and

¹ Cant. v. 4.

² Psal. lxxii. 11.

unappearing enemy: and, if we will provide ourselves against the devil, who never misseth any opportunity that lies in his way to tempt us, nor is ever failing in any plot, we must then have our 'senses exercised to discern both good and evil': we must get our minds awakened with clear and evident principles of light: we must get our judgments and consciences well informed with sober and practical truth, such as tends to make us most like to God, and to reconcile our natures more perfectly to Divine goodness. Then shall we know and discover that apostate spirit in all his stratagems, whereby he seeks to bereave us of our happiness: we shall know him as well, when he clothes himself like an angel of light, as when he appears in his own nakedness and deformity. It is observed by some, that God never suffered the devil to assume any human shape, but with some character whereby his body might be distinguished from the true body of a man: and surely the devil cannot so exactly counterfeit an angel of light, but that, by a discerning mind, he may be distinguished from him; as they say a beggar can never act a prince so cunningly, but that his behaviour, sometimes sliding into the course, way, and principles of his education, will betray the meanness of his pedigree to one of a truly noble extraction. A bare imitation will always fall short of the copy from whence it is taken; and though sin and error may take up the mantle of truth, and clothe themselves with it, yet he that is inwardly acquainted with truth, and an ingenuous lover and pursuer of it, will be able to find out the imposture: he will be able to see, through the veil, into the naked deformity of them.

¹ Heb. v. 14.

CHAPTER III.

2. *Of the activity of the devil,* considered as a spirit of apostasy, and as a degenerate nature in men. That the devil is not only the name of one particular thing, but a nature. The difference between the devil and wicked men is rather the difference of a name than of natures. The kingdom and tyranny of the devil and hell is chiefly within, in the qualities and dispositions of men's minds. Men are apt to quarrel with the devil in the name and notion, and defy him with their tongues, while they entertain him in their hearts, and comply with all that which the devil is. The vanity of their pretended love to God, and hatred of the devil. That there is nothing better than God Himself, for which we should love Him; and to love Him for His own beauty and excellency is the best way of loving Him. That there is nothing worse than sin itself, for which we should hate it; and to hate it for its own deformity is the truest way of hating it. How hell and misery arise from within men. Why wicked men are so insensible of their misery in this life.*

2. **W**HEN we say, the devil is continually busy with us, I mean not only some apostate spirit as one particular being, but that spirit of apostasy which is lodged in all men's natures; and this may seem particularly to be aimed at in this place, if we observe the context: as the Scripture speaks of Christ, not only as a particular person, but as a Divine principle in holy souls.

Indeed, the devil is not only the name of one particular thing, but a nature: he is not so much one particular being, designed to torment wicked men in the world to come, as a hellish and diabolical nature seated in the minds of men. He is not only one apostate spirit fallen down from heaven out of the lap of blessedness; but also a spirit of apostasy, a degenerate and depraved nature. Could the devil change his foul and impure nature, he would neither be a devil nor miserable; and so long as any man carries about him a sinful and corrupt nature, he can neither be in perfect favour with God, nor

blessed. Wickedness is the form and *entelech* of all the wicked spirits: it is the difference of a name, rather than any proper difference of natures, that is between the devil and wicked men. Wheresoever we see malice, revenge, pride, envy, hatred, self-will, and self-love, we may say here, and there, is that evil spirit. This, indeed, is that *venenum serpentis*—the poison and sting, too, of that diabolical nature. As the kingdom of heaven is not so much without men as within, as our Saviour tells us; so the tyranny of the devil and hell is not so much in some external things, as in the qualities and dispositions of men's minds. And as the enjoying of God, and conversing with Him, consists not so much in a change of place, as in the participation of the Divine nature, and in our assimilation unto God; so our conversing with the devil is not so much by a mutual local presence, as by an imitation of a wicked and sinful nature derived upon men's own souls. Therefore, the Jews were wont to style that original pravity that is lodged in men's spirits 'the angel of death' and fiend of darkness. Those filthy lusts and corruptions which men foment and entertain in their minds, are the noisome vapours that ascend out of the bottomless pit: they are the thick mists and fogs of hellish darkness arising in their souls, as a preface and introduction of hell and death within. Where we find uncleanness, intemperance, covetousness, or any such impure or unhallowed behaviour, we may say: 'Here Satan's throne is.'

This sinful and corrupt nature, being the true issue of hell itself, is continually dragging down men's souls thither. All sin and wickedness in man's spirit hath the central force and energy of hell in it, and is perpetually pressing down towards it, as towards its own place. There needs no fatal necessity, or astral impulses, to tumble

wicked men down forcibly into hell: no; for sin itself, hastened by the mighty weight of its own nature, carries them down thither with the most swift and headlong motion. As they say of true holiness and Christianity, *Christi sarcina pennas habet*—Christ's burden, which is nothing else but true godliness, is a winged thing, and bravely bears itself upwards upon its own wings, soaring aloft towards God; so we may say of all impiety, *diaboli sarcina pondus habet*—the devilish nature is always within the central attractions of hell, and its own weight instigates and accelerates its motion thither¹. He that allows himself in any sin, or useth any unnatural dalliance with any vice, does nothing else, in reality, than entertain an *incubus dæmon*: he prostitutes a wanton soul, and forces it to commit lewdness with the devil himself. Sin is nothing better than the offspring of darkness and deformity: it hath no other extraction or pedigree than may be derived from those unclean spirits that are nestled in hell. All men, in reality, converse either with God or with the devil, and walk in the confines either of heaven or of hell: they have their fellowship either with the Father and the Son, as St John speaks²; or else, with the apostate and evil angels.

I know these expressions will seem to some very harsh and unwelcome; but I would beseech them to consider what they will call that spirit of malice and envy, that spirit of pride, ambition, vain-glory, covetousness, injustice, uncleanness, &c. that commonly reigns so much, and acts so violently, in the minds and lives of men. Let us speak the truth, and call things by their own names: let us not flatter ourselves, or paint our filthy sores: so much as there is of sin in any man, so much there is of

¹ *Alia sarcina premit et aggravat te; Christi autem sarcina sublevat te: alia sarcina pondus habet; Christi sarcina pennas habet.* S. Aug. *Enarr. in Psal.* lix. § 8.

² 1 John i. 3.

the old man, so much there is of the diabolical nature. Why do we defy the devil so much with our tongues, while we entertain him in our hearts? But, indeed, men do but quarrel with him in the name and notion of him, while yet their hearts can readily comply with all that which the devil is: that antipathy which is ordinarily expressed against him, like those natural antipathies which the philosophers speak of, being nothing else but occult qualities, or natural instincts, which as they arise not from any principle of reason or understanding, so neither are they guided or governed by it. As men's love to God is ordinarily nothing else but the mere tendency of their natures to something that hath the notion or name of God put upon it, without any clear or distinct apprehension of Him; so their hatred of the devil is commonly nothing else but an inward displacency of nature against something entitled by the devil's name. Or else, at best, corrupt minds do nothing else but fashion out a God and a devil, a heaven and a hell, to themselves, by the power of their own fancies; and so, they are to them nothing else but their own creatures, sustained and supported by the force of their own imaginations which first raised them. And as they commonly make a god like to themselves, such a one as they can best comply with and love; so they make a devil most unlike to themselves, which may be any thing but what they themselves are, that so they may most freely spend their anger and hatred upon him: just as they say of some of the *Æthiopians*, who used to paint the devil white, because they themselves are black. This is a strange, merry, kind of madness, whereby men sportingly bereave themselves of the supremest good, and insure themselves, as much as may be, to hell and misery: they may thus cheat themselves for a while, but the eternal foundation of the Divine being is immutable and unchangeable. God is but 'one, and His name

one¹,’ as the prophet speaks, howsoever the several fancies of men may shape Him out diversely; and where we find wisdom, justice, loveliness, goodness, love, and glory, in their highest elevations, and most unbounded dimensions, there is He: and where we find any true participations of these, there is a true communication of God; and a defection from these is the essence of sin, and the foundation of hell.

Now, if this be rightly considered, I hope there will appear an argument strong enough, from the thing itself, to enforce St James’ exhortation, ‘resist the devil:’ endeavour to mortify and crucify the old man, with all the corrupt lusts and affections of the flesh.

We never so truly hate sin, as when we hate it for its own ugliness and deformity: as we never love God so truly, as when we love Him for His own beauty and excellency. If we calculate aright, as we shall find nothing better than God Himself, for which we should love Him; so neither shall we find any thing worse than sin itself, for which we should hate it. Our assimilation to God and conformity to Him, instates us in a firm possession of true happiness, which is nothing else but God Himself, who is all being and blessedness; and our dissimilitude to God, and apostasy from Him, involves us in our own misery, and sets us at the greatest enmity to what our unsatiable desires most of all crave for, which is the enjoyment of true and satisfying good. Sins are those fiery snakes which will eternally lash and torment all damned spirits. Every man’s hell arises from the bottom of his own soul; as those stinking mists, and tempestuous exhalations, that infest the earth, have their first original from the earth itself. Those streams of fire and brimstone, ordained for the torment of all damned spirits, are rather the exudations of their own filthy and corrupt

¹ Zech. xiv. 9.

nature, than any external thing. Hell is not so much induced, as educed out of men's filthy lusts and passions. I will not here dispute what external appendices there may be of heaven or hell; but, methinks, I no where find a more graphical description of the true properties and operations of them, though under other names, than in those characters of the 'flesh and spirit'.¹ Eternal death is begotten and brought forth out of the womb of lust, and is little else but sin consummated, and in its full growth, as St James intimates².

Would wicked men dwell a little more at home, and descend into the bottom of their own hearts, they would soon find hell opening her mouth wide upon them, and those secret fires of inward fury and displeasure breaking out upon them, which might fully inform them of the estate of true misery, as being a short anticipation of it. But in this life, wicked men, for the most part, elude their own misery for a time, and seek to avoid the dreadful sentence of their own consciences, by a tergiversation and flying from themselves, into a converse with other things, *ut nemo in sese tentat descendere*³; else they would soon find their own home too hot for them. But while men's minds are perpetually rambling all the world over, in a pursuit of worldly designs, they are unacquainted with the affairs of their own souls; and know not how deeply a self-converse, and reflection upon their own prodigious deformities, would pierce their souls with anguish; how vastly they would swell with fury, rage, horror, consternation, and whatsoever is contrary to that ineffable light, and love, and peace, which are in heaven, in natures fully reconciled and united to true goodness. As true goodness cannot borrow beauty from any external thing, to recommend itself to the minds and affections of good men, seeing itself is the very idea and true life of all beauty and

¹ Gal. v. 19—23.

² James i. 15.

³ Pers. Sat. IV. 23.

perfection, the source of bliss and peace to all that partake of her; so neither can sin and wickedness, to an enlightened soul, appear more ugly, loathsome, and hateful in any other shape than its own.

CHAPTER IV.

The second observable, viz. The warfare of a Christian life. True religion consists not in a mere passive capacity, and sluggish kind of doing nothing, nor in a melancholy sitting still or slothful waiting, &c., but it consists in inward life and power, vigour and activity. A discovery of the dulness and erroneousness of that hypothesis, viz. That good men are wholly passive, and unable, at any time, to move without some external impetus—some impression and impulse from without upon them: or, that all motions in religion are from an external principle. Of the quality and nature of the true spiritual warfare, and of the manner and method of it. That it is transacted upon the inner stage of men's souls, and managed without noise or pompous observation; and without any hinderance or prejudice to the most peaceful, sedate, and composed temper of a religious soul. This further illustrated from the consideration of the false and pretended zeal for God and His kingdom, against the devil; which, though it be impetuous, and make a great noise and a fair show in the world, is yet both impotent and ineffectual.

2. **F**ROM these words, 'resist the devil,' we may take notice of *the warfare of a Christian life*—of that active life and valour which good men express in this world. A true Christian spirit is masculine and generous: it is no such poor, sluggish, pusillanimous thing as some men fancy it to be, but active and noble. 'We fight not,' saith the apostle, 'against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickednesses in high places¹.' True religion does not consist in a mere passive capacity—in a sluggish kind of doing nothing, that so God Himself might do all; but it consists in life

¹ Eph. vi. 12.

and power within: therefore it is called by the apostle, 'The spirit of power, of love, and of a sound mind'¹: it is called 'the law of the spirit of life,' strongly enabling good men against 'the law of sin and death'². True wisdom, as the wise man hath well styled it, is 'the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty; neither can any defiled thing enter into it'³: it goes in and out in the strength of God Himself; and 'as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly'⁴. Every thing, as it partakes more of God, and comes nearer to Him, so it becomes more active and lively, as making the nearer approaches to the Fountain of life and virtue. A good man does not only then move, when there is some powerful impression and impulse upon him; but he has a spring of perpetual motion within. When God restores men to a new and Divine life, He does not make them like so many dead instruments, stringing and fitting them, which yet are able to yield no sound of themselves; but He puts a living harmony within them. That is but a mechanical religion, which moves no longer than some external weights and impulses are upon it, whether those be, I think I may safely say, from some worldly thing, or from God Himself, while He acts upon men from without them, and not from within them. It is not a melancholy kind of sitting still, and slothful waiting, that speaks men enlivened by the Spirit and power of God. It is not religion to stifle and smother those active powers and principles which are within us, or to dry up the fountain of inward life and virtue. How say some amongst us, that there is no resurrection from the dead? no spirit or life within; but that all our motions in religion are merely from some assisting form without? Good men do not

¹ 2 Tim. i. 7.³ Wisd. vii. 26.² Rom. viii. 2.⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 48.

walk up and down the world, merely like ghosts and shadows, or like dead bodies assumed by some spirit, which are taken up and laid down again by him at his pleasure: but they are, indeed, living men, by a real participation from Him who is, indeed, a quickening Spirit. Were our religion so much a thing without us as some men would seem to fancy it; were we so dead and lifeless, as that we could never move but from an external *impetus*; as our religion could never, indeed, be called ours, so neither could we ever have the inward sense of that bliss and peace which go along with it; but we must be like so many heavy logs, or dull pieces of earth, in heaven and happiness. That is a very earthly and flat spirit in religion, which sinks, like the lees, to the bottom; or rather, it is like that *terra damnata* which the Chymists speak of, having no vigour, life, or activity left in it, being truly dead to God, and reprobate to any thing of heaven. We know the pedigree of those exhalations that arise no higher than a merely external force from the sun's heat weigheth them up, to be but base and earthly; and, therefore, having no natural warmth or energy within themselves imparted to them, they sink down again to the earth from whence they came. The spirit which is from heaven is always, out of an inbred nobleness which bears it up, carried upwards again towards heaven, from whence it came, powerfully resisting all things that would deprive it of God, or hinder it from returning to its original: it is always moving upwards in an even and steady way towards God, from whence it came, leaving the dark regions of hell and death under it: it resists hell and darkness by assimilating and conforming itself to God: it resists darkness in the armour of light: it resists death and destruction by the power of Divine love. It must be something of heaven in the minds of men, which must resist the devil and hell.

We do not always 'resist the devil,' when we bid defiance to him, or when we declaim most zealously against him; neither does our resisting and opposing of sin and wickedness consist in the violence of some feminine passions, which may sometimes be raised by the power of fancy in the minds of men against it; but it consists rather in a mature and sedate resolution against it in our own souls, arising from a clear judgment of the foul and hateful nature of sin itself, and him who is the patron of it; in a constant and serious endeavour of settling the government of our own souls, and establishing the principality of grace and peace within ourselves. There is a pompous and popular kind of tumult in the world, which sometimes goes for zeal to God and His kingdom against the devil; when men's own pride and passions disguise themselves under the notions of a religious fervency. Some men think themselves the greatest champions for God and His cause, when they can take the greatest liberty to quarrel with every thing abroad, and without themselves, which is not shaped according to the mould of their own opinions, their own self-will, humour, and interest: whereas, indeed, this spiritual warfare is not so much maintained against a foreign enemy, as against those domestic rebellions that are within: neither is it then carried on most successfully, when men make the greatest noise, and most of all raise the dust. That impetuous violence and tempestuousness, with which men are actuated in pretensions of religion, arises ordinarily, I doubt, from unquiet and disturbed minds within: whereas it is, indeed, the inward conflicts and commotions, sin and vice, and not a holy zeal for God, which discompose the minds of men. Sin, where it is entertained, will indeed breed disturbance, and break the peace of a man's own spirit; but a true resisting and opposing of it is the restoring of the soul to its just

consistency, freedom, and serenity again. As God's kingdom is set up, so the devil's kingdom may be pulled down, without the noise of axes and hammers. We may then attain to the greatest achievements against the gates of hell and death, when we most of all possess our own souls in patience, and collect our minds into the most peaceful, composed, and united temper. The motions of true practical religion are most like that of the heavens, which, though most swift, is yet most silent. As grace and true religion is no lazy or sluggish thing, but in perpetual motion; so all the motions of it are soft and gentle: while it acts most powerfully within, it also acts most peacefully. 'The kingdom of heaven comes not with observation,' that men may say, 'Lo here, or lo there!': it is not with the devouring fire coming after it, or a whirlwind going before it. This fight and contest with sin and Satan is not to be known by the rattling of the chariots, or the sound of an alarm: it is, indeed, alone transacted upon the inner stage of men's souls and spirits; and is rather a pacifying and quieting of all those riots and tumults raised there by sin and Satan: it is rather a reconciling the minds of men to truth, justice, and holiness: it is a captivating and subjecting all our powers and faculties to God and true goodness, through the effectual working of a Divine love and humility; and this resistance is always attended with victory, and triumph waits upon this fight—which is the third and last observation we shall make upon these words.

¹ Luke xvii. 20.

CHAPTER V.

The third observable, viz. The certainty of success and victory to all those that resist the devil. This grounded upon 1. The weakness of the devil and sin, considered in themselves. 2. God's powerful assisting of all faithful Christians in this warfare. The devil may allure and tempt, but he cannot prevail, except men consent and yield to his suggestions. The devil's strength lies in men's treachery and falseness to their own souls. Sin is strong, because men oppose it weakly. The error of the Manichees, about a principium mali, defended by men in their lives and practices. Of God's readiness to assist Christians in their spiritual conflicts; His compassionate regards, and the more special respects of His providence, towards them on such occasions. The conclusion, discovering the evil and horridness of magic diabolical contracts, &c.

3. **T**HE certainty of success to all those that resist the devil—'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.' He cannot stand, when opposed in the strength of God; he will fall down as swift as lightning; he cannot bear the glory of God shining in the souls of men. Here it is no more but stand, and conquer; resist, and vanquish.

For, *first* of all, the devil and sin, in themselves considered, are but weak and impotent: they cannot prevail over that soul which yields not to them: the evil spirit then only prevails over us, when we ourselves consent to his suggestions: all his strength lies in our treachery and falseness to our own souls. Though those wicked spirits be perpetually so near us, yet cannot they bow or bend our wills: there is a place of defence in the souls of men, into which they cannot enter: they may stand at a distance, allure, and entice them; but they cannot prevail over them, except they wilfully and shamefully deliver over their strength into the enemy's hand. It is, indeed, nothing else but hell itself in the souls of men, that gives the devil such free entertainment there: the wills of men, stamped with a diabolical form, and bearing the devil's

image and inscription upon them, declare his right over them. Men are therefore so much captivated by him, because they voluntarily take his yoke upon them. Could we, or would we, resist sin and Satan, they could not hurt us. Every thing is weak and impotent, according to the distance it stands from God, who is the only fountain of life and power; and, therefore, it was well resolved by the philosopher—‘Sin in itself is a weak and impotent thing, and proceeds from weakness¹’; it consists not properly in any native power and strength which it hath within itself, but in an impotency, and privation of all true being and perfection; and, therefore, wheresoever any thing of God appears, it will destroy it. He that is born of God, shall overcome the world, the devil, and sin; for ‘the seed of God remaineth in him².’

Let us endeavour to get our minds enlightened with Divine truth—clear and practical truth; let us earnestly endeavour after a true participation of the Divine nature; and then shall we find hell and death flee away before us. Let us not impute the fruits of our own sluggishness to the power of the evil spirit without, or to God’s neglecting of us: say not, ‘Who shall stand against those mighty giants?’ No: arm thyself with the mind of Christ—a fixed resolution to serve the will and pleasure of the Almighty; and then fear not what sin and hell can do against thee. Open thy windows, thou sluggard, and let in the beams of Divine light, that are there waiting upon thee, till thou awake out of thy slothfulness; then shalt thou find the shadows of the night dispelled and scattered, and the warm beams of light and love infolding thee, which the higher they arise above the horizon of thy soul, the more fully they will display their native strength and beauty upon thee, transforming thee more and more from

¹ Πᾶσα γὰρ κακία, διὰ ἀδυναμίας συμβαίνει, εἴτερ ἡ δύναμις ἀγαθὴν τι ἐστίν.

Simpl. in *Epicetel.* cap. i. § 1.

² 1 John iii. 9.

darkness to light, from the similitude of Satan into a participation of the Divine image. The devil is not to be kept off from us by setting any spell about us, or driven away from us by any magical charms. We need not go and beat the air, to drive away those evil spirits from about us; as Herodotus reports the Caunians once to have beaten out the strange gods from amongst them¹: but let us turn within ourselves, and beat down that pride and passion, those holds of Satan there, which are therefore strong, because we oppose them weakly. Sin is nothing else but a degeneration from true goodness, conceived by a dark and cloudy understanding, and brought forth by a corrupt will: it hath no consistency in itself, or foundation of its own to support it. What the Jews have observed of error, is true of all sin, *Mendacium non habet pedes*—‘it hath no feet,’ no basis of its own, to subsist and rest itself upon². Let us withdraw our will and affections from it, and it will soon fall into nothing. It was the fond error of the Manichees, that there was some solid *principium mali*, which, having an eternal existence of its own, had also a mighty and uncontrollable power from within itself, whereby it could forcibly enter and penetrate into the souls of men; and, seating itself there, by some hidden influences, irresistibly incline and inforce them to evil: which error I wish were as well confuted by the lives and practices of men, as it hath been by the writings, both of fathers and philosophers. But it is too apparent that men maintain that lie by a compliance with the diabolical powers: we ourselves uphold that kingdom of darkness, which else would tumble down and slide into that nothing from whence it came. All truth and goodness are of an eternal nature: they are one, and unchangeable, subsisting upon the strength of Omnipotency;

¹ Herod. i. 172.

² השקר אין לו רגלים Vid. Buxtorf. *Lex. Rabbin.* s. v. רָגַל col. 2203.

but all sin and vice is our own creature; we only give life to them which, indeed, are our death, and would soon wither and fade away, did we subtract our concurrence from them.

Secondly. We have a further ground for our expectation of victory in all contests with sin and Satan, from the powerful assistance of God Himself, who is never wanting to those that seek after Him, and never fails those that engage in His quarrels. While we strive against sin, we may safely expect that the Divinity itself will strive with us, and derive that strength and power into us that shall, at last, make us more than conquerors. God hath not forsaken the earth; but as His Almighty essence runs through all things, sustaining and upholding the frame of the whole universe; so, more especially, does it bear up, in its Almighty arms, those things that are more nearly related to Himself, always cherishing them with His own goodness. Wheresoever God beholds any breathings after Himself, He gives life to them, as those which are His own breath in them. As he who projects wickedness, shall be sure to find Satan standing at his right hand, ready to assist him in it: so he that pursues after God and holiness, shall find God nearer to him than he is to himself, in the free and liberal communications of Himself to him. He that goes out in God's battles, fighting under our Saviour's banner, may look upwards, and, opening his eyes, may see the mountains full of horses and chariots of fire round about him. God hath not so much delight in the death and destruction of men, as to see them struggling and contending for life, and Himself stand by as a looker on. No: but, with the most tender and fatherly compassions, His bowels yearn over them, and his Almighty arm is stretched forth for them; and in His strength they shall prevail: they shall be borne up, as upon eagles' wings; they shall walk in the might of

His strength, who is able to save, and not faint. Where there is any serious and sober resolution against sin, any real motion towards God, there is the blessing of heaven in it: He that planted it, will also water it, and make it to bud, and blossom, and bring forth fruit.

Wherefore, to shut up this discourse by way of application, let us make use of this, as a further argument, to enforce the apostle's exhortation upon ourselves: 'Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might;' and, as the Psalmist speaks of his enemies, so let us say of our spiritual enemies, 'They compass me about, they compass me in on every side; but in the name of the Lord I will destroy them¹.' Let us set ourselves, with all our might, to mortify the old man, and to crucify all the affections of the flesh: 'Let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which so easily besets us, and run with patience the race that is set before us; looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who is set down at the right hand of the throne of God²,' as a great and mighty conqueror, who will declare the perfection of His own power in our weakness, if we lay hold of His strength. Though we are not able to change our own natures, or to rise above the source of our animal and selfish beings, by our own power; yet let us endeavour to subdue all those external vices of luxury and wantonness, of injustice, revenge, and the like: let us withdraw the fuel of pride, malice, vain-glory, and whatsoever else holds us in captivity to hell, and with confidence apply ourselves to Him who is an Almighty Saviour; and when He joins His Almighty strength with us, we need not fear anything: 'He shall tread down Satan under our feet,' and we shall, one day, 'tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shall we trample under our feet³:' we shall break the serpent's head, though he may bruise our heel.

¹ Psal. cxviii. 10, 11.

² Heb. xii. 1, 2.

³ Psal. xci. 13.

Though God may suffer him so far to serve his own rage and the hellish malice of such as are in league with him, as to pull down, with violence, our earthly tabernacles; yet, while we so suffer by him, we are conquerors over him.

I should now conclude all, and leave you with this general application, but that the present occasion hath drawn it down for me to a particular case. Did we not live in a world of professed wickedness, wherein so many men's sins go, in open view, before them to judgment, it might be thought needless to persuade men to 'resist the devil,' when he appears, in his own colours, to make merchandise of them, and comes, in a formal way, to bargain with them for their souls; that which human nature, however enthralled to sin and Satan in a more mysterious way, abhors, and none admit, but those who are quite degenerated from human kind. That which I shall further add, shall be by way of caution, only to suggest two things which are the forerunners of such diabolical contracts, and put temptations into the hands of the tempter.

First. Those hellish passions of malice, envy, and revenge, which are the black form and image of the devil himself: these, when they are once ripened, fit men for the most formal converse with the devil that may be: that nature cannot easily abhor him, which is so perfectly conformed to him.

Secondly. The use of any arts, rites, or ceremonies not understood, of which we can give no rational or divine account; this, indeed, is nothing else but a kind of magic which the devil himself owns, and gives life to, though he may not be corporeally present, or require presently any further covenant from the users of them. The devil, no question, is present at all his own rites and ceremonies, though men discern him not; and may, upon the use of them, secretly produce those effects which may gain credit

to them. Among these rites, we may reckon insignificant forms of words, with their several modes and manners of pronunciation, astrological arts, and whatsoever else pretends to any strange effects, which we cannot, with good reason, either ascribe to God or nature. As God will only be conversed withal in a way of light and understanding; so the devil loves to be conversed with in a way of darkness and obscurity.

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE FUNERAL

OF

MR. JOHN SMITH,

LATE FELLOW OF QUEENS' COLLEGE IN CAMBRIDGE,

Who departed this life, August 7th, 1652,

AND LIES INTERRED IN THE CHAPEL OF THE SAME COLLEGE.

WITH A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF HIS

LIFE AND DEATH.

By SIMON PATRICK,

THEN FELLOW OF QUEENS' COLLEGE.

The memory of the just is blessed.—Prov. x. 7.



A

S E R M O N,

&c.

2 KINGS II. 12.

And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel,
and the horsemen thereof.

WHEN I saw the blessed spirit of our brother, shall I say? or, our father, making haste out of that body which lies before us, these words which I have now read came into my mind; and, methought, I saw the good genius of this place, which inspired us with so much sense of learning and goodness, taking its flight and leaving this lower world; at whom my soul caught, as I fancied Elisha to have done at Elijah, and I cried out, 'O my father, my father,' &c. Desirous I was, methought, that his ἀποθέωσις might have been a little while deferred; that I might have staid the wheels of that triumphant chariot wherein he seemed to be carried; that we might have kept him a little longer in this world, till, by his holy breathings into our souls, and the grace of God, we had been all made meet to have some share in that inheritance of the saints in light; and so he might have gone to heaven with his train, taking all his friends along with him, as attendants to that glory and honour wherewith I make no doubt he is crowned. It grieved me in my thoughts that there should be so many orphans left without a father, a society left naked without one of her best guardians and chieftains, her very 'chariot and horsemen;' unto whose instruction and brave conduct not a few of us

will acknowledge they owe much of their skill and abilities. For I do not fear to say, as Antoninus doth of the best man, that he was ‘a priest or minister of God,’ who was very subservient to Him in His great work¹. If he was not a prophet like Elijah, yet I am sure he was, as Greg. Nazianzen, I think, speaks of St Basil—‘an interpreter of the Spirit,’ and very well acquainted with his mind²; a man sent down from heaven for our good, and is now gone thither from whence he came, leaving us behind him here, a company of poor fatherless children, the sons of this prophet, weeping and crying out, ‘O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof.’

This sad note would have been most fitly sung just at the ascension of his holy soul: yet give me leave to descant a while upon it, now that we are come to inter his body, which was the dark shadow where that admirable and illustrious learning, wisdom, and godliness, walked up and down, and shone through upon the world.

You will easily see, at the first glance, that something will here offer itself to be said of Elijah, and something of Elisha: of Elijah, in that he is called ‘father, the chariot and horsemen of Israel;’ of Elisha, in that he applies this relation to himself, ‘My father, my father.’

Concerning Elijah we may observe,

First, *His superiority, eminency, and dignity.*

Secondly, *His singular care which he took of others.*

Thirdly, *His great usefulness, or the benefit which his country enjoyed by him.*

Concerning Elisha we may observe the expression of three things likewise:

First, *Of his great affection and love.*

¹ *ιερεύς τις καὶ ὑπουργὸς θεῶν.*—Marc. Antonin. *De Seipso*, Lib. III. cap. 4.

² Not Greg. Nazianzen, but Greg. Nyssen. *τούτον οὖν ἔχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν τὸν*

διατιθέμεν ἡμῖν τὴν παρούσαν πανήγυριν, τὸν γνήσιον ὑποφήτην τοῦ πνεύματος.—Greg. Nyssen. Tom. III. p. 480 B. (ed. fol. Par. 1638).

Secondly, *Of the sense he felt of his loss.*

Thirdly, *Of that honour which he gave him, or that respect and regard which he had unto him.*

I shall speak a little of all these, and then parallel our case, as well as I can, to both.

First, Observe Elijah's *eminency, superiority, dignity, and worth*; which is both signified in the word 'father,' and also in the other expressions, 'the chariot, and horsemen of Israel.' The Talmudists say of the word *Abba*, which is near of kin as can be to this in the text, '*Abba* is a word of honour and glory, even as Rabbi¹:' whence the Latin *Abbas*, and our English *Abbot*, have been derived to denote the greatest person in a society. And, therefore, whom he here calls father, is called elsewhere, 'Master, or lord²;' 'Knowest thou not that Jehovah will take thy lord, (or master,) from thee to-day?' Elijah was the head in the body of the prophets—the *dux gregis*—a main leading man among the rest. And this was by reason of his wisdom, experience, and gray-headed understanding, expressed in the word 'father.' He was a sage and grave person; such a head as was full of prudence, skill, and advice, wherein were moulded many sober and wise resolutions, many weighty and mature determinations, profound and deep notions, holy and pious counsels for the teaching of rawer and greener heads. He was one that did imitate God 'the Father of all,' and in some sort represent Him here below, being an oracle among men. And such instruments God hath always in the world; men of greater height and stature than others, whom He sets up as torches on a hill, to give light to all the regions round about; men of public and universal influence, like the sun itself which illuminates all, and is not sparing of its beams; men whose souls come into the world, as the

¹ אבא הוא לשון כבוד כמו רבי Vid. Buxtorf. *Lex. Talmud.* col. 10.

² אֲדֹנָיִךְ vv. 3, 5.

Chaldee oracle speaks, 'clothed with a great deal of mind', more impregnated than others with divine notions, and having more teeming wombs to enrich the world with the fruit of them; men of wide and capacious souls that can grasp much; and of enlarged, open hearts, to give forth that freely unto men which 'the fatherly mind,' as the same oracle calls God, hath given unto them²; that so, in some sort, they may become fathers in the world, in subordination to God. The Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, is described with 'seven stars in His right hand³,' which were the angels of the churches; men, probably, who were adorned and beautified with more than ordinary brightness of mind and understanding, and did sparkle with more than common heat of love and piety, and did shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. Elijah was such a one; and so was the other Elias, John the Baptist, 'a burning and a shining light⁴;' and so also shall we find our father that is deceased to have been.

Secondly. Take notice of the care which Elijah took of Elisha, and that, first, as a master of his scholar; and, secondly, as a father of his son, or, if you will have both in one, as a fatherly master. Elisha calls him by this name of father, because he was his scholar; and they used commonly to give this title to their masters or teachers: whence *Pirke Avoth* among the Jews—*Capitula Patrum*—is a book that contains the wise sayings and apophthegms of their doctors. And so *πατροπαράδοτος*, in the New Testament—that which is received by tradition from their fathers⁵—signifies nothing else but what their doctors and learned men delivered to them; and therefore they are sometimes called 'the traditions of the elders.'

¹ Χρή σε σπεύδω πρὸς τὸ φάος, καὶ πρὸς πατρός αὐγάς,

"Εὐθεν ἐπέμφθη σοι ψυχὴ πολλὴν ἐσσαμένη νοῦν.—Zoroast. Mag. Log. 13.

² Σύμβολα πατρικὸς νόος ἐνέσπειρε ταῖς ψυχαῖς.—*Ibid.* 49.

³ Rev. i. 16.

⁴ John v. 35.

⁵ 1 Pet. i. 18.

Jubal is called 'the father of such as handle the harp¹;' which signifies the same with that which is said of his brother, 'He was an instructor of artificers in brass and iron².' And hence Solomon saith so often, 'My son, hear the instruction of a father.' So that אבי אבי 'my father, my father,' in the text, is nothing else but רבי רבי 'my master, my master.' Elijah taught and instructed him out of the law, but with such a care and fatherly affection, that Elisha was truly his son as well as his scholar; one whom he loved and tended; whom he wrapped as a child in his mantle when he was following the plough; whom he begot into another shape and made another man; in whose heart he sowed the seeds of true righteousness and godliness, that he might do more good in the world. For what God doth by men, that they many times are said to do. Hence the apostles call Christians 'their little children,' and 'dear children,' whom they had 'travailed in birth withal, till Christ was formed in them³.' They lay in the apostles' wombs, and they brought them forth Christians, and so were truly their spiritual fathers. And we may still see such noble souls which God continues amongst men, 'whose mouths,' as Solomon says, 'are as a well of life, whose lips feed many, and whose tongues are as choice silver⁴:' men that are κοινοὶ πατέρες—'common fathers'—and will embrace every body as a son, so they be but willing to be taught; that have the whole world for their school, and are instilling wholesome notions and rectified apprehensions into men's minds, and implanting 'the truth which is after godliness⁵' in their hearts; men that in all meekness, tenderness, and fatherly affection reprove those that oppose themselves; that endeavour to bring them into their wombs, that, if it be possible, they may beget the life of God, and of His Son Christ, in their

¹ Gen. iv. 21.² Ibid. ver. 22.³ Gal. iv. 19.⁴ Prov. x. 11, 20, 21.⁵ Tit. i. 1.

souls; men who cherish and foster the least gasping, panting life that is in any soul; who endeavour to free this life from any obstructions that dull and oppress it; and so in every sense prove themselves to be the true fathers of the church—common fathers, (as I before expressed it,) neither bound up in themselves, nor addicted to any particular sect, but minding the good of all; who think that they were not born for themselves, nor to be linked to this or that body or party of men, but to be ‘perfect as their heavenly Father is perfect’, who doth good to all, even to the evil and unthankful. Α στωργή, or natural affection, there is in them, which makes them think that every man’s child is their own; and if they could hatch any heavenly life in them, they would willingly cover them under their wings. Such a person was St Paul, who went through fire and water, had a pilgrimage through this world upon nothing but briers and thorns, out of his great love that he bare to men: ‘The care of all the churches lay upon him; and no man could be weak, but he was weak also; no man was offended, but he burned²’—it put him into a kind of fever: and all this was easy to him, because he had the bowels of a father. Such another was St John, who hath every where in his mouth, ‘My little children³.’ A good old father he was who breathed forth nothing but love to man. And it need be no offence, if I add there was a Socrates in Athens, who had so much of this kind of spirit in him, that he styled himself ‘a servant of love,’ and professed that he knew nothing but how to love. He would often acknowledge himself to be an *ignoramus* in all those things whereinto their wise men used to inquire, and that he could say nothing in those controversies that were agitated about the gods and such like, as Maximus Tyrius expressly tells us, but he durst not deny himself to have

¹ Matt. v. 48.

² 2 Cor. xi. 28, 29.

³ 1 John ii. 1.

skill 'in the art of love,' wherein he was continually busied and employed'; instructing their youth, amending their manners, and making them truly virtuous; which thing the ungrateful wretches of the city called 'corrupting their children.' And truly it is very often the lot of these fathers, of whom I am speaking, who nourish up youth in true piety and virtue, to be esteemed by many the corrupters of the fountain—*pestes* rather than *patres* of the places where they live. But they fare no worse than Elijah did, who was accounted 'the troubler of Israel,' though he was 'the chariot and horsemen thereof;' a man so useful, that they could not tell how to want him, though they knew not how to value him. And that is the third thing to which I am to proceed: only let me entreat you that you would think within yourselves in my passage, such a one was the party deceased.

Thirdly. We have here observable *the usefulness of Elijah.* He was not only a father, but 'the chariot and horsemen of Israel'—the security and safeguard of the place where he was. He calls him by this name in an allusion to the chariot wherein he was fetched to heaven, and would express by this form of speech the good service he did for Israel. He was instead of an army to them: like David, worth ten thousand of the people². He alone was able to fight with all their enemies, and by his force to break all their legions in pieces. And, indeed, all good men, especially men of extraordinary wisdom and godliness, such as I have been speaking of, are the guard and defence of the towns where they reside, yea, of the country whereof they are members. They are the tutelar angels of a nation; men that can do more by their prayers

¹ Ἐπεὶ ταύτη βασανιστέον τε καὶ ἀ-
θρηπτεόν τὸν ἔρωτικὸν καὶ λόγον καὶ ἄνδρα,
ἐπιτολητέον τοι καὶ περὶ Σωκράτους ἐκ-
λογίσασθαι, τί ἦν αὐτῷ ταυτὶ τὰ θρυλλού-
μενα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὅποια ἄττα φησὶ περὶ

αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνος· ὅτι ἐστὶ θεράπων τοῦ
ἔρωτος, καὶ λευκὴ στάθμη πρὸς τοὺς κα-
λοὺς, καὶ τὴν τέχνην δεινός.—Max. Tyr.
Dissert. XXIV. § 4.

² 2 Sam. xviii. 3.

and tears, their virtuous and holy actions, than a host of men, wherein none is of less valour than Samson, or the famed Hercules and Achilles. How had it been with Israel, had it not been for Moses, the meekest man on earth, and yet 'terrible as an army with banners'? And in what a case had Samaria often been, if it had not been for this Elisha, the son of Elijah, who was encompassed about with chariots and horses of fire to fight at his command? What, if I say of such men in the phrase of the Platonists, that they are *φύλακες τοῦ κόσμου*—‘the keepers of the world,’ that preserve it from being made like to Sodom and Gomorrah? And if there had been but ten of these holy champions there, they had shielded their heads from the arrows of the Almighty, and kept the showers of fire and brimstone from raining upon them. Good men are the lifeguard of the world; next to God and good angels, they are the walls and bulwarks of a nation; for ‘by their strength they have power with God¹,’ as it is said of Jacob. And so the Chaldee Paraphrast reads these words of my text, ‘Better to Israel by his prayer than chariots and horsemen².’ They are the glory of the world, and without them it would be but a rude rabble, a beast with many heads and no brains, a mere chaos and confusion. And it is by reason of them that it doth not run into such disorder as a company of children would do without their father, or as a multitude of mad soldiers without their skilful leader and commander.

And so I have briefly set before you what Elijah was; what those who are eminent for godliness are; what every good man ought in some measure to be; and what you shall shortly hear our deceased father was in a high degree: men of worth and great renown—‘men of name³’ in a good sense; men that may be taken notice of in the

¹ Hos. xii. 3.

² אנשי השם

³ טוב להון לישראל בעלותיה מרתיבין ופרשין

world; that shine by their wisdom, justice, and goodness; that cheer the world by their love and fatherly care of all; that heartily endeavour to do good, and would not for a world see men perish if they could help it; in a word, men that are as the soul of the world, without whom it would be a stinking and insufferable place.

II. Now let us look a while upon Elisha, and see what he thought of such a man. And,

First. We meet with *his great affection* expressed in the very form of the words, 'My father, my father.' Methinks I feel within myself with what pure, dear, and ardent love he spake these words; what a glowing fire there was in his breast when he thought of his spiritual father. He burnt in love to him, as if some spark had fallen from Elijah's fiery chariot into his heart. He was all in a desire, as if the angels that fetched his father, had lent him a waft of their wings, whereby he strove to fly with him to heaven. There is not a child that can cry more after the breasts that give it suck, and the arms of her that carried it in her womb, than he calls and cries after his father, 'O my father, my father! where shall I find my father? what will become of me without my father?' A tender love and kindness there is to be in our hearts to all men of what nature or nation soever; no man ought to be *φιλαυτος*—'a lover of himself,' but *φιλόανθρωπος*—'a lover of mankind:' yet a more singular cleaving of souls there should be to those that are good; but the most unspeakable and greatest adhesion and union to those by whom we have profited in wisdom and godliness, and whose lips have dropped the words of life into our minds. For, as Solomon hath it, 'There is gold and a multitude of rubies; but the lips of knowledge are a precious jewel'. We should stand affected to them as the Galatians to St Paul, who 'would have pulled out their

¹ Prov. xx. 15.

very eyes, and given them unto him'. They ought to be to us *oculis cariōres*, as the ordinary phrase is—dearer than our eyes: by which speech God expresses His extraordinary love to His people Israel, saying that He kept them 'as the apple of His eye.' And, indeed, it can scarce be otherwise, but that there should be an unknown love between such persons, there being such a secret fascination in frequent converse and familiarity, as entices a man's soul and heart out of himself. Those precepts which we imbibe from another's mouth, naturally call forth a strong affection to flow from us to him; and he who inflames our souls with love to God, will certainly enkindle a subordinate love within us to himself. The words of wisdom smite an ingenuous soul, 'as with a dart,' if I may use the expression of Greg. Thaumaturgus concerning Origen's discourses²—and cannot but wound it both with a love to wisdom and him that shoots those piercing arrows into its heart. They bind a tractable soul, 'as it were, in indissoluble necessities³,' so that it cannot but love those words, and kiss the mouth also, from whence they flow unto it. A teachable mind will hang about a wise man's neck, and thereby they come to cleave and cling as fast together as the soul of Jonathan did unto the soul of David. So the aforesaid Gregory speaks of himself and Origen: 'This David (meaning Origen) hath entangled and bound up my soul in such necessary fetters of love; he hath so tied and even knit me to him, that if I would be disengaged, I cannot quit myself. No: though we depart out of this world, our love cannot die; for I love him even as my own soul; and so my affection must remain for ever⁴.' 'The words

¹ Gal. iv. 15.

² ὡς περ τῶν βέλει.—Greg. Thaumaturgus. *Orat. Panegyric. in Origen.*

³ ὡς περ ὑπὸ τισιν ἀνάγκαις.—Ibid.

⁴ Τοιαύταις τισιν ἀνάγκαις Δαβὶδ οὗτος συσφιγξάμενος ἡμᾶς ἔχειν, νῦν τε καὶ ἐξ

ἐκείνου, οὐδ' εἰ βουλοίμεθα τῶν δεσμῶν αὐτοῦ λελύσθαι δυναμένοις. Οὐ τοίνυν καὶ εἰ ἀποδημήσαιμεν, ἀνήσει τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ θεῖον γράμμα ἔχων οὕτως συνδεόμενος.—Ibid.

of the wise,' saith Solomon, 'are as goads, and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies¹.' If a master fix his doctrine in his scholar's mind, he nails himself likewise with the same stroke *quasi trabali clavo*—'by a pin as strong as a beam,' to his scholar's heart: they mingle souls as they do notions, and mutually pass into each other.

Secondly. We have here likewise *the sense which Elisha had of his great loss*. For these words are expressions of sorrow and lamentation, as appears by the words following: 'And he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in pieces:' and also where we find Joash weeping over this Elisha, and saying these very words of my text, 'O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof².' And methinks I see Elisha himself here bedewing his cheeks with tears, and hear these words sobbed and sighed out of his heart, having lost his dear father, one that took such special care of him whilst he was in the world. Methinks I see his heart rent as well as his garments, and there I see Elijah graven in letters as great as was his love. How could he look on himself and not lament to think that he had lost his head? how could he behold Israel unguarded, and not throw off his own clothes as a token of his sorrow? It is said of Jehoiakim, that 'they shall not lament for him, saying, Ah my brother! or, Ah my sister! they shall not lament for him, saying, Ah lord! or, Ah his glory³!' which both shows that this is a form of speech to denote sorrow, and that it is an honour wicked men shall want, that none shall bemoan their departure. But the just shall be in everlasting remembrance; they shall die desired; and those who can value them, will not let them pass away in silence and with dry eyes. No tears are spent so well as for the want of God and a good friend, or a good man,

¹ Eccl. xii. 11.

² 2 Kings xiii. 14.

³ Jer. xxii. 18.

especially such a one as I before described. And, indeed, who can think of his gracious lips, his profitable and delightful converse, his cordial love, without a sigh and a tear, without saying, 'Ah my father! Ah his glory!' No man will be sooner missed than such a one as he: ten thousand others may steal out of the world, and scarcely any body mind or inquire after them; but let Elijah go away, and you shall have fifty men go three days to seek him, that if it be possible they may enjoy his company a while longer. We find that Jesus himself wept for His friend Lazarus, at which the Jews said, 'Behold, how He loved him'.¹ Two souls, joined together in cordial love, cannot part without a groan, especially a son and his father, a scholar and his master. The child cannot hold itself from crying when it wants the breast that used to feed it; nor can a soul, thirsty of knowledge, but be pained, when the fountain is stopped that used to quench it. There are not so many of these men in the world, but that their loss will be as soon felt as the want of a stake in a rotten hedge, or of a buttress against a bowing wall. He who knows one to have been a light in the world, and a lamp unto him, will surely be melancholy and sad, when he sees that light go out, and himself left in the dark, without that *φίλον φῶς* — 'those cheerful and beloved beams' which used to shine upon him, to illuminate and warm his soul with a true knowledge and love of all real goodness.

Thirdly. We may further take notice of the honourable thoughts he had of Elijah, of the reverence, worship, and respect which he gave unto him. For so we may look upon these words as an expression of the high esteem he had of him, and regard he bare to him, even after he was gone from this earth, and could do no more kindnesses for him. Elisha, who had been a minister to him when

¹ John xi. 35, 36.

he was below, and used to pour water upon his hands, could not but have very reverend thoughts toward him now that the angels came to wait upon him, and in flames of fire to carry him up above. He could not but honour him as his elder and father, as his leader and commander, as the general of the sons of the prophets, as the very host and army of Israel. And, indeed, the souls of those men that are as full of God as the name of Elijah is¹, which includes two, if not three, of the divine names in it, cannot but draw our eyes toward them; but then they so dazzle us with their lustre and brightness, they strike us into such amazement at their perfections, that the weakness of man's nature hath been apt to give no less than divine veneration to such persons. It had not been lawful, I know, to have worshipped Elijah, though he had been an angel; but yet, methinks, I see Elisha bowing down, with some respect, to the very mantle which fell from his master, and taking it up as a precious relique of so holy a man. And I could very well pass some civility upon the gown, in which this holy man departed used to walk, out of the great honour which I bear to him. There was so much of divinity enshrined in this excellent man's soul, that it made every thing about him have a kind of sacredness in it, and will make his name to be always as a sweet odour unto us. Though we may not extol it with divine praises, yet let it never be mentioned by us without the addition of the Hebrew manner of speech, 'His memory is blessed²,' or of the Greek, 'That most blessed man³.'

And so I am fallen unawares in my meditations upon the application of what hath been said of him that is deceased, and to our own selves.

Some perhaps will be angry that I should go about to compare him with Elijah, the man of God; but I have an

¹ אֱלִיָּהוּ

² זכרונו לברכה

³ ὁ πᾶν μακάριτος.

apology ready at hand: they will give me leave, I hope, to do the same that Gregory Nyssen doth, who in his oration at the funeral of his brother Basil, compares him not only with Elias, but with John the Baptist, the second Elias, and with St Paul himself, saying, that one should not err if he should affirm that there was in him and in St Paul ‘one and the same measure of divine love¹.’ Suffer me then to use some of his words concerning him of whom we are now to speak. ‘None will require of human nature to imitate Elijah in his shutting and opening of heaven, in his fasting so many days, and going up to God in a fiery chariot; but in other things we will be bold to compare him with that great man, in his zealous faith, in his cordial love to God, in his earnest desire and thirst after ‘that which truly is’, ‘in an exact and exquisite life’, in a conversation so studied that it was in all things consonant with itself, in most unaffected gravity, wonderful simplicity, and a countenance proportionable to the vigour and strength of his soul, or, in his own words, he had ‘a look that was not one key below his intent, and eager, and sprightly mind⁴.’ If you look upon his care of those things that were hoped for, and neglect of these things that are seen, on his equal love to poor and rich; in these and such like things he imitated the wonders of Elijah. But if any man will needs urge us to strain a little higher, and compare something in him to his fasting forty days; then what say you to an every-day’s temperance? And if there must be something answerable to his going up to heaven in a fiery chariot; then look upon the other way of ascending thither, which is the best, ‘by a high, transcendent, conversation in this world⁵,’ whereby

¹ ἐν μέτρον τῆς ἀγάπης.—Greg. Nyss.
Vol. III. 486 B.

² τοῦ ὄντος ὄντως.—Ibid. 490 A.

³ ζῶν διὰ πάντων ἐξετασμένη.—Ibid.

⁴ βλέμμα τῷ τόνῳ τῆς ψυχῆς συντενωμένον.—Ibid. 490 B.

⁵ διὰ τῆς ὑψηλῆς πολιτείας.—Ibid.
491 D.

he made a chariot of his virtues that he might ascend up unto God.

But that I may proceed in this argument according to our former method,

I. Let us first look upon him in *his eminency, dignity, and worth*. A very glorious star he was, and shone brighter in our eyes than any that he ever looked upon when he took his view of the heavenly bodies: and now he shines as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever, being wise, and having turned many, I believe, unto righteousness.

I shall speak nothing of his *earthly parentage* save only this, that herein he was like to John the Baptist, the last Elias, in that he was born after his parents had been long childless and were grown aged. Some have observed that such have proved very famous; for they seem to be sent on purpose by God into the world to do good, and to be scarce begotten by their parents. Such are something like Isaac, who had a great blessing in him, and seem to be intended by God for some great service and work in the world.

But let us look only at his *heavenly descent*, and see how he was allied to God Himself; for, as the poet says of Æneas,

—*Continget sanguine cælum*¹,

I may say of him as Nazianzen says of his sister: His country was heaven, his town or city was the Jerusalem which is above, his fellow-citizens were the saints, his nobility was 'the retaining of the divine impressions and stamps upon his soul, and being like to God the archetype and first pattern of all goodness².' And, indeed, the preserving of the heavenly symbols that are in our souls, and especially the purging and scouring of them from the

¹ Juv. Sat. XI. 62.

² ἡ τῆς εἰκόνης τήρησης, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐξομολώσις.—Greg. Nazian. Orat. 8, § 6 (ed. Par. 1778).

corruption of nature, he often spake of; and his endeavour was, that the Divine image might be fairly reflected in him, and that it might shine brightly in the face of others.

If I should speak much of *the vastness of his learning* (a thing not to be passed by,) it would seem to say that I knew all he was; which I am not so arrogant as to assume unto myself: this I will say, that he could do what he would. He had such a huge, wide capacity of soul, such a sharp and piercing understanding, such a deep reaching mind, that he set himself about nothing but he soon grasped it, and made himself a full possessor of it. And if we consider *his great industry and indefatigable pains*, his Herculean labours day and night from his first coming to the University¹, till the time of his long sickness, joined with his large parts and his frequent meditation, contemplation, and abstraction of his mind from sensible things; it must needs be concluded that he was a comprehensor of more than I can say or think of; and if I could, it would be too tedious to give you an account of all.

There is a discourse which Charidemus (in Dion Chrysostom) makes to his friends a little before his death²; 'how that this world is God's house, wherein a gallant sumptuous feast is prepared, and all men are His guests: and how that there are two waiters at the table which fill out the wine to them that call for it; the one a man, the other a woman; the one called Νοῦς, or 'mind,' from whose hand all wise men drink, the other Ἀκράτεια, or 'intemperance,' who fills the cups of the lovers of this world.' In this house our beloved friend deceased, staid between four and five and thirty years³, and, I am sure,

¹ April 5, 1636.

² Dion Chrysos. Orat. xxx. p. 563, ed. Reiske, 1798.

³ Our author was, at least, a year older at the time of his death than is here stated. The date of his baptism, accord-

drank most large draughts from the hand of the former; for he was a man, he was a mind, he had nothing of that woman in him, and never in the least was known to sip of her cups. He was a most laborious searcher after wisdom, and never gave his flesh the leisure to please itself in those entertainments; and, therefore, we may be confident with that Charidemus, that God hath taken him to be his *συμπότην καὶ ἐταῖρον*—‘his friend and companion,’ to drink of the rivers of his pleasure. In a word, he was as Eunapius speaks of Longinus, ‘A living library,’ better than that which he hath given to our college, ‘and a walking study,’ that carried his learning about with him¹. I never got so much good among all my books by a whole day’s plodding in a study, as by an hour’s discourse I have got with him. For he was not a library locked up, nor a book clasped, but he stood open for any to converse withal that had a mind to learn. Yea, he was a fountain running over, labouring to do good to those who perhaps had no mind to receive it. None more free and communicative than he was to such as desired to discourse with him; nor would he grudge to be taken off from his studies upon such an occasion. It may be truly said of him, that a man might always come better from him; and his mouth could drop sentences as easily as an ordinary man’s could speak sense. And he was no less happy in expressing his mind, than in conceiving; wherein he seems to have excelled the famous philosopher Plotinus, of whom Porphyry tells us, that he was something careless of his words ‘but, was wholly taken up into his mind².’ He, of whom we now speak, had such a *copia verborum*—a plenty of

ing to the parish register of Achurch, the place of his birth, is February 15, 1617. He died August 7, 1652. Patrick errs still farther on this point in his *Autobiography*, where, speaking of John Smith, he says, ‘he was but thirty-two years old when he died.’—Patrick’s *Works*, Vol. ix.

p. 423, Oxford edition, 1858.

¹ Δογγίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν ἐμψυχὸς καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον.—Eunapius, *Vit. Porphyry*.

² ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦ νοῦ ἐχόμενος.—Porphyry. *Vit. Plotin.* cap. 8, ‘but only intent on the sense.’

words, and those so full, pregnant, and significant, joined with such an active fancy, as is very rarely to be found in the company of such a deep understanding and judgment as dwelt in him.

I have done with his learning, when I have told you that, as he looked upon honours, riches, and the eagerly-pursued things of this world, as vanities; so did he look upon this also as a piece, though a more excellent piece, of vanity, as he was wont to phrase it, if compared with the higher and more divine accomplishments of the soul. For he did not care to value himself by any of those things which were of a perishing nature, which should fail, and cease, and vanish away; but only by those things which were more solid and substantial, of a divine and immortal nature, which he might carry out of the world with him; to which my discourse shall not be long before it descend.

He was of very singular wisdom and great prudence, of admirable skill and readiness in the managery of affairs; which I make an account is an imitation of that providence of God that governs the world¹. His learning was so concocted, that it lay not as an idle notion in his head, but made him fit for any employment. He was very full and clear in all his resolutions at any debates, a most wise counsellor in any difficulties and straits, dexterous in untying any knot, of great judgment in satisfying any scruple or doubt, even in matters of religion. * He was one that soon saw into the depth of any business that was before him, and looked it quite through; that would presently turn it over and over in his mind, and see it on all sides; and he understood things so well at the first sight, that he did not often need any second thoughts, but

¹ John Smith was elected Junior Bursar of Queens' College, Sept. 16, 1645, and Bursar two years later. Probably

his conduct in the discharge of these offices furnished the ground of the above remark.

usually stood to the present resolution and determination of his mind.

And add to this, his known *integrity, uprightness, and faithfulness*; his strong and lively, his waking and truly tender conscience, which, joined with the former things I spoke of, made him more than a man, οἰοί νῦν βροτοί εἶσι—‘as men now go.’ He was, as one of the ancients speaks, ‘an exemplar of true Christian philosophy and virtue¹,’ and as it were the spiritual rule, line, and square thereof; of so poised and even a life, that by his wisdom and conscience, (were it not that every man should know for himself,) one might live almost at a venture, walking blindfold through the world, and not miscarry.

He had *incorporated*, shall I say, or *insouled* all principles of *justice* and *righteousness*, and made them one with himself. So that I may say of him in the phrase of Antoninus, he was ‘dipped into justice as it were over head and ears²:’ he had not a slight, superficial, tincture, but was dyed and coloured quite through with it; so that wheresoever he had a soul, there was justice and righteousness. They who knew him, very well know the truth of all this. And I am persuaded he did as heartily and cordially, as eagerly and earnestly, do what appeared to be just and right, without any self-respect or particular reflections, as any man living.

Methinks I see how earnest he would be in a good matter which appeared to be reasonable and just, as though Justice herself had been in him, looking out at his eyes, and speaking at his mouth. It was a virtue, indeed, that he had a great affection unto, and which he

¹ Σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ φίλων καὶ λόγων τῶν εἰς παράκλησιν, ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἂν οὕτω παρακληθῆναι, ὥς ὑπὸ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου μνήμης· οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι γεγόνατε φιλοσοφίας ὑπόδειγμα, καὶ οἷόν τις στάθμη πνευ-

ματικῇ, τῆς τε ἐν τοῖς χρηστοῖς εὐταξίας, καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀνιανοῖς καρτερίας.—Greg. Nazian. *Epist.* LXXVI. (ed. Par. 1840).

² δικαιοσύνη βεβαμμένον εἰς βάθος.—Marc. Antonin. *Lib.* III. cap. 4.

was very zealous to maintain; in whose quarrel he was in danger to be angry, and sometimes to break forth into a short passion.

But he was always very urgent upon us, that by the grace of God, and the help of the mighty Spirit of Jesus Christ working in us, we would endeavour to purge out the corruption of our natures, and to 'crucify the flesh with all the affections and lusts thereof:' yea, to subdue as much as it is possible even the ἀπροαίρετα in our souls—those first motions that are without our consent, and to labour after purity of heart, that so we might see God. For his endeavour was not only to be ἔξω ἀμαρτίας—out of the pollutions of the world through lust, but, as Plotinus speaks, θεὸν εἶναι¹—to come to the true likeness of God and his Son; or, in the apostle's language, 'to be partaker of the divine nature.' And here now what words shall I use?

What shall I say of his *love*? None that knew him well, but might see in him πηγάζουσιν ἀγάπην, (as Nazianzen, I think, speaks)—love bubbling and springing up in his soul, and flowing out to all; and that love unfeigned, without guile, hypocrisy, or dissimulation. I cannot tell you how his soul was universalized, how tenderly he embraced all God's creatures in his arms, more especially men, and principally those in whom he beheld the image of his heavenly Father. There one might have seen running τὸ συγγενὲς πρὸς τὸ συγγενές, and he would ever have emptied his soul into theirs. Let any that were thoroughly acquainted with him say if I lie. And

¹ Earlier heathen writers than Plotinus furnish examples of the idea here suggested. Hierocles has the following: τότε γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι στάσιν, καὶ θεοποιεῖσθαι, ὅσον οἶόν τε ἀνθρώποις θεοὺς γενέσθαι, μὴνύει ὁ Λόγος διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς.—Hierocl. in *Aur. Carm.* p. 226 (Needham).

In the *Aurea Carmina* themselves we read:

Ἦν δ' ἀπολείψας σῶμα ἐς αἰθέρ' ἐλεύθερον
ἔλθης,

Ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος θεὸς, ἀμβροτος, οὐκ ἔτι
θνητός.

Pythag. *Aur. Carm.* 70.

truly my happiness is that I have such a subject to exercise my young and weak oratory upon, as will admit of little hyperbole.

His *patience* was no less admirable than his love, under a lingering and tedious disease, wherein he never murmured nor complained, but rested quietly satisfied in the infinite unbounded goodness and tenderness of his Father, and the commiserations of Jesus Christ our merciful High Priest, 'who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities¹.' He still resolved with Job, 'Though he kill me, yet will I trust in him².' Nazianzen saith in an epistle to Philagrius, 'O bravely done, most noble soul, who canst play the philosopher, the Christian, in thy sickness and sufferings³;' who canst not only talk, but do; not only do, but suffer! And he told me in his sickness, that he hoped he had learned that for which God sent it, and that he thought God kept him so long in such a case, under such burdens and pressures, that 'patience might have its perfect work in him.' His sickness undoubtedly was, as Nazianzen speaks, 'a learned disease and full of true philosophy,' which taught him more of real Christianity, and made his soul of a more strong, able, athletic habit and temper⁴. For, as St James saith, 'if patience have her perfect work,' then is a soul 'perfect and entire, wanting nothing⁵.' And, really, in his sickness he showed what Christianity and true religion is able to do; what might, power, and virtue there is in it to bear up a soul under the greatest loads; and that he could, through Christ strengthening him, do all that which he so admirably discoursed of in his life.

But for his *humility*—it was that which was most apparent and conspicuous. You might have beheld in

¹ Heb. iv. 15.

² Job xiii. 15.

³ Εὐγε ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖς ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι.—

Greg. Nazian. *Epist.* xxxii. (ed. Par.

1840).

⁴ νόσος φιλόσοφος.—*Epist.* xxxiv.

⁵ James i. 4.

him τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης τὸν ἀκρότατον ὅρον, as the same father speaks—‘true humility in a most eminent degree, and the more eminent, considering how much there was within him which would have swelled and puffed up another.’ But from his first admission into the University, (as I am informed by those that knew him,) he sought not great things for himself, but was contented in the condition wherein he was. He made not haste to rise and climb, as youths are apt to do, which we in these late times too much experience, wherein youths scarce fledged have soared to the highest preferments, but he proceeded leisurely by orderly steps, not to what he could get, but to what he was fit to undertake. He staid God’s time of advancement, with all industry and pains following his studies; as if he rather desired to deserve honour, than to be honoured. He shook off all idleness and sloth, the bane of youth, and so had the blessing of God upon his endeavours, who gave him great encouragement from divers persons of worth, and at last brought him unto this place. And I challenge any one that is impartial to say, if, since he came hither, they ever beheld in him any pride, vain-glory, boasting, self-conceit, desire of honour, and being famous in the world. No: there is not the man living that had the eyes ever to discern any thing of this swollen nature: but, on the contrary, it was easy to take notice of most profound humility and lowliness of mind, which made him a true disciple of Jesus Christ, who took upon Him the form of a servant, and made Himself of no reputation. And I dare say our dear friend was as true, as humble a servant, (without any compliment) to the good of mankind, as any person that this day lives. This was his design in his studies, and, if it had pleased the Lord of life to have prolonged his days, it would have been more of his work: for he was resolved, as he once told me, very much to lay aside other studies, and to

travail in the salvation of men's souls, after whose good he most ardently thirsted.

Shall I add ἐπὶ πάντι, as the apostle speaks—above, or unto all these, his *faith*¹? I say, his true, lively, and working faith, his simple, plain-hearted, naked faith in Christ? It is likely that it did not busy itself about many fine notions, subtilties, and curiosities, or believing whole volumes; but be sure it was that which was firmly set and fixed in the mercy and goodness of God through Christ; that also which brought down Christ into his soul; which drew down heaven into his heart; which sucked in life and strength continually from our Saviour; which made him hearty, serious, and constant in all those fore-named Christian virtues. His faith was not without a soul; but what Isidore saith of faith and works, held true of him—‘His faith was animated, quickened, and actuated by these².’ It made him godlike, and he lived by faith in the Son of God; by it he came to be truly partaker of the righteousness of Christ, and had it wrought and formed in his very soul. For this indeed was the end of his life, the main design which he carried on, that he might become like to God. So that if one should have asked him that question in Antoninus, ‘What is thy art and profession, thy business and employment³?’ he would not have answered, To be a great philosopher, mathematician, historian, or Hebraist, (all which he was in great eminency,) to be a physician, lawyer, general linguist; which names and many more his general skill deserved: but he would have answered, as he doth there, ‘My art is to be good⁴.’ to be a true divine is my care and business, or, in the Christian phrase, ‘To be holy as God is holy, to be perfect

¹ Eph. vi. 16.

² Χρηὶ γὰρ τῇ πίστει κρνεσθαι τὰς πράξεις, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν ψυχουσθαι· νεκρὰ γὰρ εἶη τούτων χωρὶς.—Isidor. Pelus.

Lib. iv. cap. 65.

³ τίς σου ἡ τέχνη.—Marc. Antonin.

Lib. xi. cap. 4.

⁴ Ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.—Marc. Antonin. Ibid.

as my heavenly Father is perfect¹.' All that remember the serious behaviour and weighty expressions he used in his prayers, cannot but call to mind how much his heart was set upon the attainment of this true goodness.

I have transgressed too much my bounds, now it is so late, and trespassed perhaps too much upon your patience; yet I hoped I should not weary you, if I should discourse upon his *ingenuousness*, his *courtesy*, his *gentleness* and *sweetness*, with many other things of the like nature. And let me say thus much, that he was far from that spirit of devouring zeal that now too much rages. He would rather have been consumed in the service of men, than have called for fire down from heaven, as Elijah did, to consume them. And, therefore, though Elijah excelled him in this, that he ascended up to heaven in a fiery chariot; yet herein I may say he was above the spirit of Elijah, that he called for no fire to descend from heaven upon men, but the fire of divine love that might burn up all their hatreds, roughness, and cruelty to each other. But as for *benignity* of mind and Christian kindness, every body that knew him will remember that he ever had their names in his mouth, and I assure them they were no less in his heart and life; as knowing that without these truth itself is in a faction, and Christ is drawn into a party. And this graciousness of spirit was the more remarkable in him, because he was of a temper naturally hot and choleric, as the greatest minds most commonly are. He was wiser than to let any anger rest in his bosom; much less did he suffer it to burn and boil till it was turned into gall and bitterness; and least of all would he endure that any passion should lodge in him, till it was become a cankered malice and black hatred, which men in these days can scarce hide, but let it appear in their countenance and in their carriage towards others.

¹ Matt. v. 48.

If he was at any time moved unto anger, it was but a sudden flushing in his face, and it did as soon vanish as arise; and it used to arise upon no such occasions as I now speak of. No: whensoever he looked upon the fierce and consuming fires that were in men's souls, it made him sad, not angry; and it was his constant endeavour to inspire men's souls with more benign and kindly heats, that they might warm but not scorch their brethren.

And from this spirit, together with the rest of Christian graces that were in him, there did result a great serenity, quiet, and tranquillity in his soul, which dwelt so much above, that it was not shaken with any of those tempests and storms which use to unsettle more low and abject minds. He lived in a continued, sweet, enjoyment of God, and so was not disquieted with scruples or doubts of his salvation. There was always discernible in him a cheerful sense of God's goodness, which ceased not in the time of sickness. But we most longed to see the motions of his soul, when he drew near to the centre of his rest. He that had such a constant feeling of God within him, we might conclude would have the most strong and powerful sense when he came nearer to a close conjunction with Him. But God was pleased to deny this to us, and, by a lethargic distemper which seized on his spirits, he passed the last six days of his life (if I may call it a life) in a kind of sleep, and, without taking much notice of any thing, he slept in the Lord.

And now, have I not described a person of worth and eminency? Have we not reason to be so sad, as you see our faces tell you that we are? But, alas! half of that is not told you which your eyes might have seen, had you been acquainted with him. I want thoughts and words to make a lively portraiture of him: my young experience hath not yet seen to the height or the depth of these things which I have here given you a rude draught of;

and so my conceits and expressions must needs fall far below that excellent degree of beauty wherein they dwelt in him. Let it suffice therefore to say, that I may keep to the word in the text, that he was truly a father, that he wanted ages only to make him reverend; and that, if he had lived many generations ago, and left us the children of his mind to posterity, he might by this time have been numbered among the fathers of the church.

I have almost prevented myself already in the two latter particulars, *his singular care, and his great usefulness*; both which must needs be concluded from the former: his care, I say, of others as a Tutor, his usefulness as a Fellow of this now mournful Society. Let me speak a word or two of either.

Secondly. All his pupils (who are now truly *pupilli*, 'fatherless children,') began to know in his sickness what it was to have and to want a loving father, a faithful tutor; and now they will know it more fully. He was one that did so constantly mind their good, that instilled such excellent, pious, notions into their minds, and gave such light in everything a man could desire to know; that I could have been content, though in this gown, to have been his pupil. His life taught them continual lessons of justice, temperance, prudence, fortitude, and masculine virtue; and, above all, he taught them true dependence upon God, and reference of themselves and all their studies unto Him; with true faith in, and imitation of, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; for which end he often expounded to them out of the holy Scriptures. And for human learning, the many good scholars that came from under his hand do witness how dexterous he was in the training up of youth in all good literature. Porphyry tells us of Plotinus, that he was such a careful person, that sundry noble men and women, with divers others, when they died, committed both their sons and daughters

to his tuition, 'as unto some tutelar angel, or a sacred and divine guardian¹.' Truly those that come hither, are in a manner without father and mother; but they could not be committed to a more loving tutor, a more holy and faithful guardian, that would bring them up in all true learning and piety. If any think that he was too severe, let me tell them that they are such as find fault with the lion, 'because he looks not like an ape, but with a stern, royal, and kingly countenance².' He both looked and spoke like a man that had drunk into his soul such solid, high, and generous principles, as few men are acquainted with, which made him very zealous not only for righteousness, integrity, and holiness, but for decorum in all things. He had a great regard for all those things which are mentioned by the apostle; for 'whatsoever things are true, honest,' (or rather, comely and grave, seemly and venerable, as *σεμνὰ* doth signify,) for all that was 'just, pure, lovely, of good fame and report; if there was any praise, or any virtue³,' he was most earnest and forward in its behalf.

Thirdly. And now what his *usefulness* was, and the *benefit* we received by him, all that bear any share in the government of this Society will be made to know, by the want of him. There is not one but will cry out, with Elisha, 'O the chariot of this place, and the horsemen thereof!' which words seem to express what a necessary man Elias was, and to be just like that of Horace to Mæcenæ when sick, which we may use concerning him that is now dead, 'Our great glory, the pillar upon whose shoulders the weight of business of late lay⁴;' or as he

¹ ὡς ἱερῶ τινι καὶ θεῶ φύλακι.—Porphyry. *Vit. Plotin.* cap. 9.

² Εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν λέοντα αἰτιῶτό τις, ὅτι μὴ πιθήκειον βλέπει, ἀλλὰ βλοσυρὸν καὶ βασιλικόν, οὗ καὶ τὰ σκιρτήματα γενναῖα, καὶ μετὰ θαύματος ἀγαπώ-

μενα.—Greg. Nazian. *Orat.* XLIII. § 64. Ed. Par. 1778.

³ Phil. iv. 8.

⁴ Grande decus, columenque rerum.
Hor. *Carm.* II. 17, 4.

saith in another place, 'O thou who wast both my safeguard and my ornament'¹! who wast a society by thyself, a college in brief, what a loss have we sustained by thy departure!' That must not be resolved by me, nor by any one single person of us, but we must all lay our heads together to tell our loss. To which of us was he not dear? who is there that was not engaged to him? who can think himself as wise as he was when we had him?

And this our high and dear esteem of him, when he was with us, leads me to speak of that honour and reverence which we all express to his name, that affection which is in our hearts to his memory, the sense that is in us of our great and unspeakable loss; in answer to those three foregoing considerations about Elisha. But here I must be very brief, and put all together. There is none that knew his worth, but honour his very dust. And, for my part, I honour him so much, that I wish we might do as the virgins of Israel did for Jephthah's daughter², come once a year hither and lament his death; and so, at once, we might express all these three, our respect, affection, and sense of our loss. His name is most worthy to be had in a more special remembrance, and highly deserves to be ranked among our benefactors, he having endowed our library with all the books that he had, and we wanted; and I have reason to believe that, if he had not been so suddenly surprised by those forgetful lethargic fits, he intended to bestow more upon us than his books, which yet were both many and choice ones, being above six hundred in number, and many of them large and costly; and for the matter of them, many Hebrew books, besides some Arabic, many mathematical books, many books of history, both ancient and modern, and also of philosophy and philology, both sacred and profane.

And whensoever we commemorate his love unto us,

¹ O et præsidium et dulce decus meum.—Hor. *Carm.* I. 1, 2.

² Judg. xi. 40.

let it be with some encomium: let us mourn *quod talem amiserimus*—that we are deprived of such a person; but let us rejoice and give thanks to God *quod talem habuerimus*—that we ever had such a one who hath done us so much good: they are the words of St Hierome to Nepotian, with a little alteration¹.

But let me tell you, in conclusion of all, that herein would be shown our greatest love and affection which we bare to him; this would be the greatest honouring of him, if we would but express his life in ours, that others might say when they behold us, There walks at least a shadow of Mr Smith. And O that I might beg, with Elisha, a double portion among those that I desire should share in the gifts and graces of this Elijah! this is the height of my ambition, that many might but possess the riches that lodged in this one. They disgrace their master who have not skill in that which they say he professed; but they who tread in his steps and excel in his art, shine back again upon him from whom first they received their light. Let me seriously, therefore, exhort every one of us to imitate this master in Israel; imitate him in his industry, if not in his learning; shake off all laziness and sloth; do not *σωματοῦν τὴν ψυχὴν*—imbody and enervate your souls by idleness and base neglect; do not emasculate them and turn them into flesh by drowsiness or vain pleasures. Imitate his temperance, his patience, his fortitude, his candour and ingenuousness, his holiness and righteousness, his faith and love, his charity and humility, his self-denial and true self-resignation to the will of God: in a word, all those Christian virtues which lived in him, let them

¹ Not from the letter of S. Jerome to Nepotian, but from an epistle of his to Heliodorus, consoling him on the occasion of the death of Nepotian. Sed obsecro, ut modum adhibeas in dolore, memor illius sententiæ, 'ne quid nimis:' obliga-

toque parumper vulnere, audias laudes ejus, cujus semper virtute letatus es. Nec doleas, quod talem amiseris, sed gaudeas quod talem habueris.—S. Hieron. *Epitaph. Nepot.*

live in us for ever. Let us die to the world, as he did, before we die: let us separate our souls from our bodies and all bodily things, before the time of our departure and separation come. Let us take an especial heed lest we do *παθεῖν τὸν περίγειον κόσμον*, as most men do—‘lest we suffer this lower and earthly world;’ lest we be drawn forcibly into its embraces, and so held from rising aloft: but let us turn up our minds continually to heaven, and earnestly desire *pati Deum*—‘to suffer God;’ to be mightily and strongly attracted by Him from all earthy and sensible delights, to an admiration and love of His everlasting beauty and goodness. Let us labour to be so well acquainted with Him, and all things of the higher world, and so much disengaged in our affections from this and all that is in it, that when we come to go out of this world, we may never look back and say, O what goodly things do I leave! what a brave world am I snatched from! would I might but live a little longer there! Let us get our hearts so crucified to the world, that it may be an easy thing to us to shake hands with, and bid a farewell to, our friends, the dearest things we have, our lands, houses, goods, and whatsoever is valuable in our eyes. Let us use the world as though we used it not; let us die daily, as our dear friend did; and so it was easy to him to die at last. Die, did I say? shall I use that word, or rather *ἀφίπταται*—‘he is flown away’—as Nazianzen speaks¹; his soul hath got loose, and now feels her wings; or *μετοικίζεται*—‘he hath changed his habitation,’ he is gone into the other world, as Abraham went out of Ur into Canaan; or, as the same father says, *μικρὸν προαποδηεῖ τοῦ σώματος*—‘he hath taken his journey into another country a little before his body²?’ He hath left his body behind him awhile to take a sleep in the dust, and when it awakes at the resurrection, it shall follow also to the

¹ *Orat. funebr. in Gorgon.* 188 D.

² *Ibid.*

same place. Then shall it be made 'a spiritual body;' then shall it have wings given to it also, and be lovingly married again to the soul, never more to suffer any separation. And, at that time, we shall all meet with our dear father and friend again, who now are here remaining, crying out, 'O my father, my father,' &c. 'Then shall all tears be wiped away from our eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain¹.' Then we shall not need such a light as he was; 'for there is no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever².' Amen.

¹ Rev. xxi. 4.

² Ibid. xxii. 5.

Cambridge :

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Now Ready in 9 vols. 8vo. Price £4 14s. 6d., cloth.

THE
THEOLOGICAL WORKS
OF
ISAAC BARROW, D.D.

MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

EDITED BY
THE REV. ALEXANDER NAPIER, M.A.
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

WITH A NOTICE OF BARROW'S LIFE AND ACADEMICAL TIMES

BY W. WHEWELL, D.D.
MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

SOLD AT THE CAMBRIDGE WAREHOUSE,
32, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.
AND BY DEIGHTON, BELL & CO. CAMBRIDGE.

To be had separately, price 12s.

A TREATISE OF
THE POPE'S SUPREMACY,
BY ISAAC BARROW, D.D.

"In the new edition of the Theological Works of Barrow, edited for the Syndics of the University Press at Cambridge by the Rev. ALEXANDER NAPIER, the readings of the original Manuscripts of the Author have been carefully restored, whenever they could be found and deciphered. This circumstance gives an additional philological value to an edition of this great English classic which does the highest honour to the University and to Mr NAPIER in many other respects."

EDINBURGH REVIEW, *April*, 1859.



UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE.
January, 1889.

CATALOGUE OF
WORKS

PUBLISHED FOR THE SYNDICS

OF THE

Cambridge University Press.



London : C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.

GLASGOW : 263, ARGYLE STREET.

Cambridge : DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO.
Leipzig : F. A. BROCKHAUS.

PUBLICATIONS OF
The Cambridge University Press.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, &c.

THE CAMBRIDGE PARAGRAPH BIBLE of the Authorized English Version, with the Text Revised by a Collation of its Early and other Principal Editions, the Use of the Italic Type made uniform, the Marginal References remodelled, and a Critical Introduction prefixed, by F. H. A. SCRIVENER, M.A., LL.D., Editor of the Greek Testament, Codex Augiensis, &c., and one of the Revisers of the Authorized Version. Crown 4to. gilt. 21s.

From the *Times*.

"Students of the Bible should be particularly grateful (to the Cambridge University Press for having produced, with the able assistance of Dr Scrivener, a complete critical edition of the Authorized Version of the English Bible, an edition such as, to use the words of the Editor, 'would have been executed long ago had this version been nothing more than the greatest and best known of English classics.' Falling at a time when the formal revision of this version has been undertaken by a distinguished company of scholars and divines, the publication of this edition must be considered most opportune."

From the *Athenæum*.

"Apart from its religious importance, the English Bible has the glory, which but few sister versions indeed can claim, of being the chief classic of the language, of having, in conjunction with Shakspeare, and in an immeasurable degree more than he, fixed the language beyond any possibility of important change. Thus the recent contributions to the

literature of the subject, by such workers as Mr Francis Fry and Canon Westcott, appeal to a wide range of sympathies; and to these may now be added Dr Scrivener, well known for his labours in the cause of the Greek Testament criticism, who has brought out, for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, an edition of the English Bible, according to the text of 1611, revised by a comparison with later issues on principles stated by him in his Introduction. Here he enters at length into the history of the chief editions of the version, and of such features as the marginal notes, the use of italic type, and the changes of orthography, as well as into the most interesting question as to the original texts from which our translation is produced."

From the *London Quarterly Review*.

"The work is worthy in every respect of the editor's fame, and of the Cambridge University Press. The noble English Version, to which our country and religion owe so much, was probably never presented before in so perfect a form."

THE CAMBRIDGE PARAGRAPH BIBLE. STUDENT'S EDITION, on *good writing paper*, with one column of print and wide margin to each page for MS. notes. This edition will be found of great use to those who are engaged in the task of Biblical criticism. Two Vols. Crown 4to. gilt. 31s. 6d.

THE AUTHORIZED EDITION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE (1611), ITS SUBSEQUENT REPRINTS AND MODERN REPRESENTATIVES. Being the Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible (1873), re-edited with corrections and additions. By F. H. A. SCRIVENER, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Prebendary of Exeter and Vicar of Hendon. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THE LECTIONARY BIBLE, WITH APOCRYPHA, divided into Sections adapted to the Calendar and Tables of Lessons of 1871. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse,
Ave Maria Lane.

BREVIARIUM AD USUM INSIGNIS ECCLESIAE SARUM. Juxta Editionem maximam pro CLAUDIO CHEVALLON ET FRANCISCO REGNAULT A.D. MDXXXI. in Alma Parisiorum Academia impressam: labore ac studio FRANCISCI PROCTER, A.M., ET CHRISTOPHORI WORDSWORTH, A.M.

FASCICULUS I. In quo continentur KALENDARIVM, et ORDO TEMPORALIS sive PROPRIUM DE TEMPORE TOTIUS ANNI, una cum ordinali suo quod usitato vocabulo dicitur PICA SIVE DIRECTORIUM SACERDOTUM. Demy 8vo. 18s.

"The value of this reprint is considerable to liturgical students, who will now be able to consult in their own libraries a work absolutely indispensable to a right understanding of the history of the Prayer-Book, but which till now usually necessitated a visit to some public library, since the rarity of the volume made its

cost prohibitory to all but a few. . . Messrs Procter and Wordsworth have discharged their editorial task with much care and judgment, though the conditions under which they have been working are such as to hide that fact from all but experts."—*Literary Churchman*.

FASCICULUS II. In quo continentur PSALTERIVM, cum ordinario Officii totius hebdomadae juxta Horas Canonicas, et proprio Completorii, LITANIA, COMMUNE SANCTORUM, ORDINARIUM MISSAE CUM CANONE ET XIII MISSIS, &c. &c. Demy 8vo. 12s.

"Not only experts in liturgiology, but all persons interested in the history of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, will be grateful to the Syndicate of the Cambridge University Press for forwarding the publication of the volume which bears the above title, and which has recently appeared under their auspices."—*Notes and Queries*.

"Cambridge has worthily taken the lead with the Breviary, which is of especial value for that part of the reform of the Prayer-Book which will fit it for the wants of our time . . .

For all persons of religious tastes the Breviary, with its mixture of Psalm and Anthem and Prayer and Hymn, all hanging one on the other, and connected into a harmonious whole, must be deeply interesting."—*Church Quarterly Review*.

"The editors have done their work excellently, and deserve all praise for their labours in rendering what they justly call 'this most interesting Service-book' more readily accessible to historical and liturgical students."—*Saturday Review*.

FASCICULUS III. In quo continetur PROPRIUM SANCTORUM quod et sanctorale dicitur, una cum accentuario. Demy 8vo. 15s.

FASCICULI I. II. III. complete, £2. 2s.

BREVIARIUM ROMANUM a FRANCISCO CARDINALI QUIGNONIO editum et recognitum iuxta editionem Venetiis A.D. 1535 impressam curante JOHANNE WICKHAM LEGG Societatis Antiquariorum atque Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium Socio in Nosocomio Sancti Bartholomaei olim Praelectore. Demy 8vo. 12s.

GREEK AND ENGLISH TESTAMENT, in parallel Columns on the same page. Edited by J. SCHOLEFIELD, M.A. Small Octavo. New Edition, with the Marginal References as arranged and revised by Dr SCRIVENER. Cloth, red edges. 7s. 6d.

GREEK AND ENGLISH TESTAMENT. THE STUDENT'S EDITION of the above, on *large writing paper*. 4to. 12s.

GREEK TESTAMENT, ex editione Stephani tertia, 1550. Small 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK according to the text followed in the Authorised Version, with the Variations adopted in the Revised Version. Edited by F. H. A. SCRIVENER, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D. Crown 8vo. 6s. Morocco boards or limp. 12s. *The Revised Version is the Joint Property of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.*

THE PARALLEL NEW TESTAMENT GREEK AND ENGLISH, being the Authorised Version set forth in 1611 Arranged in Parallel Columns with the Revised Version of 1881, and with the original Greek, as edited by F. H. A. SCRIVENER, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d. *The Revised Version is the Joint Property of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.*

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK ACCORDING TO THE SEPTUAGINT. Edited by H. B. SWETE, D.D., Honorary Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Vol. I. Genesis—IV Kings. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Volume II. By the same Editor.

[In the Press.]

"Der Zweck dieser Ausgabe, den ganzen in den erwähnten Hss. vorliegenden kritischen Stoff übersichtlich zusammenzustellen und dem Benützer das Nachschlagen in den Separat-Ausgaben jener Codices zu ersparen, ist hier in compendiösester Weise vortrefflich erreicht. Bezüglich der Klarheit, Schönheit und Correctheit des Drucks gebührt der Ausgabe das höchste Lob. Da zugleich der Preis sehr niedrig gestellt ist, so ist zu hoffen und zu wünschen, dass sie auch außerhalb des englischen Sprachkreises ihre Verbreitung finden werde.

Bezüglich der Accente und Spiritus der Eigennamen sind die Herausg. ihre eigenen Wege gegangen."—*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*.

"The Edition has been executed in the very best style of Cambridge accuracy, which has no superior anywhere, and this is enough to put it at the head of the list of editions for manual use."—*Academy*.

"An edition, which for ordinary purposes will probably henceforth be that in use by readers of the Septuagint."—*Guardian*.

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES, with Notes and Introduction. By the Very Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Dean of Wells. Large Paper Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MATTHEW in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions, synoptically arranged: with Collations exhibiting all the Readings of all the MSS. Edited by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D., Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon. **New Edition.** Demy 4to. 10s.

"By the publication of the present volume Prof. Skeat has brought to its conclusion a work planned more than a half century ago by the late J. M. Kemble... Students of English have every reason to be grateful to Prof. Skeat

for the scholarly and accurate way in which he has performed his laborious task. Thanks to him we now possess a reliable edition of all the existing MSS. of the old English Gospels."—*Academy*.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MARK, uniform with the preceding, by the same Editor. Demy 4to. 10s.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST LUKE, uniform with the preceding, by the same Editor. Demy 4to. 10s.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST JOHN, uniform with the preceding, by the same Editor. Demy 4to. 10s.

"The Gospel according to St John, in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions: Edited for the Syndics of the University Press, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A., completes an undertaking designed and commenced by that distinguished scholar, J. M.

Kemble, some forty years ago. Of the particular volume now before us, we can only say it is worthy of its two predecessors. We repeat that the service rendered to the study of Anglo-Saxon by this Synoptic collection cannot easily be overstated."—*Contemporary Review*.

THE POINTED PRAYER BOOK, being the Book of Common Prayer with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches. Royal 24mo. 1s. 6d.

The same in square 32mo. cloth. 6d.

THE CAMBRIDGE PSALTER, for the use of Choirs and Organists. Specially adapted for Congregations in which the "Cambridge Pointed Prayer Book" is used. Demy 8vo. cloth extra, 3s. 6d. cloth limp, cut flush. 2s. 6d.

THE PARAGRAPH PSALTER, arranged for the use of Choirs by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Fcap. 4to. 5s.

The same in royal 32mo. Cloth 1s. Leather 1s. 6d.

THE MISSING FRAGMENT OF THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF EZRA, discovered, and edited with an Introduction and Notes, and a facsimile of the MS., by ROBERT L. BENSLEY, M.A., Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic. Demy 4to. 10s.

"It has been said of this book that it has added a new chapter to the Bible, and, startling as the statement may at first sight appear, it is no exaggeration of the actual fact, if by the

Bible we understand that of the larger size which contains the Apocrypha, and if the Second Book of Esdras can be fairly called a part of the Apocrypha."—*Saturday Review*.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEICESTER CODEX OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A. With 3 plates. Demy 4to. 10s. 6d.

CODEX S. CEADDAE LATINUS. Evangelia SSS. Matthaei, Marci, Lucae ad cap. III. 9 complectens, circa septimum vel octavum saeculum scriptus, in Ecclesia Cathedrali Lichfeldiensis servatus. Cum codice versionis Vulgatae Amiatino contulit, prolegomena conscripsit, F. H. A. SCRIVENER, A.M., D.C.L., LL.D., With 3 plates. £1. 1s.

THEOLOGY—(ANCIENT).

THE GREEK LITURGIES. Chiefly from original Authorities. By C. A. SWAINSON, D.D., late Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. Crown 4to. Paper covers. 15s.

"Jeder folgende Forscher wird dankbar anerkennen, dass Swainson das Fundament zu einer historisch-kritischen Geschichte der

Griechischen Liturgien sicher gelegt hat."—ADOLPH HARNACK, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA'S COMMENTARY ON THE MINOR EPISTLES OF S. PAUL. The Latin Version with the Greek Fragments, edited from the MSS. with Notes and an Introduction, by H. B. SWETE, D.D. In Two Volumes. Volume I., containing the Introduction, with Facsimiles of the MSS., and the Commentary upon Galatians—Colossians. Demy 8vo. 12s.

"In dem oben verzeichneten Buche liegt uns die erste Hälfte einer vollständigen, ebenso sorgfältig gearbeiteten wie schön ausgestatteten Ausgabe des Commentars mit ausführlichen Prolegomena und reichhaltigen kritischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen vor."—*Literarisches Centralblatt*.

"It is the result of thorough, careful, and patient investigation of all the points bearing on the subject, and the results are presented with admirable good sense and modesty."—*Guardian*.

"Auf Grund dieser Quellen ist der Text bei Swete mit musterhafter Akribie hergestellt. Aber auch sonst hat der Herausgeber mit unermüdlichem Fleisse und eingehendster Sachkenntnis sein Werk mit allen denjenigen Zugaben ausgerüstet, welche bei einer solchen Text-Ausgabe nur irgend erwartet werden können. . . . Von den drei Haupt-

handschriften . . . sind vortreffliche photographische Facsimile's beigegeben, wie überhaupt das ganze Werk von der *University Press* zu Cambridge mit bekannter Eleganz ausgestattet ist."—*Theologische Literaturzeitung*.

"It is a hopeful sign, amid forebodings which arise about the theological learning of the Universities, that we have before us the first instalment of a thoroughly scientific and painstaking work, commenced at Cambridge and completed at a country rectory."—*Church Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1881).

"Herrn Swete's Leistung ist eine so tüchtige dass wir das Werk in keinen besseren Händen wissen möchten, und mit den sichersten Erwartungen auf das Gelingen der Fortsetzung entgegen sehen."—*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (Sept. 1881).

VOLUME II., containing the Commentary on 1 Thessalonians—Philemon, Appendices and Indices. 12s.

"Eine Ausgabe . . . für welche alle zugänglichen Hülfsmittel in musterhafter Weise benützt wurden . . . eine reife Frucht siebenjährigen Fleisses."—*Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Sept. 23, 1882).

"Mit derselben Sorgfalt bearbeitet die wir bei dem ersten Theile gerühmt haben."—*Literarisches Centralblatt* (July 29, 1882).

"M. Jacobi . . . commença . . . une édition du texte. Ce travail a été repris en Angleterre et

mené à bien dans les deux volumes que je signale en ce moment. . . Elle est accompagnée de notes érudites, suivie de divers appendices, parmi lesquels on appréciera surtout un recueil des fragments des oeuvres dogmatiques de Théodore, et précédée d'une introduction où sont traitées à fond toutes les questions d'histoire littéraire qui se rattachent soit au commentaire lui-même, soit à sa version Latine."—*Bulletin Critique*, 1885.

SAYINGS OF THE JEWISH FATHERS, comprising Pirke Aboth and Pereq R. Meir in Hebrew and English, with Critical and Illustrative Notes. By CHARLES TAYLOR, D.D., Master of St John's College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 10s.

"The 'Masseketh Aboth' stands at the head of Hebrew non-canonical writings. It is of ancient date, claiming to contain the dicta of teachers who flourished from B.C. 200 to the same year of our era. Mr Taylor's explanatory and illustrative commentary is very full and satisfactory."—*Spectator*.

"A careful and thorough edition which does credit to English scholarship, of a short treatise from the Mishna, containing a series of sentences or maxims ascribed mostly to Jewish teachers immediately preceding, or immediately following the Christian era. . . ."—*Contemporary Review*.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

- A COLLATION OF THE ATHOS CODEX OF THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS. Together with an Introduction by SPYR. P. LAMBROS, PH. D., translated and edited with a Preface and Appendices by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, M.A., Fellow and Dean of Christ's College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- THE PALESTINIAN MISHNA. By W. H. LOWE, M.A., Lecturer in Hebrew at Christ's College, Cambridge. Royal 8vo. 21s.
- SANCTI IRENÆI EPISCOPI LUGDUNENSIS libros quinque adversus Hæreses, versione Latina cum Codicibus Claromontano ac Arundeliano denuo collata, præmissa de placitis Gnosticorum prolusione, fragmenta necnon Græce, Syriace, Armeniace, commentatione perpétua et indicibus variis edidit W. WIGAN HARVEY, S.T.B. Collegii Regalis olim Socius. 2 Vols. 8vo. 18s.
- M. MINUCII FELICIS OCTAVIUS. The text revised from the original MS., with an English Commentary, Analysis, Introduction, and Copious Indices. Edited by H. A. HOLDEN, LL.D. Examiner in Greek to the University of London. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- THEOPHILI EPISCOPI ANTIOCHENSIS LIBRI TRES AD AUTOLYCUM edidit, Prolegomenis Versione Notulis Indicibus instruxit G. G. HUMPHRY, S.T.B. Post 8vo. 5s.
- THEOPHYLACTI IN EVANGELIUM S. MATTHÆI COMMENTARIUS, edited by W. G. HUMPHRY, B.D. Prebendary of St Paul's, late Fellow of Trinity College. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- TERTULLIANUS DE CORONA MILITIS, DE SPEC-TACULIS, DE IDOLOLATRIA, with Analysis and English Notes, by GEORGE CURREY, D.D. Preacher at the Charter House, late Fellow and Tutor of St John's College. Crown 8vo. 5s.
- FRAGMENTS OF PHILO AND JOSEPHUS. Newly edited by J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. With two Facsimiles. Demy 4to. 12s. 6d.
- THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES. Newly edited, with Facsimile Text and Commentary, by J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A. Demy 4to. £1. 1s.

THEOLOGY—(ENGLISH).

- WORKS OF ISAAC BARROW, compared with the Original MSS., enlarged with Materials hitherto unpublished. A new Edition, by A. NAPIER, M.A. 9 Vols. Demy 8vo. £3. 3s.
- TREATISE OF THE POPE'S SUPREMACY, and a Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church, by ISAAC BARROW. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- PEARSON'S EXPOSITION OF THE CREED, edited by TEMPLE CHEVALLIER, B.D. New Edition. Revised by R. SINKER, B.D., Librarian of Trinity College. Demy 8vo. 12s.

"A new edition of Bishop Pearson's famous work *On the Creed* has just been issued by the Cambridge University Press. It is the well-known edition of Temple Chevallier, thoroughly overhauled by the Rev. R. Sinker, of Trinity College. The whole text and notes have been most carefully examined and corrected, and special pains have been taken to verify the almost innumerable references. These have been more clearly and accurately given in very many

places, and the citations themselves have been adapted to the best and newest texts of the several authors—texts which have undergone vast improvements within the last two centuries. The Indices have also been revised and enlarged.....Altogether this appears to be the most complete and convenient edition as yet published of a work which has long been recognised in all quarters as a standard one."—*Guardian*.

London: C. J. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EXPOSITION OF THE
CREED written by the Right Rev. JOHN PEARSON, D.D. late Lord
Bishop of Chester, by W. H. MILL, D.D. Demy 8vo. 5s.

WHEATLY ON THE COMMON PRAYER, edited by
G. E. CORRIE, D.D. late Master of Jesus College. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

TWO FORMS OF PRAYER OF THE TIME OF QUEEN
ELIZABETH. Now First Reprinted. Demy 8vo. 6d.

"From 'Collections and Notes' 1867-1876,
by W. Carew Hazlitt (p. 340), we learn that—
'A very remarkable volume, in the original
vellum cover, and containing 25 Forms of
Prayer of the reign of Elizabeth, each with the
autograph of Humphrey Dyson, has lately fallen
into the hands of my friend Mr H. Pyne. It is
mentioned specially in the Preface to the Par-

ker Society's volume of Occasional Forms of
Prayer, but it had been lost sight of for 200
years.' By the kindness of the present pos-
sessor of this valuable volume, containing in all
25 distinct publications, I am enabled to re-
print in the following pages the two Forms
of Prayer supposed to have been lost."—*Ex-
tract from the PREFACE.*

CÆSAR MORGAN'S INVESTIGATION OF THE
TRINITY OF PLATO, and of Philo Judæus, and of the effects
which an attachment to their writings had upon the principles and
reasonings of the Fathers of the Christian Church. Revised by H. A.
HOLDEN, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 4s.

SELECT DISCOURSES, by JOHN SMITH, late Fellow of
Queens' College, Cambridge. Edited by H. G. WILLIAMS, B.D. late
Professor of Arabic. Royal 8vo. 7s. 6d.

"The 'Select Discourses' of John Smith,
collected and published from his papers after
his death, are, in my opinion, much the most
considerable work left to us by this Cambridge
School [the Cambridge Platonists]. They have
a right to a place in English literary history."
—Mr MATTHEW ARNOLD, in the *Contem-
porary Review*.

"Of all the products of the Cambridge
School, the 'Select Discourses' are perhaps
the highest, as they are the most accessible
and the most widely appreciated...and indeed
no spiritually thoughtful mind can read them
unmoved. They carry us so directly into an
atmosphere of divine philosophy, luminous

with the richest lights of meditative genius...
He was one of those rare thinkers in whom
largeness of view, and depth, and wealth of
poetic and speculative insight, only served to
evoke more fully the religious spirit, and while
he drew the mould of his thought from Plotinus,
he vivified the substance of it from St Paul."—
Principal TULLOCH, *Rational Theology in
England in the 17th Century*.

"We may instance Mr Henry Griffin Wil-
liams's revised edition of Mr John Smith's
'Select Discourses,' which have won Mr
Matthew Arnold's admiration, as an example
of worthy work for an University Press to
undertake."—*Times*.

THE HOMILIES, with Various Readings, and the Quo-
tations from the Fathers given at length in the Original Languages.
Edited by the late G. E. CORRIE, D.D. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

DE OBLIGATIONE CONSCIENTIÆ PRÆLECTIONES
decem Oxonii in Schola Theologica habitæ a ROBERTO SANDERSON,
SS. Theologiæ ibidem Professore Regio. With English Notes,
including an abridged Translation, by W. WHEWELL, D.D. late
Master of Trinity College. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

ARCHBISHOP USHER'S ANSWER TO A JESUIT,
with other Tracts on Popery. Edited by J. SCHOLEFIELD, M.A. late
Regius Professor of Greek in the University. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

WILSON'S ILLUSTRATION OF THE METHOD OF
explaining the New Testament, by the early opinions of Jews and
Christians concerning Christ. Edited by T. TURTON, D.D. 8vo. 5s.

LECTURES ON DIVINITY delivered in the University
of Cambridge, by JOHN HEY, D.D. Third Edition, revised by T.
TURTON, D.D. late Lord Bishop of Ely. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. 15s.

S. AUSTIN AND HIS PLACE IN THE HISTORY
OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT. Being the Hulsean Lectures for
1885. By W. CUNNINGHAM, B.D. Demy 8vo. Buckram, 12s. 6d.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse,
Ave Maria Lane.

ARABIC, SANSKRIT, SYRIAC, &c.

THE DIVYÂVADÂNA, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends, now first edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit MSS. in Cambridge and Paris. By E. B. COWELL, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge, and R. A. NEIL, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College. Demy 8vo. 18s.

POEMS OF BEHA ED DIN ZOHEIR OF EGYPT. With a Metrical Translation, Notes and Introduction, by E. H. PALMER, M.A., Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple, late Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, formerly Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. 2 vols. Crown 4to.

Vol. I. THE ARABIC TEXT. 10s. 6d.

Vol. II. ENGLISH TRANSLATION. 10s. 6d.; cloth extra. 15s.

"We have no hesitation in saying that in both Prof. Palmer has made an addition to Oriental literature for which scholars should be grateful; and that, while his knowledge of Arabic is a sufficient guarantee for his mastery of the original, his English compositions are distinguished by versatility, command of language, rhythmical cadence, and, as we have

remarked, by not unskilful imitations of the styles of several of our own favourite poets, living and dead."—*Saturday Review*.

"This sumptuous edition of the poems of Behâ-ed-din Zoheir is a very welcome addition to the small series of Eastern poets accessible to readers who are not Orientalists."—*Academy*.

THE CHRONICLE OF JOSHUA THE STYLITE, composed in Syriac A.D. 507 with an English translation and notes, by W. WRIGHT, LL.D., Professor of Arabic. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

"Die lehrreiche kleine Chronik Josuas hat nach Assemani und Martin in Wright einen dritten Bearbeiter gefunden, der sich um die Emendation des Textes wie um die Erklärung der Realien wesentlich verdient gemacht hat . . . Ws. Josua-Ausgabe ist eine sehr dankenswerte Gabe und besonders empfehlenswert als

ein Lehrmittel für den syrischen Unterricht; es erscheint auch gerade zur rechten Zeit, da die zweite Ausgabe von Roedigers syrischer Chrestomathie im Buchhandel vollständig vergriffen und diejenige von Kirsch-Bernstein nur noch in wenigen Exemplaren vorhanden ist."—*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*.

KALILAH AND DIMNAH, OR, THE FABLES OF BIDPAI; being an account of their literary history, together with an English Translation of the same, with Notes, by I. G. N. KEITH-FALCONER, M.A., late Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

NALOPÂKHYÂNAM, OR, THE TALE OF NALA; containing the Sanskrit Text in Roman Characters, followed by a Vocabulary and a sketch of Sanskrit Grammar. By the late Rev. THOMAS JARRETT, M.A. Trinity College, Regius Professor of Hebrew. Demy 8vo. 10s.

NOTES ON THE TALE OF NALA, for the use of Classical Students, by J. PEILE, Litt.D., Master of Christ's College. Demy 8vo. 12s.

CATALOGUE OF THE BUDDHIST SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS in the University Library, Cambridge. Edited by C. BENDALL, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Demy 8vo. 12s.

"It is unnecessary to state how the compilation of the present catalogue came to be placed in Mr Bendall's hands; from the character of his work it is evident the selection was judicious, and we may fairly congratulate

those concerned in it on the result. . . Mr Bendall has entitled himself to the thanks of all Oriental scholars, and we hope he may have before him a long course of successful labour in the field he has chosen."—*Athenaeum*.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. Edited from Five Manuscripts, with an English Translation and Notes, by E. A. W. BUDGE, M.A., Christ's College. [Nearly ready.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS, &c.

SOPHOCLES: The Plays and Fragments, with Critical Notes, Commentary, and Translation in English Prose, by R. C. JEBB, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow.

Part I. Oedipus Tyrannus. Demy 8vo. *New Edition.* 12s. 6d.

Part II. Oedipus Coloneus. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

Part III. Antigone. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

Part IV. Philoctetes.

[In the Press.]

"Of his explanatory and critical notes we can only speak with admiration. Thorough scholarship combines with taste, erudition, and boundless industry to make this first volume a pattern of editing. The work is made complete by a prose translation, upon pages alternating with the text, of which we may say shortly that it displays sound judgment and taste, without sacrificing precision to poetry of expression."—*The Times*.

"Professor Jebb's edition of Sophocles is already so fully established, and has received such appreciation in these columns and elsewhere, that we have judged this third volume when we have said that it is of a piece with the others. The whole edition so far exhibits perhaps the most complete and elaborate editorial work which has ever appeared."—*Saturday Review*.

"Prof. Jebb's keen and profound sympathy, not only with Sophocles and all the best of ancient Hellenic life and thought, but also with modern European culture, constitutes him an ideal interpreter between the ancient writer and the modern reader."—*Athenæum*.

"It would be difficult to praise this third instalment of Professor Jebb's unequalled edition of Sophocles too warmly, and it is almost a work of supererogation to praise it at all. It is equal, at least, and perhaps superior, in merit, to either of his previous instalments; and when this is said, all is said. Yet we cannot refrain from formally recognising once more the consummate Greek scholarship of the editor, and from once more doing grateful homage to his masterly tact and literary skill, and to his unwearied and marvellous industry."—*Spectator*.

AESCHYLI FABULAE.—ΙΚΕΤΙΔΕΣ ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ IN LIBRO MEDICEO MENDOSE SCRIPTAE EX VV. DD. CONIECTURIS EMENDATIUS EDITAE cum Scholiis Graecis et brevi adnotatione critica, curante F. A. PALEY, M.A., LL.D. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THE AGAMEMNON OF AESCHYLUS. With a Translation in English Rhythm, and Notes Critical and Explanatory. **New Edition Revised.** By BENJAMIN HALL KENNEDY, D.D., Regius Professor of Greek. Crown 8vo. 6s.

"One of the best editions of the masterpiece of Greek tragedy."—*Athenæum*.

THE THEÆTETUS OF PLATO with a Translation and Notes by the same Editor. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

ARISTOTLE.—ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ. ARISTOTLE'S PSYCHOLOGY, in Greek and English, with Introduction and Notes, by EDWIN WALLACE, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford. Demy 8vo. 18s.

"The notes are exactly what such notes ought to be,—helps to the student, not mere displays of learning. By far the more valuable parts of the notes are neither critical nor literary, but philosophical and expository of the thought, and of the connection of thought, in the treatise itself. In this relation the notes are invaluable. Of the translation, it may be said that an English reader may fairly master by means of it this great treatise of Aristotle."—*Spectator*.

"Wallace's Bearbeitung der Aristotelischen Psychologie ist das Werk eines denkenden und in allen Schriften des Aristoteles und grössten-theils auch in der neueren Litteratur zu denselben belese- nen Mannes. . . Der schwächste Teil der Arbeit ist der kritische. . . Aber in allen diesen Dingen liegt auch nach der Absicht des Verfassers nicht der Schwerpunkt seiner Arbeit, sondern."—Prof. Susemihl in *Philologische Wochenschrift*.

ARISTOTLE.—ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ. THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS OF ARISTOTLE. Edited by HENRY JACKSON, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 6s.

"It is not too much to say that some of the points he discusses have never had so much light thrown upon them before. . . . Scholars

will hope that this is not the only portion of the Aristotelian writings which he is likely to edit."—*Athenæum*.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

ARISTOTLE. THE RHETORIC. With a Commentary by the late E. M. COPE, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, revised and edited by J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. With a biographical Memoir by the late H. A. J. MUNRO, Litt.D. 3 Vols., Demy 8vo. **Now reduced to 21s. (originally published at 31s. 6d.)**

"This work is in many ways creditable to the University of Cambridge. If an English student wishes to have a full conception of what is contained in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, to Mr Cope's edition he must go."—*Academy*.

"Mr Sandys has performed his arduous duties with marked ability and admirable tact. . . . In every part of his work—revising, supplementing, and completing—he has done exceedingly well."—*Examiner*.

PINDAR. OLYMPIAN AND PYTHIAN ODES. With Notes Explanatory and Critical, Introductions and Introductory Essays. Edited by C. A. M. FENNELL, Litt.D., late Fellow of Jesus College. Crown 8vo. 9s.

"Mr Fennell deserves the thanks of all classical students for his careful and scholarly edition of the Olympian and Pythian odes. He brings to his task the necessary enthusiasm for his author, great industry, a sound judgment, and, in particular, copious and minute learning

in comparative philology."—*Athenæum*.

"Considered simply as a contribution to the study and criticism of Pindar, Mr Fennell's edition is a work of great merit."—*Saturday Review*.

THE ISTHMIAN AND NEMEAN ODES. By the same Editor. Crown 8vo. 9s.

"... As a handy and instructive edition of a difficult classic no work of recent years surpasses Mr Fennell's 'Pindar.'"—*Athenæum*.

"This work is in no way inferior to the previous volume. The commentary affords

valuable help to the study of the most difficult of Greek authors, and is enriched with notes on points of scholarship and etymology which could only have been written by a scholar of very high attainments."—*Saturday Review*.

PRIVATE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES, with Introductions and English Notes, by the late F. A. PALEY, M.A. and J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Fellow and Tutor of St John's College, and Public Orator in the University of Cambridge.

PART I. Contra Phormionem, Lacritum, Pantaenetus, Boeotum de Nomine, Boeotum de Dote, Dionysodorum. **New Edition.** Crown 8vo. 6s.

"Mr Paley's scholarship is sound and accurate, his experience of editing wide, and if he is content to devote his learning and abilities to the production of such manuals as these, they will be received with gratitude throughout the higher schools of the country. Mr Sandys is deeply read in the German

literature which bears upon his author, and the elucidation of matters of daily life, in the delineation of which Demosthenes is so rich, obtains full justice at his hands. . . . We hope this edition may lead the way to a more general study of these speeches in schools than has hitherto been possible."—*Academy*.

PART II. Pro Phormione, Contra Stephanum I. II.; Nicostratum, Cononem, Calliclem. **New Edition.** Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

"It is long since we have come upon a work evincing more pains, scholarship, and varied research and illustration than Mr Sandys's contribution to the 'Private Orations of De-

mosthenes'."—*Saturday Review*.
"... the edition reflects credit on Cambridge scholarship, and ought to be extensively used."—*Athenæum*.

DEMOSTHENES AGAINST ANDROTION AND AGAINST TIMOCRATES, with Introductions and English Commentary, by WILLIAM WAYTE, M.A., late Professor of Greek, University College, London. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

"These speeches are highly interesting, as illustrating Attic Law, as that law was influenced by the exigencies of politics. . . . As vigorous examples of the great orator's style, they are worthy of all admiration; and they have the advantage—not inconsiderable when the actual attainments of the average school-boy are considered—of having an easily com-

prehended subject matter. . . . Besides a most lucid and interesting introduction, Mr Wayte has given the student effective help in his running commentary. We may note, as being so well managed as to form a very valuable part of the exegesis, the summaries given with every two or three sections throughout the speech."—*Spectator*.

PLATO'S PHÆDO, literally translated, by the late E. M. COPE, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, revised by HENRY JACKSON, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College. Demy 8vo. 5s.

P. VERGILI MARONIS OPERA cum Prolegomenis et Commentario Critico edidit B. H. KENNEDY, S.T.P., Graecae Linguae Prof. Regius. Extra Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

THE BACCHAE OF EURIPIDES. With Introduction, Critical Notes, and Archæological Illustrations, by J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. New and Enlarged Edition. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

"Of the present edition of the *Bacchæ* by Mr Sandys we may safely say that never before has a Greek play, in England at least, had fuller justice done to its criticism, interpretation, and archæological illustration, whether for the young student or the more advanced scholar. The Cambridge Public Orator may be said to have taken the lead in issuing a complete edition of a Greek play, which is destined perhaps to gain redoubled favour now that the study of ancient monuments has been applied to its illustration."—*Saturday Review*.

"The volume is interspersed with well-executed woodcuts, and its general attractiveness of form reflects great credit on the University Press. In the notes Mr Sandys has more than sustained his well-earned reputation as a

careful and learned editor, and shows considerable advance in freedom and lightness of style. . . . Under such circumstances it is superfluous to say that for the purposes of teachers and advanced students this handsome edition far surpasses all its predecessors."—*Athenæum*.

"It has not, like so many such books, been hastily produced to meet the momentary need of some particular examination; but it has employed for some years the labour and thought of a highly finished scholar, whose aim seems to have been that his book should go forth *totus teres atque rotundus*, armed at all points with all that may throw light upon its subject. The result is a work which will not only assist the schoolboy or undergraduate in his tasks, but adorn the library of the scholar."—*Guardian*.

THE TYPES OF GREEK COINS. By PERCY GARDNER, Litt. D., F.S.A. With 16 Autotype plates, containing photographs of Coins of all parts of the Greek World. Impl. 4to. Cloth extra, £1. 11s. 6d.; Roxburgh (Morocco back), £2. 2s.

"Professor Gardner's book is written with such lucidity and in a manner so straightforward that it may well win converts, and it may

be distinctly recommended to that omnivorous class of readers—'men in the schools'."—*Saturday Review*.

ESSAYS ON THE ART OF PHEIDIAS. By C. WALDSTEIN, Litt. D., Phil. D., Reader in Classical Archæology in the University of Cambridge. Royal 8vo. With numerous Illustrations. 16 Plates. Buckram, 30s.

"I acknowledge expressly the warm enthusiasm for ideal art which pervades the whole volume, and the sharp eye Dr Waldstein has proved himself to possess in his special line of study, namely, stylistic analysis, which has led him to several happy and important discoveries. His book will be universally welcomed as a

very valuable contribution towards a more thorough knowledge of the style of Pheidias."—*The Academy*.

"'Essays on the Art of Pheidias' form an extremely valuable and important piece of work. . . . Taking it for the illustrations alone, it is an exceedingly fascinating book."—*Times*.

AN INTRODUCTION TO GREEK EPIGRAPHY.

Part I. The Archaic Inscriptions and the Greek Alphabet by E. S. ROBERTS, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College. Demy 8vo. With illustrations. 18s.

"We will say at once that Mr Roberts appears to have done his work very well. The book is clearly and conveniently arranged. The inscriptions are naturally divided according to the places to which they belong. Under each head are given illustrations sufficient to show the characteristics of the writing, one copy in letters of the original form (sometimes a facsimile) being followed by another in the usual cursive. References, which must have cost great labour, are given to the scattered

notices bearing on each document. Explanatory remarks either accompany the text or are added in an appendix. To the whole is prefixed a sketch of the history of the alphabet up to the terminal date. At the end the result is resumed in general tables of all the alphabets, classified according to their connexions; and a separate table illustrates the alphabet of Athens. The volume contains about five hundred inscriptions, and forms a moderate octavo of about four hundred pages."—*Saturday Review*.

M. TULLI CICERONIS AD M. BRUTUM ORATOR.

A revised text edited with Introductory Essays and with critical and explanatory notes, by J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Demy 8vo. 16s.

"This volume, which is adorned with several good woodcuts, forms a handsome and welcome addition to the Cambridge editions of Cicero's works."—*Athenæum*.

"A model edition."—*Spectator*.

"The commentary is in every way worthy of the editor's high reputation."—*Academy*.

M. TULLI CICERONIS DE FINIBUS BONORUM ET MALORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. The text revised and explained; With a Translation by JAMES S. REID, Litt. D., Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College. 3 Vols. [In the Press.]

VOL. III. Containing the Translation. Demy 8vo. 8s.

M. T. CICERONIS DE OFFICIIS LIBRI TRES, with Marginal Analysis, English Commentary, and copious Indices, by H. A. HOLDEN, LL.D. Sixth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Cr. 8vo. 9s.

"Few editions of a classic have found so much favour as Dr Holden's *De Officiis*, and the present revision (sixth edition) makes the

position of the work secure."—*American Journal of Philology*.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

- M. T. CICERONIS DE OFFICIIS LIBER TERTIUS, With Introduction, Analysis and Commentary, by H. A. HOLDEN, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 2s.
- M. TVLLI CICERONIS PRO C RABIRIO [PERDVLLIONIS REO] ORATIO AD QVIRITES With Notes, Introduction and Appendices by W. E. HEITLAND, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St John's College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- M. TULLII CICERONIS DE NATURA DEORUM Libri Tres, with Introduction and Commentary by JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A., together with a new collation of several of the English MSS. by J. H. SWAINSON, M.A.

Vol. I. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. Vol. II. 12s. 6d. Vol. III. 10s.

"Such editions as that of which Prof. Mayor has given us the first instalment will doubtless do much to remedy this undeserved neglect. It is one of those great pains and much learning have evidently been expended, and is in every way admirably suited to meet the needs of the student. . . . The notes of the editor are all that could be expected from his well-known learning and scholarship."—*Academy*.

"Der vorliegende zweite Band enthält

N. D. II. und zeigt ebenso wie der erste einen erheblichen Fortschritt gegen die bisher vorhandenen commentirten Ausgaben. Man darf jetzt, nachdem der grösste Theil erschienen ist, sagen, dass niemand, welcher sich sachlich oder kritisch mit der Schrift De Nat. Deor. beschäftigt, die neue Ausgabe wird ignoriren dürfen."—P. SCHWENCKE in *JB. f. cl. Alt.* vol. 35, p. 90 foll.

See also Pitt Press Series, pp. 24—27.

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICAL SCIENCE, &c.

- MATHEMATICAL AND PHYSICAL PAPERS. By Sir W. THOMSON, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Collected from different Scientific Periodicals from May 1841, to the present time. Vol. I. Demy 8vo. 18s. Vol. II. 15s.

"Wherever exact science has found a follower Sir William Thomson's name is known as a leader and a master. For a space of 40 years each of his successive contributions to knowledge in the domain of experimental and mathematical physics has been recognized as marking a stage in the progress of the subject. But, unhappily for the mere learner, he is no writer of

[Volume III. *In the Press.* text-books. His eager fertility overflows into the nearest available journal. . . . The papers in this volume deal largely with the subject of the dynamics of heat. They begin with two or three articles which were in part written at the age of 17, before the author had commenced residence as an undergraduate in Cambridge."—*The Times*.

- MATHEMATICAL AND PHYSICAL PAPERS, by G. G. STOKES, Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge. Reprinted from the Original Journals and Transactions, with Additional Notes by the Author. Vol. I. Demy 8vo. 15s. Vol. II. 15s. [Vol. III. *In the Press.*

"...The same spirit pervades the papers on pure mathematics which are included in the volume. They have a severe accuracy of style

which well befits the subtle nature of the subjects, and inspires the completest confidence in their author."—*The Times*.

- A HISTORY OF THE THEORY OF ELASTICITY AND OF THE STRENGTH OF MATERIALS, from Galilei to the present time. VOL. I. Galilei to Saint-Venant, 1639—1850. By the late I. TODHUNTER, Sc.D., F.R.S., edited and completed by Professor KARL PEARSON, M.A. Demy 8vo. 25s.

Vol. II. By the same Editor.

[*In the Press.*

- A TREATISE ON GEOMETRICAL OPTICS. By R. S. HEATH, M.A., Professor of Mathematics in Mason Science College, Birmingham. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

- AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON GEOMETRICAL OPTICS. By R. S. HEATH, M.A. Crown 8vo. 5s.

- THE SCIENTIFIC PAPERS OF THE LATE PROF. J. CLERK MAXWELL. Edited by W. D. NIVEN, M.A. In 2 vols. Royal 4to.

[*Nearly ready.*

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

- THE COLLECTED MATHEMATICAL PAPERS OF ARTHUR CAYLEY, Sc.D., F.R.S., Sadlerian Professor of Pure Mathematics in the University of Cambridge. Demy 4to. 10 vols. Volume I. 25s. *[In the Press.]*
- A CATALOGUE OF THE PORTSMOUTH COLLECTION OF BOOKS AND PAPERS written by or belonging to SIR ISAAC NEWTON. Demy 8vo. 5s.
- A TREATISE ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. By Sir W. THOMSON, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., and P. G. TAIT, M.A., Part I. Demy 8vo. 16s. Part II. Demy 8vo. 18s.
- ELEMENTS OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. By Professors Sir W. THOMSON and P. G. TAIT. Demy 8vo. 9s.
- AN ATTEMPT TO TEST THE THEORIES OF CAPILLARY ACTION by FRANCIS BASHFORTH, B.D., and J. C. ADAMS, M.A., F.R.S. Demy 4to. £1. 1s.
- A TREATISE ON THE THEORY OF DETERMINANTS and their applications in Analysis and Geometry, by R. F. SCOTT, M.A., Fellow of St John's College. Demy 8vo. 12s.
- HYDRODYNAMICS, a Treatise on the Mathematical Theory of the Motion of Fluids, by H. LAMB, M.A. Demy 8vo. 12s.
- A TREATISE ON DYNAMICS. By S. L. LONEY, M.A., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College. Crown 8vo. *[Nearly ready.]*
- THE ANALYTICAL THEORY OF HEAT, by JOSEPH FOURIER. Translated, with Notes, by A. FREEMAN, M.A., formerly Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 12s.
- PRACTICAL WORK AT THE CAVENDISH LABORATORY. HEAT. Edited by W. N. SHAW, M.A. Demy 8vo. 3s.
- THE ELECTRICAL RESEARCHES OF THE Hon. H. CAVENDISH, F.R.S. Written between 1771 and 1781. Edited from the original MSS. in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, K. G., by the late J. CLERK MAXWELL, F.R.S. Demy 8vo. 18s.
- AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON QUATERNIONS. By P. G. TAIT, M.A. Demy 8vo. 14s. *[New Edition, Preparing.]*
- THE MATHEMATICAL WORKS OF ISAAC BARROW, D.D. Edited by W. WHEWELL, D.D. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- COUNTERPOINT. A Practical Course of Study, by the late Professor Sir G. A. MACFARREN, M.A., Mus. Doc. New Edition, revised. Crown 4to. 7s. 6d.
- A TREATISE ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF CHEMISTRY, by M. M. PATTISON MUIR, M.A. Demy 8vo. 15s. *[New Edition. Nearly ready.]*
- "The value of the book as a digest of the historical developments of chemical thought is immense."—*Academy*.
- "Theoretical Chemistry has moved so rapidly of late years that most of our ordinary text books have been left far behind. German students, to be sure, possess an excellent guide to the present state of the science in 'Die Modernen Theorien der Chemie' of Prof. Lothar Meyer; but in this country the student has had to content himself with such works as Dr Tilden's 'Introduction to Chemical Philosophy', an admirable book in its way, but rather slender. Mr Pattison Muir having aimed at a more comprehensive scheme, has produced a systematic treatise on the principles of chemical philosophy which stands far in advance of any kindred work in our language. It is a treatise that requires for its due comprehension a fair acquaintance with physical science, and it can hardly be placed with advantage in the hands of any one who does not possess an extended knowledge of descriptive chemistry. But the advanced student whose mind is well equipped with an array of chemical and physical facts can turn to Mr Muir's masterly volume for unfailing help in acquiring a knowledge of the principles of modern chemistry."—*Athenæum*.
- ELEMENTARY CHEMISTRY. By M. M. PATTISON MUIR, M.A., and CHARLES SLATER, M.A., M.B. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY. A Course of Laboratory Work. By M. M. PATTISON MUIR, M.A., and D. J. CARNEGIE, B.A. Crown 8vo. 3s.

NOTES ON QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS. Concise and Explanatory. By H. J. H. FENTON, M.A., F.I.C., Demonstrator of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge. Cr. 4to. *New Edition.* 6s.

LECTURES ON THE PHYSIOLOGY OF PLANTS, by S. H. VINES, D.Sc., Professor of Botany in the University of Oxford. Demy 8vo. With Illustrations. 21s.

"To say that Dr Vines' book is a most valuable addition to our own botanical literature is but a narrow meed of praise: it is a work which will take its place as cosmopolitan: no more clear or concise discussion of the difficult chemistry of metabolism has appeared.... In erudition it stands alone among English books, and will compare favourably with any foreign competitors."—*Nature*.

science that the works in most general use in this country for higher botanical teaching have been of foreign origin.... This is not as it should be; and we welcome Dr Vines' Lectures on the Physiology of Plants as an important step towards the removal of this reproach.... The work forms an important contribution to the literature of the subject.... It will be eagerly welcomed by all students, and must be in the hands of all teachers."—*Academy*.

"It has long been a reproach to English
A SHORT HISTORY OF GREEK MATHEMATICS.

By J. GOW, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

DIOPHANTOS OF ALEXANDRIA; a Study in the
History of Greek Algebra. By T. L. HEATH, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

"This study in the history of Greek Algebra is an exceedingly valuable contribution to the history of mathematics."—*Academy*.

classification of Diophantus's methods of solution taken in conjunction with the invaluable abstract, presents the English reader with a capital picture of what Greek algebraists had really accomplished."—*Athenæum*.

"The most thorough account extant of Diophantus's place, work, and critics. [The

THE FOSSILS AND PALÆONTOLOGICAL AFFINITIES OF THE NEOCOMIAN DEPOSITS OF UPWARE AND BRICKHILL with Plates, being the Sedgwick Prize Essay for the Year 1879. By the late W. KEEPING, M.A., F.G.S. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS AND PAPERS ON PROTOZOA, CÉLENTERATES, WORMS, and certain smaller groups of animals, published during the years 1861—1883, by D'ARCY W. THOMPSON, M.A. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS made at the Observatory of Cambridge by the late Rev. JAMES CHALLIS, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S. For various Years, from 1846 to 1860.

ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS from 1861 to 1865. Vol. XXI. Royal 4to. 15s. From 1866 to 1869. Vol. XXII. Royal 4to. [Nearly ready.]

A CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF BIRDS formed by the late H. E. STRICKLAND, now in the possession of the University of Cambridge. By O. SALVIN, M.A. Demy 8vo. £1. 1s.

A CATALOGUE OF AUSTRALIAN FOSSILS, Strati-
graphically and Zoologically arranged, by R. ETHERIDGE, Jun., F.G.S. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF COMPARATIVE ANATOMY, VERTEBRATE AND INVERTEBRATE, for the Use of Students in the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d.

A CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTION OF CAMBRIAN AND SILURIAN FOSSILS contained in the Geological Museum of the University of Cambridge, by J. W. SALTER, F.G.S. With a Portrait of PROFESSOR SEDGWICK. Royal 4to. 7s. 6d.

CATALOGUE OF OSTEOLOGICAL SPECIMENS contained in the Anatomical Museum of the University of Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse,
Ave Maria Lane.

LAW.

ELEMENTS OF THE LAW OF TORTS. A Text-book for Students. By MELVILLE M. BIGELOW, Ph.D. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A SELECTION OF CASES ON THE ENGLISH LAW OF CONTRACT. By GERARD BROWN FINCH, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. Royal 8vo. 28s.

"An invaluable guide towards the best method of legal study."—*Law Quarterly Review*.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ROMAN LAW ON THE LAW OF ENGLAND. Being the Yorke Prize Essay for 1884. By T. E. SCRUTTON, M.A. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

"Legal work of just the kind that a learned University should promote by its prizes."—*Law Quarterly Review*.

LAND IN FETTERS. Being the Yorke Prize Essay for 1885. By T. E. SCRUTTON, M.A. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

COMMONS AND COMMON FIELDS, OR THE HISTORY AND POLICY OF THE LAWS RELATING TO COMMONS AND ENCLOSURES IN ENGLAND. Being the Yorke Prize Essay for 1886. By T. E. SCRUTTON, M.A. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

HISTORY OF THE LAW OF TITHES IN ENGLAND. Being the Yorke Prize Essay for 1887. By W. EASTERBY, B.A., LL.B. St John's College and the Middle Temple. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.

AN ANALYSIS OF CRIMINAL LIABILITY. By E. C. CLARK, LL.D., Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge, also of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

PRACTICAL JURISPRUDENCE, a Comment on AUSTIN. By E. C. CLARK, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 9s.

"Damit schliesst dieses inhaltreiche und nach allen Seiten anregende Buch über Practische Jurisprudence."—König. *Centralblatt für Rechtswissenschaft*.

A SELECTION OF THE STATE TRIALS. By J. W. WILLIS-BUND, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Constitutional Law and History, University College, London. Crown 8vo. Vols. I. and II.

In 3 parts. Now reduced to 30s. (*originally published at 46s.*)

"This work is a very useful contribution to that important branch of the constitutional history of England which is concerned with the growth and development of the law of treason, as it may be gathered from trials before the ordinary courts. The author has very wisely distinguished these cases from those of impeachment for treason before Parliament, which he proposes to treat in a future volume under the general head 'Proceedings in Parliament.'"
—*The Academy*.

"This is a work of such obvious utility that the only wonder is that no one should have undertaken it before . . . In many respects there-

fore, although the trials are more or less abridged, this is for the ordinary student's purpose not only a more handy, but a more useful work than Howell's."—*Saturday Review*.

"But, although the book is most interesting to the historian of constitutional law, it is also not without considerable value to those who seek information with regard to procedure and the growth of the law of evidence. We should add that Mr Willis-Bund has given short prefaces and appendices to the trials, so as to form a connected narrative of the events in history to which they relate. We can thoroughly recommend the book."—*Law Times*.

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE PERPETUAL EDICT OF SALVIUS JULIANUS, collected, arranged, and annotated by BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., late Law Lecturer of St John's College, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 6s.

"In the present book we have the fruits of the same kind of thorough and well-ordered study which was brought to bear upon the notes to the Commentaries and the Institutes . . . Hitherto the Edict has been almost inaccessible to the ordinary English student, and

such a student will be interested as well as perhaps surprised to find how abundantly the extant fragments illustrate and clear up points which have attracted his attention in the Commentaries, or the Institutes, or the Digest."—*Law Times*.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

BRACON'S NOTE BOOK. A Collection of Cases decided in the King's Courts during the reign of Henry the Third, annotated by a Lawyer of that time, seemingly by Henry of Bratton. Edited by F. W. MAITLAND of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law, Downing Professor of the Laws of England. 3 vols. Demy 8vo. Buckram. £3. 3s. *Net.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF JUSTINIAN'S DIGEST. Containing an account of its composition and of the Jurists used or referred to therein. By HENRY JOHN ROBY, M.A., formerly Prof. of Jurisprudence, University College, London. Demy 8vo. 9s.

JUSTINIAN'S DIGEST. Lib. VII., Tit. I. De Usufructu with a Legal and Philological Commentary. By H. J. ROBY, M.A. Demy 8vo. 9s.

Or the Two Parts complete in One Volume. Demy 8vo. 18s.

"Not an obscurity, philological, historical, or legal, has been left unsifted. More informing aid still has been supplied to the student of the Digest at large by a preliminary account, covering nearly 300 pages, of the mode of composition of the Digest, and of the jurists whose decisions and arguments constitute its substance. Nowhere else can a clearer view be obtained of the personal succession by which the tradition of Roman legal science was sus-

tained and developed. Roman law, almost more than Roman legions, was the backbone of the Roman commonwealth. Mr Roby, by his careful sketch of the sages of Roman law, from Sextus Papirius, under Tarquin the Proud, to the Byzantine Bar, has contributed to render the tenacity and durability of the most enduring polity the world has ever experienced somewhat more intelligible."—*The Times*.

THE COMMENTARIES OF GAIUS AND RULES OF ULPIAN. With a Translation and Notes, by J. T. ABDY, LL.D., Judge of County Courts, late Regius Professor of Laws in the University of Cambridge, and BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., late Law Lecturer of St John's College, Cambridge, formerly Law Student of Trinity Hall and Chancellor's Medallist for Legal Studies. New Edition by BRYAN WALKER. Crown 8vo. 16s.

"As scholars and as editors Messrs Abdy and Walker have done their work well . . . For one thing the editors deserve special commendation. They have presented Gaius to the reader with few notes and those merely by

way of reference or necessary explanation. Thus the Roman jurist is allowed to speak for himself, and the reader feels that he is really studying Roman law in the original, and not a fanciful representation of it."—*Athenæum*.

THE INSTITUTES OF JUSTINIAN, translated with Notes by J. T. ABDY, LL.D., and the late BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D. Crown 8vo. 16s.

"We welcome here a valuable contribution to the study of jurisprudence. The text of the *Institutes* is occasionally perplexing, even to practised scholars, whose knowledge of classical models does not always avail them in dealing with the technicalities of legal phraseology. Nor can the ordinary dictionaries be expected to furnish all the help that is wanted. This translation will then be of great use. To

the ordinary student, whose attention is distracted from the subject-matter by the difficulty of struggling through the language in which it is contained, it will be almost indispensable."—*Spectator*.

"The notes are learned and carefully compiled, and this edition will be found useful to students."—*Law Times*.

SELECTED TITLES FROM THE DIGEST, annotated by the late B. WALKER, M.A., LL.D. Part I. Mandati vel Contra. Digest XVII. 1. Crown 8vo. 5s.

— Part II. De Adquirendo rerum dominio and De Adquirenda vel amittenda possessione. Digest XLI. 1 and 11. Crown 8vo. 6s.

— Part III. De Conditionibus. Digest XII. 1 and 4—7 and Digest XIII. 1—3. Crown 8vo. 6s.

GROTIUS DE JURE BELLI ET PACIS, with the Notes of Barbeyrac and others; accompanied by an abridged Translation of the Text, by W. WHEWELL, D.D. late Master of Trinity College. 3 Vols. Demy 8vo. 12s. The translation separate, 6s.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

HISTORICAL WORKS, &c.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF THE REVEREND

ADAM SEDGWICK, LL.D., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Woodwardian Professor of Geology from 1818 to 1873. (Dedicated, by special permission, to Her Majesty the Queen.) By JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and THOMAS M'KENNY HUGHES, M.A., Woodwardian Professor of Geology. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. [In the Press.]

LIFE AND TIMES OF STEIN, OR GERMANY AND PRUSSIA IN THE NAPOLEONIC AGE, by J. R. SEELEY, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, with Portraits and Maps. 3 Vols. Demy 8vo. 30s.

"DR BUSCH's volume has made people think and talk even more than usual of Prince Bismarck, and Professor Seeley's very learned work on Stein will turn attention to an earlier and an almost equally eminent German statesman. It has been the good fortune of Prince Bismarck to help to raise Prussia to a position which she had never before attained, and to complete the work of German unification. The frustrated labours of Stein in the same field were also very great, and well worthy to be taken into account. He was one, perhaps the chief, of the illustrious group of strangers who came to the rescue of Prussia in her darkest hour, about the time of the inglorious Peace of Tilsit, and who laboured to put life and order into her dispirited army, her impoverished finances, and her inefficient Civil Service. Stein strove, too, —no man more,—for the cause of unification

when it seemed almost folly to hope for success. Englishmen will feel very pardonable pride at seeing one of their countrymen undertake to write the history of a period from the investigation of which even laborious Germans are apt to shrink."—*Times*.

"In a notice of this kind scant justice can be done to a work like the one before us; no short *résumé* can give even the most meagre notion of the contents of these volumes, which contain no page that is superfluous, and none that is uninteresting . . . To understand the Germany of to-day one must study the Germany of many yesterdays, and now that study has been made easy by this work, to which no one can hesitate to assign a very high place among those recent histories which have aimed at original research."—*Athenæum*.

THE DESPATCHES OF EARL GOWER, English Ambassador at the court of Versailles from June 1790 to August 1792, to which are added the Despatches of Mr Lindsay and Mr Munro, and the Diary of Lord Palmerston in France during July and August 1791. Edited by OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. Demy 8vo. 15s.

THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE. By W. CUNNINGHAM, B.D. With Maps and Charts. Crown 8vo. 12s.

"Mr Cunningham is not likely to disappoint any readers except such as begin by mistaking the character of his book. He does not promise, and does not give, an account of the dimensions to which English industry and com-

merce have grown. It is with the process of growth that he is concerned; and this process he traces with the philosophical insight which distinguishes between what is important and what is trivial."—*Guardian*.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF GREEK HISTORY.

Accompanied by a short narrative of events, with references to the sources of information and extracts from the ancient authorities, by CARL PETER. Translated from the German by G. CHAWNER, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Demy 4to. 10s.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN EARLY ARABIA, by W. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Christ's College and University Librarian. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

"It would be superfluous to praise a book so learned and masterly as Professor Robertson Smith's; it is enough to say that no student of

early history can afford to be without *Kinship in Early Arabia*."—*Nature*.

TRAVELS IN NORTHERN ARABIA IN 1876 AND 1877. BY CHARLES M. DOUGHTY, of Gonville and Caius College. With Illustrations and a Map. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. £3. 3s.

"This is in several respects a remarkable book. It records the ten years' travels of the author throughout Northern Arabia, in the Hejas and Nejd, from Syria to Mecca. No doubt this region has been visited by previous travellers, but none, we venture to think, have done their work with so much thoroughness or with more enthusiasm and love."—*Times*.

"We judge this book to be the most remarkable record of adventure and research which has been published to this generation."—*Spectator*.

"Its value as a storehouse of knowledge simply cannot be exaggerated."—*Saturday Review*.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF THE COLLEGES OF CAMBRIDGE AND ETON, by the late ROBERT WILLIS, M.A. F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor in the University of Cambridge. Edited with large Additions and brought up to the present time by JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Four Vols. Super Royal 8vo. £6. 6s.

Also a limited Edition of the same, consisting of 120 numbered Copies only, large paper Quarto; the woodcuts and steel engravings mounted on India paper; price Twenty-five Guineas ~~net~~ each set.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROYAL INJUNCTIONS OF 1535, by J. B. MULLINGER, M.A., Lecturer on History and Librarian to St John's College. Part I. Demy 8vo. (734 pp.), 12s.

Part II. From the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles the First. Demy 8vo. 18s.

"That Mr Mullinger's work should admit of being regarded as a continuous narrative, in which character it has no predecessors worth mentioning, is one of the many advantages it possesses over annalistic compilations, even so valuable as Cooper's, as well as over *Athenae*."—Prof. A. W. Ward in the *Academy*.

"Mr Mullinger's narrative omits nothing which is required by the fullest interpretation of his subject. He shews in the statutes of the Colleges, the internal organization of the University, its connection with national problems, its studies, its social life, and the

activity of its leading members. All this he combines in a form which is eminently readable."—PROF. CREIGHTON in *Cont. Review*.

"Mr Mullinger has succeeded perfectly in presenting the earnest and thoughtful student with a thorough and trustworthy history."—*Guardian*.

"Mr Mullinger displays an admirable thoroughness in his work. Nothing could be more exhaustive and conscientious than his method; and his style...is picturesque and elevated."—*Times*.

SCHOLAE ACADEMICAE: some Account of the Studies at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century. By C. WORDSWORTH, M.A., Fellow of Peterhouse. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

"Mr Wordsworth has collected a great quantity of minute and curious information about the working of Cambridge institutions in the last century, with an occasional comparison of the corresponding state of things at Oxford. ... To a great extent it is purely a book of reference, and as such it will be of permanent value for the historical knowledge of English

education and learning."—*Saturday Review*.

"Of the whole volume it may be said that it is a genuine service rendered to the study of University history, and that the habits of thought of any writer educated at either seat of learning in the last century will, in many cases, be far better understood after a consideration of the materials here collected."—*Academy*.

HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST, by THOMAS BAKER, B.D., Ejected Fellow. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A. Two Vols. Demy 8vo. 24s.

"To antiquaries the book will be a source of almost inexhaustible amusement, by historians it will be found a work of considerable service on questions respecting our social progress in past times; and the care and thoroughness with which Mr Mayor has discharged his editorial functions are creditable to his learning and industry."—*Athenæum*.

"The work displays very wide reading, and it will be of great use to members of the college and of the university, and, perhaps, of still greater use to students of English history, ecclesiastical, political, social, literary and academic, who have hitherto had to be content with 'Dyer.'"—*Academy*.

HISTORY OF NEPĀL, translated by MUNSHĪ SHEW SHUNKER SINGH and PANDIT SHRĪ GUNĀNAND; edited with an Introductory Sketch of the Country and People by Dr D. WRIGHT, late Residency Surgeon at Kāthmāndū, and with facsimiles of native drawings, and portraits of Sir JUNG BĀHĀDUR, the KING OF NEPĀL, &c. Super-royal 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A JOURNEY OF LITERARY AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN NEPAL AND NORTHERN INDIA, during the Winter of 1884-5. By CECIL BENDALL, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit in University College, London. Demy 8vo. 10s.

CANADIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By J. E. C. MUNRO, LL.M., Professor of Law and Political Economy at Victoria University, Manchester.

[Nearly ready.]

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL ESSAYS.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, by L. WHIBLEY, B.A., Formerly Beatson Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. (Prince Consort Dissertation, 1888.) Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT AND HIS RELATIONS WITH GAUL, by F. W. KELLETT, M.A., Sidney Sussex College. (Prince Consort Dissertation, 1888.) Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE LITERARY REMAINS OF ALBRECHT DÜRER, by W. M. CONWAY. With Transcripts from the British Museum MSS., and Notes by LINA ECKENSTEIN. Royal 8vo. [*Nearly ready.*]

A LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Printed from the (Incomplete) MS. of the late T. H. KEY, M.A., F.R.S. Cr. 4to. 31s. 6d.

A CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT MARBLES IN GREAT BRITAIN, by Prof. ADOLF MICHAELIS. Translated by C. A. M. FENNELL, Litt. D. Royal 8vo. Roxburgh (Morocco back), £2. 2s.

"The book is beautifully executed, and with its few handsome plates, and excellent indexes, does much credit to the Cambridge Press. It has not been printed in German, but appears for the first time in the English translation. All lovers of true art and of good work should be grateful to the Syndics of the University Press for

the liberal facilities afforded by them towards the production of this important volume by Professor Michaelis."—*Saturday Review*.

"Professor Michaelis has achieved so high a fame as an authority in classical archæology that it seems unnecessary to say how good a book this is."—*The Antiquary*.

RHODES IN ANCIENT TIMES. By CECIL TORR, M.A. With six plates. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

RHODES IN MODERN TIMES. By the same Author. With three plates. Demy 8vo. 8s.

THE WOODCUTTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS during the last quarter of the Fifteenth Century. In 3 parts. I. History of the Woodcutters. II. Catalogue of their Woodcuts. III. List of Books containing Woodcuts. By W. M. CONWAY. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THE LITERATURE OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE. An Introductory Essay. By A. A. TILLEY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 6s.

A GRAMMAR OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE. By Prof. WINDISCH. Translated by Dr NORMAN MOORE. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

LECTURES ON TEACHING, delivered in the University of Cambridge in the Lent Term, 1880. By J. G. FITCH, M.A., LL.D. Her Majesty's Inspector of Training Colleges. Cr. 8vo. New Edit. 5s.

"As principal of a training college and as a Government inspector of schools, Mr Fitch has got at his fingers' ends the working of primary education, while as assistant commissioner to the late Endowed Schools Commission he has seen something of the machinery of our higher

schools . . . Mr Fitch's book covers so wide a field and touches on so many burning questions that we must be content to recommend it as the best existing *vade mecum* for the teacher."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

OCCASIONAL ADDRESSES ON EDUCATIONAL SUBJECTS. By S. S. LAURIE, M.A., LL.D. Crown 8vo. 5s.

AN ATLAS OF COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY. Intended as a Companion to Dr MILL's "Elementary Commercial Geography." By J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S. With an Introduction by Dr H. R. MILL. [*Preparing.*]

A MANUAL OF CURSIVE SHORTHAND. By H. L. CALLENDAR, B.A., Fellow of Trinity College. Ex. Fcap. 8vo. 2s.

A SYSTEM OF PHONETIC SPELLING ADAPTED TO ENGLISH. By H. L. CALLENDAR, B.A. Ex. Fcap. 8vo. 6d.

For other books on Education, see *Pitt Press Series*, p. 31.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

- CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE DIVINA COMEDIA. Including the complete collation throughout the *Inferno* of all the MSS. at Oxford and Cambridge. By the Rev. EDWARD MOORE, D.D. Demy 8vo. 21s.
- EPISTVLAE ORTELIANAE. ABRAHAM ORTELI (Geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditiorum ad eundem et ad JACOBVM COLIVM ORTELIANVM Epistvlae. Cvm aliquot aliis epistvlis et tractatibvs quibvsdam ab vtroque collectis (1524—1628). Ex autographis mandante Ecclesia Londino-batava edidit JOANNES HENRICVS HESSELS. Demy 4to. £3. 10s. *Net.*
- FROM SHAKESPEARE TO POPE: an Inquiry into the causes and phenomena of the rise of Classical Poetry in England. By EDMUND GOSSE, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- CHAPTERS ON ENGLISH METRE. By Rev. JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- STUDIES IN THE LITERARY RELATIONS OF ENGLAND WITH GERMANY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By C. H. HERFORD, M.A. Crown 8vo. 9s.
- ADMISSIONS TO GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE in the University of Cambridge March 1558—9 to Jan. 1678—9. Edited by J. VENN, Sc.D., and S. C. VENN. Demy 8vo. 10s.
- CATALOGUE OF THE HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS preserved in the University Library, Cambridge. By Dr S. M. SCHILLER-SZINESSY. Volume I. containing Section 1. *The Holy Scriptures*; Section II. *Commentaries on the Bible*. Demy 8vo. 9s.
- A CATALOGUE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 5 Vols. 10s. each. INDEX TO THE CATALOGUE. Demy 8vo. 10s.
- A CATALOGUE OF ADVERSARIA and printed books containing MS. notes, preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. 3s. 6d.
- THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Catalogued with Descriptions, and an Introduction, by W. G. SEARLE, M.A. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE GRACES, Documents, and other Papers in the University Registry which concern the University Library. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- CATALOGUS BIBLIOTHECÆ BURCKHARDTIANÆ. Demy 4to. 5s.
- GRADUATI CANTABRIGIENSES: SIVE CATALOGUS exhibens nomina eorum quos gradu quocunque ornavit Academia Cantabrigiensis (1800—1884). Cura H. R. LUARD S. T. P. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- STATUTES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE and for the Colleges therein, made, published and approved (1878—1882) under the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877. With an Appendix. Demy 8vo. 16s.
- STATUTES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. With Acts of Parliament relating to the University. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- ORDINANCES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. Demy 8vo., cloth. 7s. 6d.
- TRUSTS, STATUTES AND DIRECTIONS affecting (1) The Professorships of the University. (2) The Scholarships and Prizes. (3) Other Gifts and Endowments. Demy 8vo. 5s.
- COMPENDIUM OF UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS. 6d.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

GENERAL EDITOR: THE VERY REVEREND J. J. S. PEROWNE, D.D.,
DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.

"It is difficult to commend too highly this excellent series."—*Guardian*.

"The modesty of the general title of this series has, we believe, led many to misunderstand its character and underrate its value. The books are well suited for study in the upper forms of our best schools, but not the less are they adapted to the wants of all Bible students who are not specialists. We doubt, indeed, whether any of the numerous popular commentaries recently issued in this country will be found more serviceable for general use."—*Academy*.

"One of the most popular and useful literary enterprises of the nineteenth century."—*Baptist Magazine*.

"Of great value. The whole series of comments for schools is highly esteemed by students capable of forming a judgment. The books are scholarly without being pretentious: information is so given as to be easily understood."—*Sword and Trowel*.

The Very Reverend J. J. S. PEROWNE, D.D., Dean of Peterborough, has undertaken the general editorial supervision of the work, assisted by a staff of eminent coadjutors. Some of the books have been already edited or undertaken by the following gentlemen:

Rev. A. CARR, M.A., *late Assistant Master at Wellington College.*

Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., *late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.*

Rev. S. COX, *Nottingham.*

Rev. A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., *Professor of Hebrew, Edinburgh.*

The Ven. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., *Archdeacon of Westminster.*

Rev. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.

Rev. A. E. HUMPHREYS, M.A., *late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

Rev. A. F. KIRKPATRICK, M.A., *Fellow of Trinity College, Regius Professor of Hebrew.*

Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A., *late Professor at St David's College, Lampeter.*

Rev. J. R. LUMBY, D.D., *Norrisian Professor of Divinity.*

Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D., *Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury.*

Rev. H. C. G. MOULE, M.A., *late Fellow of Trinity College, Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge.*

Rev. W. F. MOULTON, D.D., *Head Master of the Leys School, Cambridge.*

Rev. E. H. PEROWNE, D.D., *Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*

The Ven. T. T. PEROWNE, B.D., *Archdeacon of Norwich.*

Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D., *Master of University College, Durham.*

The Very Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., *Dean of Wells.*

Rev. H. E. RYLE, M.A., *Hulsean Professor of Divinity.*

Rev. W. SIMCOX, M.A., *Rector of Weyhill, Hants.*

W. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A., *Fellow of Christ's College, and University Librarian.*

The Very Rev. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., *Dean of Gloucester.*

Rev. A. W. STREANE, M.A., *Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse,
Ave Maria Lane.

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS & COLLEGES. Cont.*Now Ready. Cloth, Extra Fcap. 8vo.***THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.** By the Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D.
With 2 Maps. 2s. 6d.**THE BOOK OF JUDGES.** By the Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A.
With Map. 3s. 6d.**THE FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL.** By the Rev. Professor
KIRKPATRICK, M.A. With Map. 3s. 6d.**THE SECOND BOOK OF SAMUEL.** By the Rev. Professor
KIRKPATRICK, M.A. With 2 Maps. 3s. 6d.**THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS.** By Rev. Prof. LUMBY, D.D. 3s. 6d.**THE SECOND BOOK OF KINGS.** By the same Editor. 3s. 6d.**THE BOOK OF JOB.** By the Rev. A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D. 5s.**THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.** By the Very Rev. E. H.
PLUMPTRE, D.D. 5s.**THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH.** By the Rev. A. W. STREANE,
M.A. With Map. 4s. 6d.**THE BOOK OF HOSEA.** By Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D. 3s.**THE BOOKS OF OBADIAH AND JONAH.** By Archdeacon
PEROWNE. 2s. 6d.**THE BOOK OF MICAH.** By Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D. 1s. 6d.**THE BOOKS OF HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH.** By Arch-
deacon PEROWNE. 3s.**THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MATTHEW.** By the
Rev. A. CARR, M.A. With 2 Maps. 2s. 6d.**THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MARK.** By the Rev.
G. F. MACLEAR, D.D. With 4 Maps. 2s. 6d.**THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST LUKE.** By Archdeacon
F. W. FARRAR. With 4 Maps. 4s. 6d.**THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST JOHN.** By the Rev.
A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D. With 4 Maps. 4s. 6d.**THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.** By the Rev. Professor
LUMBY, D.D. With 4 Maps. 4s. 6d.**THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.** By the Rev. H. C. G.
MOULE, M.A. 3s. 6d.**THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.** By the Rev.
J. J. LIAS, M.A. With a Map and Plan. 2s.**THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.** By the
Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A. 2s.**THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.** By the Rev. H. C. G.
MOULE, M.A. 2s. 6d.**THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.** By the Rev. H. C. G.
MOULE, M.A. 2s. 6d.**THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.** By Arch. FARRAR. 3s. 6d.**THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF ST JAMES.** By the Very Rev.
E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D. 1s. 6d.**THE EPISTLES OF ST PETER AND ST JUDE.** By the
same Editor. 2s. 6d.**THE EPISTLES OF ST JOHN.** By the Rev. A. PLUMMER,
M.A., D.D. 3s. 6d.*London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse,
Ave Maria Lane.*

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS & COLLEGES. *Cont.**Preparing.*

THE BOOK OF GENESIS. By the Very Rev. the DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.

THE BOOKS OF EXODUS, NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY. By the Rev. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.

THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH. By the Rev. Prof. RYLE, M.A.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS. By the Rev. Prof. KIRKPATRICK, M.A.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH. By W. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A.

THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL. By the Rev. A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. By the Rev. E. H. PEROWNE, D.D.

THE EPISTLES TO THE COLOSSIANS AND PHILEMON. By the Rev. H. C. G. MOULE, M.A.

THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS. By the Rev. W. F. MOULTON, D.D.

THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHY AND TITUS. By the Rev. A. E. HUMPHREYS, M.A.

THE BOOK OF REVELATION. By the Rev. W. SIMCOX, M.A.

THE CAMBRIDGE GREEK TESTAMENT

FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES,

with a Revised Text, based on the most recent critical authorities, and English Notes, prepared under the direction of the General Editor,
THE VERY REVEREND J. J. S. PEROWNE, D.D.

Now Ready.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MATTHEW. By the Rev. A. CARR, M.A. With 4 Maps. 4s. 6d.

"Copious illustrations, gathered from a great variety of sources, make his notes a very valuable aid to the student. They are indeed remarkably interesting, while all explanations on meanings, applications, and the like are distinguished by their lucidity and good sense."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MARK. By the Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D. With 3 Maps. 4s. 6d.

"The Cambridge Greek Testament, of which Dr Maclear's edition of the Gospel according to St Mark is a volume, certainly supplies a want. Without pretending to compete with the leading commentaries, or to embody very much original research, it forms a most satisfactory introduction to the study of the New Testament in the original . . . Dr Maclear's introduction contains all that is known of St Mark's life, an account of the circumstances in which the Gospel was composed, an excellent sketch of the special characteristics of this Gospel; an analysis, and a chapter on the text of the New Testament generally . . . The work is completed by three good maps."—*Saturday Review*.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST LUKE. By Archdeacon FARRAR. With 4 Maps. 6s.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST JOHN. By the Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D. With 4 Maps. 6s.

"A valuable addition has also been made to 'The Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools,' Dr Plummer's notes on 'the Gospel according to St John' are scholarly, concise, and instructive, and embody the results of much thought and wide reading."—*Expositor*.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By the Rev. Prof. LUMBY, D.D., with 4 Maps. 6s.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. By the Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A. 3s.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. By the Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A. [*Preparing.*]

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. By Arch. FARRAR. 3s. 6d.

THE EPISTLES OF ST JOHN. By the Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D. 4s.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse,
Ave Maria Lane.

THE PITT PRESS SERIES.

[Copies of the Pitt Press Series may generally be obtained bound in two parts for Class use, the text and notes in separate volumes.]

I. GREEK.

ARISTOPHANES—AVES. With English Notes and Introduction by W. C. GREEN, M.A., late Assistant Master at Rugby School. *New Edition.* 3s. 6d.

"The notes to both plays are excellent. Much has been done in these two volumes to render the study of Aristophanes a real treat to a boy instead of a drudgery, by helping him to understand the fun and to express it in his mother tongue."—*The Examiner.*

ARISTOPHANES—PLUTUS. By the same Editor. 3s. 6d.

ARISTOPHANES—RANÆ. By the same Editor. 3s. 6d.

EURIPIDES. HERACLEIDÆ. With Introduction and Explanatory Notes by E. A. BECK, M.A., Fellow of Trinity Hall. 3s. 6d.

EURIPIDES. HERCULES FURENS. With Introductions, Notes and Analysis. By A. GRAY, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, and J. T. HUTCHINSON, M.A., Christ's College. *New Edition.* 2s.

EURIPIDES. HIPPOLYTUS. By W. S. HADLEY, M.A. Fellow of Pembroke College. [Nearly ready.]

HERODOTUS, BOOK VI. Edited with Notes, Introduction and Maps by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A., late Fellow of Emmanuel College. 4s.

HERODOTUS, BOOK VIII., CHAPS. 1—90. By the same Editor. 3s. 6d.

"We could not wish for a better introduction to Herodotus."—*Journal of Education.*

HERODOTUS, BOOK IX., CHAPS. 1—89. By the same Editor. 3s. 6d.

HOMER—ODYSSEY, BOOK IX. With Introduction, Notes and Appendices. By G. M. EDWARDS, M.A., Fellow and Classical Lecturer of Sidney Sussex College. 2s. 6d.

HOMER—ODYSSEY, BOOK X. By the same Editor. 2s. 6d.

LUCIANI SOMNIUM CHARON PISCATOR ET DE LUCTU, with English Notes by W. E. HEITLAND, M.A., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. *New Edition,* with Appendix. 3s. 6d.

PLATONIS APOLOGIA SOCRATIS. With Introduction, Notes and Appendices by J. ADAM, M.A., Fellow and Classical Lecturer of Emmanuel College. 3s. 6d.

"A worthy representative of English Scholarship."—*Classical Review.*

— **CRITO.** With Introduction, Notes and Appendix. By the same Editor. 2s. 6d.

"Mr Adam, already known as the author of a careful and scholarly edition of the *Apology* of Plato, will, we think, add to his reputation by his work upon the *Crito*."—*Academy.*

"A scholarly edition of a dialogue which has never been really well edited in English."—*Guardian.*

PLUTARCH. LIVES OF THE GRACCHI. With Introduction, Notes and Lexicon by Rev. HUBERT A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. 6s.

PLUTARCH. LIFE OF Nicias. With Introduction and Notes. By Rev. HUBERT A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. 5s.

"This edition is as careful and thorough as Dr Holden's work always is."—*Spectator.*

PLUTARCH. LIFE OF SULLA. With Introduction, Notes, and Lexicon. By the Rev. HUBERT A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. 6s.

SOPHOCLES.—OEDIPUS TYRANNUS. School Edition, with Introduction and Commentary, by R. C. JEBB, Litt. D., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. 4s. 6d.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse
Ave Maria Lane.

THUCYDIDES. BOOK VII. With Notes and Introduction.

By H. R. TOTTENHAM, M.A., Fellow of St John's College. [*In the Press.*]

XENOPHON.—AGESILAUS. The Text revised with Critical and Explanatory Notes, Introduction, Analysis, and Indices. By H. HAILSTONE, M.A., late Scholar of Peterhouse. 2s. 6d.

XENOPHON.—ANABASIS, BOOKS I. III. IV. and V. With a Map and English Notes by ALFRED PRETOR, M.A., Fellow of St Catharine's College, Cambridge. 2s. each.

"Mr Pretor's 'Anabasis of Xenophon, Book IV.' displays a union of accurate Cambridge scholarship, with experience of what is required by learners gained in examining middle-class schools. The text is large and clearly printed, and the notes explain all difficulties. . . . Mr Pretor's notes seem to be all that could be wished as regards grammar, geography, and other matters."—*The Academy*.

— BOOKS II. VI. and VII. By the same. 2s. 6d. each.

"Had we to introduce a young Greek scholar to Xenophon, we should esteem ourselves fortunate in having Pretor's text-book as our chart and guide."—*Contemporary Review*.

XENOPHON.—ANABASIS. By A. PRETOR, M.A., Text and Notes, complete in two Volumes. 7s. 6d.

XENOPHON.—CYROPAEDEIA. BOOKS I. II. With Introduction, Notes and Map. By Rev. H. A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. 2 vols. Vol. I. Text. Vol. II. Notes. 6s.

"The work is worthy of the editor's well-earned reputation for scholarship and industry."—*Athenæum*.

— BOOKS III., IV., V. By the same Editor. 5s.

"Dr Holden's Commentary is equally good in history and in scholarship."—*Saturday Review*.

II. LATIN.

BEDA'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, BOOKS III., IV., the Text from the very ancient MS. in the Cambridge University Library, collated with six other MSS. Edited, with a life from the German of EBERT, and with Notes, &c. by J. E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Professor of Latin, and J. R. LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity. Revised edition. 7s. 6d.

BOOKS I. and II. *In the Press.*

"In Bede's works Englishmen can go back to *origines* of their history, unequalled for form and matter by any modern European nation. Prof. Mayor has done good service in rendering a part of Bede's greatest work accessible to those who can read Latin with ease. He has adorned this edition of the third and fourth books of the 'Ecclesiastical History' with that amazing erudition for which he is unrivalled among Englishmen and rarely equalled by Germans. And however interesting and valuable the text may be, we can certainly apply to his notes the expression, *La sauce vaut mieux que le poisson*. They are literally crammed with interesting information about early English life. For though ecclesiastical in name, Bede's history treats of all parts of the national life, since the Church had points of contact with all."—*Examiner*.

CAESAR. DE BELLO GALLICO COMMENT. I. With Maps and English Notes by A. G. PESKETT, M.A., Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1s. 6d.

"In an unusually succinct introduction he gives all the preliminary and collateral information that is likely to be useful to a young student; and, wherever we have examined his notes, we have found them eminently practical and satisfying. . . . The book may well be recommended for careful study in school or college."—*Saturday Review*.

CAESAR. DE BELLO GALLICO COMMENT. II. III.

By the same Editor. 2s.

CAESAR. DE BELLO GALLICO COMMENT. I. II. III.

by the same Editor. 3s.

CAESAR. DE BELLO GALLICO COMMENT. IV. AND V. and COMMENT. VII. by the same Editor. 2s. each.

CAESAR. DE BELLO GALLICO COMMENT. VI. AND COMMENT. VIII. by the same Editor. 1s. 6d. each.

CICERO. ACTIO PRIMA IN C. VERREM. With Introduction and Notes. By H. COWIE, M.A., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. 1s. 6d.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse,
Ave Maria Lane.

CICERO. DE AMICITIA. Edited by J. S. REID, Litt.D.,
Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College. New Edition, with
Additions. 3s. 6d.

"Mr Reid has decidedly attained his aim, namely, 'a thorough examination of the Latinity of the dialogue.' . . . The revision of the text is most valuable, and comprehends sundry acute corrections. . . . This volume, like Mr Reid's other editions, is a solid gain to the scholarship of the country."—*Athenaeum*.

"A more distinct gain to scholarship is Mr Reid's able and thorough edition of the *De Amicitia* of Cicero, a work of which, whether we regard the exhaustive introduction or the instructive and most suggestive commentary, it would be difficult to speak too highly. . . . When we come to the commentary, we are only amazed by its fulness in proportion to its bulk. Nothing is overlooked which can tend to enlarge the learner's general knowledge of Ciceronian Latin or to elucidate the text."—*Saturday Review*.

CICERO. DE SENECAE TUTE. Edited by J. S. REID,
Litt. D. Revised Edition. 3s. 6d.

"The notes are excellent and scholarlike, adapted for the upper forms of public schools, and likely to be useful even to more advanced students."—*Guardian*.

**CICERO. DIVINATIO IN Q. CAECILIUM ET ACTIO
PRIMA IN C. VERREM.** With Introduction and Notes by W. E.
HEITLAND, M.A., and HERBERT COWIE, M.A., Fellows of St John's
College, Cambridge. 3s.

CICERO. PHILIPPICA SECUNDA. With Introduction
and Notes by A. G. PESKETT, M.A., Fellow of Magdalene College. 3s. 6d.

CICERO. PRO ARCHIA POETA. Edited by J. S. REID,
Litt. D. Revised Edition. 2s.

"It is an admirable specimen of careful editing. An Introduction tells us everything we could wish to know about Archias, about Cicero's connexion with him, about the merits of the trial, and the genuineness of the speech. The text is well and carefully printed. The notes are clear and scholar-like. . . . No boy can master this little volume without feeling that he has advanced a long step in scholarship."—*The Academy*.

CICERO. PRO BALBO. Edited by J. S. REID, Litt.D.
1s. 6d.

"We are bound to recognize the pains devoted in the annotation of these two orations to the minute and thorough study of their Latinity, both in the ordinary notes and in the textual appendices."—*Saturday Review*.

CICERO. PRO MILONE, with a Translation of Asconius'
Introduction, Marginal Analysis and English Notes. Edited by the Rev.
JOHN SMYTH PURTON, B.D., late President and Tutor of St Catharine's
College. 2s. 6d.

"The editorial work is excellently done."—*The Academy*.

CICERO. PRO MURENA. With English Introduction
and Notes. By W. E. HEITLAND, M.A., Fellow and Classical Lecturer
of St John's College, Cambridge. Second Edition, carefully revised. 3s.

"Those students are to be deemed fortunate who have to read Cicero's lively and brilliant oration for L. Murena with Mr Heitland's handy edition, which may be pronounced 'four-square' in point of equipment, and which has, not without good reason, attained the honours of a second edition."—*Saturday Review*.

CICERO. PRO PLANCIO. Edited by H. A. HOLDEN,
LL.D., Examiner in Greek to the University of London. Second Edition.
4s. 6d.

"As a book for students this edition can have few rivals. It is enriched by an excellent introduction and a chronological table of the principal events of the life of Cicero; while in its appendix, and in the notes on the text which are added, there is much of the greatest value. The volume is neatly got up, and is in every way commendable."—*The Scotsman*.

CICERO. PRO SULLA. Edited by J. S. REID, Litt.D.
3s. 6d.

"Mr Reid is so well known to scholars as a commentator on Cicero that a new work from him scarcely needs any commendation of ours. His edition of the speech *Pro Sulla* is fully equal in merit to the volumes which he has already published. . . . It would be difficult to speak too highly of the notes. There could be no better way of gaining an insight into the characteristics of Cicero's style and the Latinity of his period than by making a careful study of this speech with the aid of Mr Reid's commentary. . . . Mr Reid's intimate knowledge of the minutest details of scholarship enables him to detect and explain the slightest points of distinction between the usages of different authors and different periods. . . . The notes are followed by a valuable appendix on the text, and another on points of orthography; an excellent index brings the work to a close."—*Saturday Review*.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse,
Ave Maria Lane.

CICERO. SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS. With Introduction and Notes. By W. D. PEARMAN, M.A., Head Master of Potsdam School, Jamaica. 2s.

HORACE. EPISTLES, BOOK I. With Notes and Introduction by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A., late Fellow of Emmanuel College. 2s. 6d.

LIVY. BOOK XXI. With Notes, Introduction and Maps. By M. S. DIMSDALE, M.A., Fellow of King's College. 2s. 6d.

LIVY. BOOK XXII. By the same Editor. 2s. 6d.

LUCAN. PHARSALIA LIBER PRIMUS. Edited with English Introduction and Notes by W. E. HEITLAND, M.A. and C. E. HASKINS, M.A., Fellows and Lecturers of St John's College, Cambridge. 1s. 6d.

"A careful and scholarlike production."—*Times*.

"In nice parallels of Lucan from Latin poets and from Shakspeare, Mr Haskins and Mr Heitland deserve praise."—*Saturday Review*.

LUCRETIVS. BOOK V. With Notes and Introduction by J. D. DUFF, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College. 2s.

OVID. FASTI. LIBER VI. With a Plan of Rome and Notes by A. SIDGWICK, M.A., Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 1s. 6d.

"Mr Sidgwick's editing of the Sixth Book of Ovid's *Fasti* furnishes a careful and serviceable volume for average students. It eschews 'construes' which supersede the use of the dictionary, but gives full explanation of grammatical usages and historical and mythical allusions, besides illustrating peculiarities of style, true and false derivations, and the more remarkable variations of the text."—*Saturday Review*.

"It is eminently good and useful. . . . The Introduction is singularly clear on the astronomy of Ovid, which is properly shown to be ignorant and confused; there is an excellent little map of Rome, giving just the places mentioned in the text and no more; the notes are evidently written by a practical schoolmaster."—*The Academy*.

QUINTUS CURTIUS. A Portion of the History. (ALEXANDER IN INDIA.) By W. E. HEITLAND, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of St John's College, Cambridge, and T. E. RAVEN, B.A., Assistant Master in Sherborne School. 3s. 6d.

"Equally commendable as a genuine addition to the existing stock of school-books is *Alexander in India*, a compilation from the eighth and ninth books of Q. Curtius, edited for the Pitt Press by Messrs Heitland and Raven. . . . The work of Curtius has merits of its own, which, in former generations, made it a favourite with English scholars, and which still make it a popular text-book in Continental schools. . . . The reputation of Mr Heitland is a sufficient guarantee for the scholarship of the notes, which are ample without being excessive, and the book is well furnished with all that is needful in the nature of maps, indices, and appendices."—*Academy*.

VERGIL. AENEID. LIBRI I., II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII. Edited with Notes by A. SIDGWICK, M.A., Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 1s. 6d. each.

"Mr Sidgwick's Vergil is. . . . we believe, the best school edition of the poet."—*Guardian*.

"Mr Arthur Sidgwick's 'Vergil, Aeneid, Book XII.' is worthy of his reputation, and is distinguished by the same acuteness and accuracy of knowledge, appreciation of a boy's difficulties and ingenuity and resource in meeting them, which we have on other occasions had reason to praise in these pages."—*The Academy*.

"As masterly in its clearly divided preface and appendices as in the sound and independent character of its annotations. . . . There is a great deal more in the notes than mere compilation and suggestion. . . . No difficulty is left unnoticed or unhandled."—*Saturday Review*.

VERGIL. AENEID. LIBRI IX. X. in one volume. 3s.

VERGIL. AENEID. LIBRI X., XI., XII. in one volume. 3s. 6d.

VERGIL. BUCOLICS. With Introduction and Notes, by the same Editor. 1s. 6d.

VERGIL. GEORGICS. LIBRI I. II. By the same Editor. 2s.

VERGIL. GEORGICS. LIBRI III. IV. By the same Editor. 2s.

"This volume, which completes the Pitt Press edition of Virgil's Georgics, is distinguished by the same admirable judgment and first-rate scholarship as are conspicuous in the former volume and in the 'Aeneid' by the same talented editor."—*Athenæum*.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

III. FRENCH.

CORNEILLE. LA SUITE DU MENTEUR. A Comedy in Five Acts. Edited with Fontenelle's Memoir of the Author, Voltaire's Critical Remarks, and Notes Philological and Historical. By the late GUSTAVE MASSON. 2s.

DE BONNECHOSE. LAZARE HOCHE. With Four Maps, Introduction and Commentary, by C. COLBECK, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Revised Edition. 2s.

D'HARLEVILLE. LE VIEUX CÉLIBATAIRE. A Comedy. With a Biographical Memoir, and Grammatical, Literary and Historical Notes. By GUSTAVE MASSON. 2s.

DE LAMARTINE. JEANNE D'ARC. With a Map and Notes Historical and Philological and a Vocabulary by Rev. A. C. CLAPIN, M.A., St John's College, Cambridge, and Bachelier-ès-Lettres of the University of France. Enlarged Edition. 2s.

DE VIGNY. LA CANNE DE JONC. Edited with Notes by Rev. H. A. BULL, M.A. 2s.

ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN. LA GUERRE. With Map, Introduction and Commentary by the Rev. A. C. CLAPIN, M.A. 3s.

LA BARONNE DE STAËL-HOLSTEIN. LE DIRECTOIRE. (Considérations sur la Révolution Française. Troisième et quatrième parties.) With a Critical Notice of the Author, a Chronological Table, and Notes Historical and Philological, by G. MASSON, B.A., and G. W. PROTHERO, M.A. Revised and enlarged Edition. 2s.

"Prussia under Frederick the Great, and France under the Directory, bring us face to face respectively with periods of history which it is right should be known thoroughly, and which are well treated in the Pitt Press volumes. The latter in particular, an extract from the world-known work of Madame de Staël on the French Revolution, is beyond all praise for the excellence both of its style and of its matter."—*Times*.

LA BARONNE DE STAËL-HOLSTEIN. DIX ANNÉES D'EXIL. LIVRE II. CHAPITRES I—8. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author, a Selection of Poetical Fragments by Madame de Staël's Contemporaries, and Notes Historical and Philological. By GUSTAVE MASSON and G. W. PROTHERO, M.A. Revised and enlarged edition. 2s.

LEMERCIER. FRÉDÉGONDE ET BRUNEHAUT. A Tragedy in Five Acts. Edited with Notes, Genealogical and Chronological Tables, a Critical Introduction and a Biographical Notice. By GUSTAVE MASSON. 2s.

MOLIÈRE. LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME, Comédie-Ballet en Cinq Actes. (1670). With a life of Molière and Grammatical and Philological Notes. By Rev. A. C. CLAPIN. Revised Edition. 1s. 6d.

MOLIÈRE. L'ÉCOLE DES FEMMES. Edited with Introduction and Notes by GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. 2s. 6d.

"Mr Saintsbury's clear and scholarly notes are rich in illustration of the valuable kind that vivifies textual comment and criticism."—*Saturday Review*.

PIRON. LA METROMANIE, A Comedy, with a Biographical Memoir, and Grammatical, Literary and Historical Notes. By G. MASSON. 2s.

SAINTE-BEUVE. M. DARU (Causeries du Lundi, Vol. IX.). With Biographical Sketch of the Author, and Notes Philological and Historical. By GUSTAVE MASSON. 2s.

SAINTINE. LA PICCIOLA. The Text, with Introduction, Notes and Map, by Rev. A. C. CLAPIN. 2s.

SCRIBE AND LEGOUVÉ. BATAILLE DE DAMES. Edited by Rev. H. A. BULL, M.A. 2s.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

SCRIBE. LE VERRE D'EAU. With a Biographical Biographical Memoir, and Grammatical, Literary and Historical Notes. By C. COLBECK, M.A. 2s.

"It may be national prejudice, but we consider this edition far superior to any of the series which hitherto have been edited exclusively by foreigners. Mr Colbeck seems better to understand the wants and difficulties of an English boy. The etymological notes especially are admirable. . . . The historical notes and introduction are a piece of thorough honest work."—*Journal of Education*.

SÉDAINE. LE PHILOSOPHE SANS LE SAVOIR. Edited with Notes by Rev. H. A. BULL, M.A., late Master at Wellington College. 2s.

THIERRY. LETTRES SUR L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE XIII.—XXIV.). By GUSTAVE MASSON, B.A. and G. W. PROTHERO, M.A. With Map. 2s. 6d.

THIERRY. RÉCITS DES TEMPS MÉROVINGIENS I—III. Edited by GUSTAVE MASSON, B.A. Univ. Gallic., and A. R. ROPES, M.A. With Map. 3s.

VILLEMEN. LASCARIS, OU LES GRECS DU XV^E. SIÈCLE, Nouvelle Historique, with a Biographical Sketch of the Author, a Selection of Poems on Greece, and Notes Historical and Philological. By GUSTAVE MASSON, B.A. 2s.

VOLTAIRE. HISTOIRE DU SIÈCLE DE LOUIS XIV. Part I. Chaps. I.—XIII. Edited with Notes Philological and Historical, Biographical and Geographical Indices, etc. by G. MASSON, B.A. Univ. Gallic., and G. W. PROTHERO, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. 2s. 6d.

— Part II. Chaps. XIV.—XXIV. With Three Maps of the Period. By the same Editors. 2s. 6d.

— Part III. Chap. XXV. to the end. By the same Editors. 2s. 6d.

XAVIER DE MAISTRE. LA JEUNE SIBÉRIENNE. LE LÉPREUX DE LA CITÉ D'AOSTE. With Biographical Notice, Critical Appreciations, and Notes. By G. MASSON, B.A. 2s.

IV. GERMAN.

BALLADS ON GERMAN HISTORY. Arranged and Annotated by W. WAGNER, Ph.D., late Professor at the Johanneum, Hamburg. 2s.

"It carries the reader rapidly through some of the most important incidents connected with the German race and name, from the invasion of Italy by the Visigoths under their King Alaric, down to the Franco-German War and the installation of the present Emperor. The notes supply very well the connecting links between the successive periods, and exhibit in its various phases of growth and progress, or the reverse, the vast unwieldy mass which constitutes modern Germany."—*Times*.

BENEDIX. DOCTOR WESPE. Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Edited with Notes by KARL HERMANN BREUL, M.A. 3s.

FREYTAG. DER STAAT FRIEDRICHS DES GROSSEN. With Notes. By WILHELM WAGNER, Ph.D. 2s.

GERMAN DACTYLIC POETRY. Arranged and Annotated by the same Editor. 3s.

Goethe's Anablenjahre. (1749—1759.) GOETHE'S BOYHOOD: being the First Three Books of his Autobiography. Arranged and Annotated by the same Editor. 2s.

GOETHE'S HERMANN AND DOROTHEA. With an Introduction and Notes. By the same Editor. Revised edition by J. W. CARTMELL, M.A. 3s. 6d.

"The notes are among the best that we know, with the reservation that they are often too abundant."—*Academy*.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

GUTZKOW. ZOPF UND SCHWERT. Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen von. With a Biographical and Historical Introduction, English Notes, and an Index. By H. J. WOLSTENHOLME, B.A. (Lond.). 3s. 6d.
 "We are glad to be able to notice a careful edition of K. Gutzkow's amusing comedy *Zopf und Schwert* by Mr H. J. Wolstenholme. . . . These notes are abundant and contain references to standard grammatical works."—*Academy*.

HAUFF. DAS BILD DES KAISERS. Edited by KARL HERMANN BREUL, M.A., Ph.D. 3s.

HAUFF. DAS WIRTHSHAUS IM SPESSART. Edited by A. SCHLOTTMANN, Ph. D., late Assistant Master at Uppingham School. 3s. 6d.

HAUFF. DIE KARAVANE. Edited with Notes by A. SCHLOTTMANN, Ph. D. 3s. 6d.

IMMERMANN. DER OBERHOF. A Tale of Westphalian Life. With a Life of Immermann and English Notes, by WILHELM WAGNER, Ph.D., late Professor at the Johanneum, Hamburg. 3s.

KOHLRAUSCH. Das Jahr 1813 (THE YEAR 1813). With English Notes. By W. WAGNER. 2s.

LESSING AND GELLERT. SELECTED FABLES. Edited with Notes by KARL HERMANN BREUL, M.A., Lecturer in German at the University of Cambridge. 3s.

MENDELSSOHN'S LETTERS. Selections from. Edited by JAMES SIME, M.A. 3s.

RAUMER. Der erste Kreuzzug (THE FIRST CRUSADE). Condensed from the Author's 'History of the Hohenstaufen', with a life of RAUMER, two Plans and English Notes. By W. WAGNER. 2s.
 "Certainly no more interesting book could be made the subject of examinations. The story of the First Crusade has an undying interest. The notes are, on the whole, good."—*Educational Times*.

RIEHL. CULTURGESCHICHTLICHE NOVELLEN. With Grammatical, Philological, and Historical Notes, and a Complete Index, by H. J. WOLSTENHOLME, B.A. (Lond.). 4s. 6d.

UHLAND. ERNST, HERZOG VON SCHWABEN. With Introduction and Notes. By H. J. WOLSTENHOLME, B.A. (Lond.), Lecturer in German at Newnham College, Cambridge. 3s. 6d.

V. ENGLISH.

ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY. A SKETCH OF, FROM THALES TO CICERO, by JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A. 3s. 6d.

"Professor Mayor contributes to the Pitt Press Series *A Sketch of Ancient Philosophy* in which he has endeavoured to give a general view of the philosophical systems illustrated by the genius of the masters of metaphysical and ethical science from Thales to Cicero. In the course of his sketch he takes occasion to give concise analyses of Plato's Republic, and of the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle; and these abstracts will be to some readers not the least useful portions of the book."—*The Guardian*.

ARISTOTLE. OUTLINES OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF.

Compiled by EDWIN WALLACE, M.A., LL.D. (St Andrews), late Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. Third Edition Enlarged. 4s. 6d.

"A judicious selection of characteristic passages, arranged in paragraphs, each of which is preceded by a masterly and perspicuous English analysis."—*Scotsman*.

"Gives in a comparatively small compass a very good sketch of Aristotle's teaching."—*Sat. Review*.

BACON'S HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VII. With Notes by the Rev. J. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D. 3s.

COWLEY'S ESSAYS. With Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. J. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity; Fellow of St Catharine's College. 4s.

GEOGRAPHY, ELEMENTARY COMMERCIAL. A Sketch of the Commodities and the Countries of the World. By H. R. MILL, Sc.D., F.R.S.E., Lecturer on Commercial Geography in the Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh. 1s.

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

MORE'S HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III. Edited with Notes, Glossary and Index of Names. By J. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D. to which is added the conclusion of the History of King Richard III. as given in the continuation of Hardyng's Chronicle, London, 1543. 3s. 6d.

MORE'S UTOPIA. With Notes by the Rev. J. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D. 3s. 6d.

"To Dr Lumby we must give praise unqualified and unstinted. He has done his work admirably. . . . Every student of history, every politician, every social reformer, every one interested in literary curiosities, every lover of English should buy and carefully read Dr Lumby's edition of the 'Utopia.' We are afraid to say more lest we should be thought extravagant, and our recommendation accordingly lose part of its force."—*The Teacher*.

"It was originally written in Latin and does not find a place on ordinary bookshelves. A very great boon has therefore been conferred on the general English reader by the managers of the *Pitt Press Series*, in the issue of a convenient little volume of *More's Utopia* not in the original Latin, but in the quaint *English Translation thereof made by Raphe Robynson*, which adds a linguistic interest to the intrinsic merit of the work. . . . All this has been edited in a most complete and scholarly fashion by Dr J. R. Lumby, the Norrisian Professor of Divinity, whose name alone is a sufficient warrant for its accuracy. It is a real addition to the modern stock of classical English literature."—*Guardian*.

THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN, edited with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. Professor SKEAT, Litt.D., formerly Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. 3s. 6d.

"This edition of a play that is well worth study, for more reasons than one, by so careful a scholar as Mr Skeat, deserves a hearty welcome."—*Athenæum*.

"Mr Skeat is a conscientious editor, and has left no difficulty unexplained."—*Times*.

VI. EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE.

COMENIUS. JOHN AMOS, Bishop of the Moravians. His Life and Educational Works, by S. S. LAURIE, A.M., F.R.S.E., Professor of the Institutes and History of Education in the University of Edinburgh. New Edition, revised. 3s. 6d.

EDUCATION. THREE LECTURES ON THE PRACTICE OF. I. On Marking, by H. W. EVE, M.A. II. On Stimulus, by A. SIDGWICK, M.A. III. On the Teaching of Latin Verse Composition, by E. A. ABBOTT, D.D. 2s.

LOCKE ON EDUCATION. With Introduction and Notes by the Rev. R. H. QUICK, M.A. 3s. 6d.

"The work before us leaves nothing to be desired. It is of convenient form and reasonable price, accurately printed, and accompanied by notes which are admirable. There is no teacher too young to find this book interesting; there is no teacher too old to find it profitable."—*The School Bulletin, New York*.

MILTON'S TRACTATE ON EDUCATION. A facsimile reprint from the Edition of 1673. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. 2s.

"A separate reprint of Milton's famous letter to Master Samuel Hartlib was a desideratum, and we are grateful to Mr Browning for his elegant and scholarly edition, to which is prefixed the careful *résumé* of the work given in his 'History of Educational Theories.'"—*Journal of Education*.

MODERN LANGUAGES. LECTURES ON THE TEACHING OF, delivered in the University of Cambridge in the Lent Term, 1887. By C. COLBECK, M.A., Assistant Master of Harrow School. 2s.

ON STIMULUS. A Lecture delivered for the Teachers' Training Syndicate at Cambridge, May 1882, by A. SIDGWICK, M.A. 1s.

TEACHER. GENERAL AIMS OF THE, AND FORM MANAGEMENT. Two Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge in the Lent Term, 1883, by Archdeacon FARRAR, D.D., and R. B. POOLE, B.D. Head Master of Bedford Modern School. 1s. 6d.

TEACHING. THEORY AND PRACTICE OF. By the Rev. EDWARD THRING, M.A., late Head Master of Uppingham School and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. New Edition. 4s. 6d.

"Any attempt to summarize the contents of the volume would fail to give our readers a taste of the pleasure that its perusal has given us."—*Journal of Education*.

[Other Volumes are in preparation.]

London: C. F. CLAY & SONS, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane.

University of Cambridge.

LOCAL EXAMINATIONS.

Examination Papers, for various years, with the *Regulations for the Examination*. Demy 8vo. 2s. each, or by Post, 2s. 2d.

Class Lists, for various years, Boys 1s., Girls 6d.

Annual Reports of the Syndicate, with Supplementary Tables showing the success and failure of the Candidates. 2s. each, by Post 2s. 3d.

HIGHER LOCAL EXAMINATIONS.

Examination Papers for various years, *to which are added the Regulations for the Examination*. Demy 8vo. 2s. each, by Post 2s. 2d.

Class Lists, for various years. 1s. By post, 1s. 2d.

Reports of the Syndicate. Demy 8vo. 1s., by Post 1s. 2d.

LOCAL LECTURES SYNDICATE.

Calendar for the years 1875—80. Fcap. 8vo. *cloth*. 2s.; for 1880—81. 1s.

TEACHERS' TRAINING SYNDICATE.

Examination Papers for various years, *to which are added the Regulations for the Examination*. Demy 8vo. 6d., by Post 7d.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY REPORTER.

Published by Authority.

Containing all the Official Notices of the University, Reports of Discussions in the Schools, and Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical, Antiquarian, and Philological Societies. 3d. weekly.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION PAPERS.

These Papers are published in occasional numbers every Term, and in volumes for the Academical year.

VOL. XV.	Parts	21 to 43.	PAPERS for the Year 1885—86,	15s. <i>cloth</i> .
VOL. XVI.	"	44 to 65.	" "	1886—87, 15s. <i>cloth</i> .
VOL. XVII.	"	65 to 86.	" "	1887—88, 15s. <i>cloth</i> .

Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examinations.

Papers set in the Examination for Certificates, July, 1888. 2s. 6d.

List of Candidates who obtained Certificates at the Examination held in 1888; and Supplementary Tables. 6d.

Regulations of the Board for 1889. 9d.

Regulations for the Commercial Certificate, 1889. 3d.

Report of the Board for the year ending Oct. 31, 1888. 1s.

Studies from the Morphological Laboratory in the University of Cambridge.

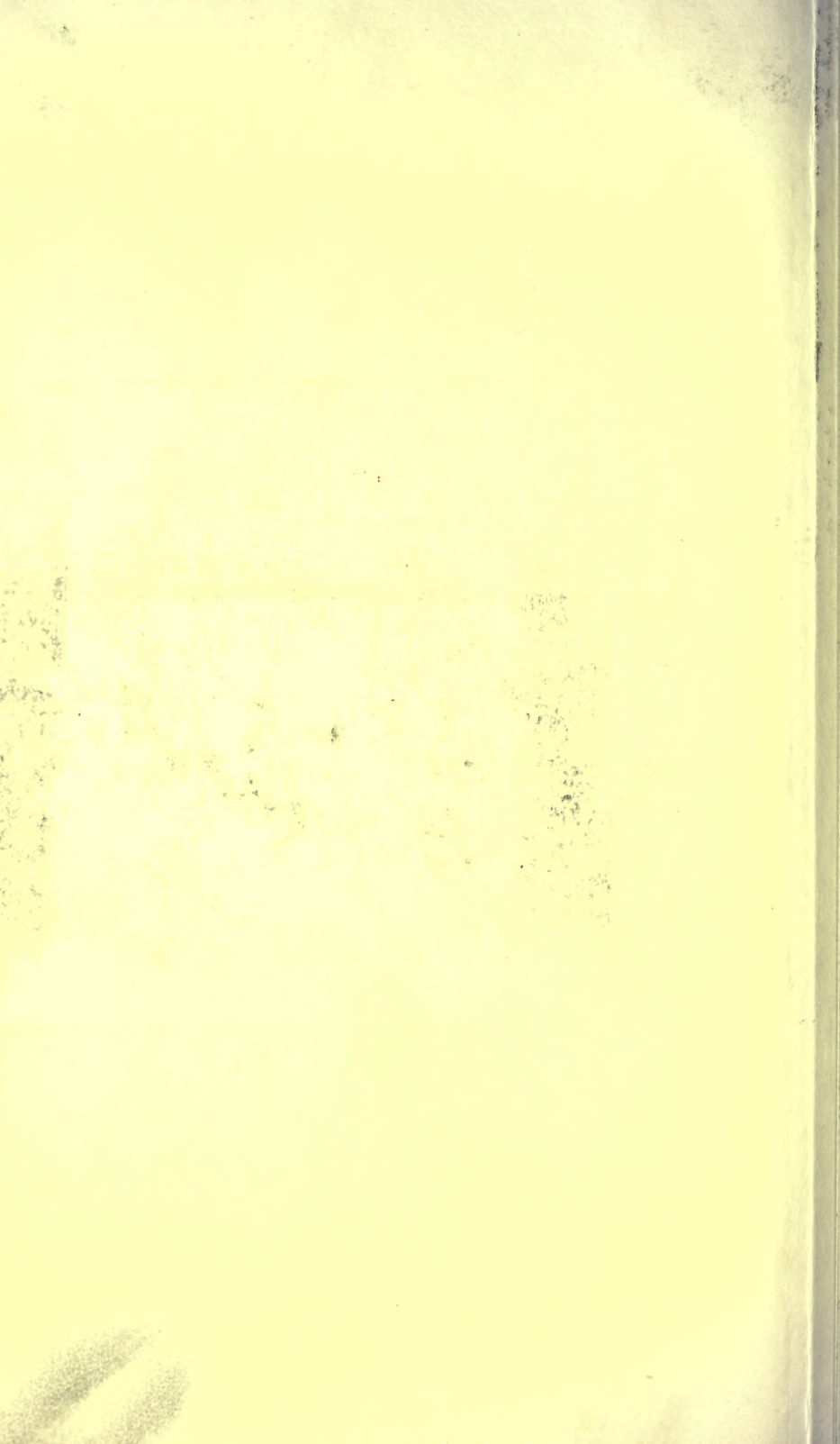
Edited by ADAM SEDGWICK, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. II. Part I. Royal 8vo. 10s.
Vol. II. Part II. 7s. 6d. Vol. III. Part I. 7s. 6d. Vol. III. Part II. 7s. 6d.
Vol. IV. Part I. 12s. 6d. Vol. IV. Part II. 10s.

London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.

GLASGOW: 263, ARGYLE STREET.







PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

Relig
Theol
S

Smith, John
Select discourses
ed.4, 1859

